Identity Processes among Adolescents and Young Adults in Pakistan: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being

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SUMMARY

This thesis investigates how identity styles operate in a non-Western cultural context. Through four papers, it both tests and extends some of the theoretical assertions made by the social constructivist approach of identity styles (Berzonsky, 2011), which proposes that people construct both 'who they think they are' and 'the reality in which they live', through informational, normative or diffuse-avoidant identity orientations. Although the relationship among identity styles and well-being is well established in Western literature, there is a serious dearth of similar research in non-Western cultures such as Pakistan. Western theories tend to assume the universal generalisability of identity styles and their relationship with well-being. The primary aim of this research is to test the validity of this assumption in the cultural context of Pakistan.

Paper 1 systematically examines the factorial structure of the Identity Styles Inventory (ISI-5) in a Pakistani sample. In confirmatory factor analysis, normative orientation items perform relatively poorly, leading to a possibility that the conception of normative orientation is not as universal as previously assumed. Paper 2 shows that well-being is predicted positively by information orientation and negatively by diffuse-avoidant orientation in the Pakistani sample. Normative orientation remained as non-significant predictor of well-being. Identity commitment and satisfaction of identity motives partially mediate these links. Paper 3 explores the indigenous processes of identity formation through qualitative semi-structured interviews. Normative orientation is found to operate at a much more complex level than assumed previously. Participants described many different ways of being normative, making this a less automatic, mindless and effortless process in Pakistani culture than assumed previously based on Western research models. Paper 4 focuses on the construction and psychometric testing of new measures of normative orientation suitable for use with the samples from Pakistan. Together, these studies illustrate the value of using indigenous perspectives to enrich Western-based understandings of identity formation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, before anything I would like to thank Almighty Allah for blessing me with this opportunity in my life. My father passed away when I was very young. He always wanted me to succeed and prosper in every field of life and this would have been among the happiest moments of his life. However, my elder brother Asim Shehzad Malik filled the shoes of my father at a very tender age and gave me and my family everything in his power. All of my achievements today are because of him and I cannot thank him enough for his sacrifices. I want to thank my mother for always being there for me; supporting me in every way humanly possible while raising us as a single parent. I am deeply thankful to my sisters Ayesha and Saima, and youngest brother Hannan, for their love and support all throughout my life.

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1. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis is fundamentally concerned with the appropriateness of Western models of "Identity Style" (Berzonsky, 1989a, 2011) as explanations of identity formation in a non-Western culture. It originated in my research and practical experiences in Pakistan, where I realised that many of the models being applied in psychology had been developed in Western contexts, especially the USA and Europe, and are all too often applied in non-Western contexts with insufficient reflection as to their appropriateness. This raised a suspicion that these Western models might be enhanced through exploring them overtly and specifically from a non-Western context, and examining whether they could actually be improved by drawing on empirical evidence from such a different cultural context.

I was born and brought up in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, and my early research interests focused particularly on how adolescents and young adults make social adjustments in their lives. In so doing, I identified some very extensive intervention projects on "Positive Youth Development" that had been carried out primarily in the USA, and I wondered as to their potential appropriateness for use in Pakistan (see, e.g., Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund, Pollard, & Arthur, 2002; Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak & Hawkins, 2004). These intervention projects sought to find connections between personal development, context and human agency, and considered individuals to be both producers and products of their own development. Such intervention projects in particular highlight the role of "identity" as the steering mechanism, guiding and governing an individual's life course. I was fascinated by these programmes, and ended up developing a particular interest in "identity". In so doing, I realised that it is

imperative to understand identity formation from an indigenous perspective in order to bring about positive interventions among young people in Pakistan.

From the moment a child is born, various labels are used as markers of his or her identity; the name given to a child, for example, forms but one aspect of identity. Other relevant factors that also play a major role in the development of identity may include, but are not limited to, institutional affiliations, family lineages, religion, culture, cast, creed, ethnicity, gender and profession. While examining identity literature and theories in greater detail, especially the work of Côté (1996) and S. J. Schwartz (2001), I came to understand in particular the importance of cultural context, where identities evolve, flourish and are established. I also became very aware that such theories have mainly been conceptualised in the cultural context of the USA and only partly in the rest of the Western world. Very little research has ever been conducted on these ideas in the non-Western world.

Pakistan is a relatively newly created country, formed from the partition of India in 1947, but it has a long cultural history, which has imbued it with an identity that has multiple and complex manifestations, expressions and impacts. Identity is as important for young people in Pakistan as it is for young people anywhere else in the world. However, I speculated that the way in which identity is conceptualised in Pakistan might well operate in a different way to that which happens in the Western world. The biggest challenge, though, was to search for an alternative perspective that could help to identify the difference and uniqueness of identity conceptualisation in Pakistan in comparison to the ways through which it is conceptualised in the Western context (Berzonsky, 1989a). In exploring these notions further, I found very few relevant arguments, theories or research literature about Pakistan, or indeed other non-Western or South Asian cultures. Ever since then, I have sought to identify and explore the

differences, and the unique aspects of identity and their correlates pertinent to my culture.

The electronic revolution in research, through which everything has become accessible through the World Wide Web, has helped to reveal a fundamental state of power imbalance between the research carried out and published in the Western and non-Western cultures. This power imbalance in terms of empirical research is partly due to the lack of adequate resources, partly due to the lack of research culture in the field of psychology in Asian societies, and partly to the imperialist attitude of researchers in the Western world (see for example, Crigger, Holcomb, & Weiss, 2001; Darou, Hum, & Kurtness, 1993; Marshall & Batten, 2004). Given the notion that "identity" may not operate in the same way in Pakistan as it does in Western countries, I realised the importance of developing some indigenous contributions to understanding this important and very crucial task of human development.

This chapter begins by outlining three of the most prominent theoretical approaches to identity, namely those of Erikson (1950), Marcia (1966), and Berzonsky (1989a). It then goes on to examine in detail ways through which identity styles may impact one's psychological well-being while discussing the role of commitment, gender, and identity motives. Finally, it highlights the importance of some indigenous contributions of studying identity formation in the cultural context of Pakistan, and highlights the key issues that this research seeks to address.

1.1 Theories of Identity Formation

In the last 50 years there has been a considerable expansion of interest in theories of identity formation. These largely build on the innovative work of Erikson in the 1950s. For the purpose of this thesis, the key issue to note is that all of these theories have been developed in a Western context, and their findings have

subsequently been applied to non-Western contexts without testing their appropriateness in such contexts. This thesis questions such an approach, and explores ways through which a more nuanced approach, based on empirical evidence from Pakistan, might help develop the explanatory power of such theories. This section begins by outlining three of the most prominent theoretical approaches to identity formation, namely those of Erikson (1950), Marcia (1966), and Berzonsky (1989a).

1.1.1 Erikson's Theoretical Ideas about Identity

One of the earliest theoretical conceptualisations of identity was the notion of "ego identity" which arose from the extension of psychoanalytic theory known as "ego psychology" (Kroger & Marcia, 2011). Erikson (1950), a neo-psychoanalyst, proposed a lifespan theory of psycho-social development and conceptualised ego as a positive driving force in human development and personality. Subsequently, his central concept of ego identity has gained much popularity in adolescent research and became a highly generative construct. According to Erikson (1968), identity formation is one of the major developmental challenges that adolescents and young adults must negotiate effectively to regulate and govern their lives. Erikson (1968) specified two issues confronting the late adolescent: "the choice of an occupation" and "the formation of an ideology". A failure to resolve these issues at this stage of adolescence leads to a psychosocial crisis of late adolescence that Erikson described as "identity versus identity diffusion" (or confusion, in Erikson's later writings).

Based on Erikson's ideas of confronting these psycho-social issues during the age of adolescence, two criteria for the presence of identity formation were proposed, namely "exploration" (originally called "crisis") and "commitment" (Marcia, 1966). Marcia (1966) suggested that exploration involves an active consideration of alternative possible identity elements in order to make a coherent and complete sense of self.

Meanwhile, he defined commitment as representing a decision to adhere to a specific set of goals, values, and beliefs, whether self-initiated or adapted from others.

Identity takes its roots from the birth of a person and follows a developmental course throughout the life span. However, in Erikson's (1950) view, although the identity formation process starts during childhood, a new form of identity emerges during adolescence. This newer identity formation is conceptualised as having an adaptive function, in which earlier identifications of childhood are shifted, subordinated and altered in order to produce a new identity configuration (Erikson, 1950, 1968). Kroger and Marcia (2011) for example, have further suggested that the crucial task for identity research is to determine "observable referents", which help in identifying the presence, absence, and nature of the hypothesised underlying identity structure. According to Kroger and Marcia (2011) the psycho-social task of identity development is fundamentally one of "integration". They further argued that the achievement of ego identity involves a synthesis of childhood identifications in the individual's own experiences, and that by doing so a reciprocity and a relationship is established between society and the individual. Such a process of integration helps in maintaining a feeling of continuity within oneself. "It represents a reformulation of all that the individual has been into a core of what he/she is to become" (Kroger & Marcia, 2011, p. 32). These processes of "configuration", "synthesis", and "core" suggest the formation of an internal structure. Although the assumptions underlying these processes were not investigated empirically by Erikson, their broader relevance laid the foundations for studying identity as a widely researched and diverse phenomenon (S.J. Schwartz, 2001). The pioneering attempts by Erikson to describe the processes behind identity formation through the two developmental tasks of deciding for an occupation and formation of an ideology led to the foundation of a considerable amount of research in the field of

identity formation, particularly that championed by James Marcia (1966) and Michael Berzonsky (1988, 1990). The following sub-sections elaborate on their work and their conception and extension of identity formation processes developed from Erik Erikson's work.

1.1.2 Marcia's Identity Statuses

The identity status approach proposed by Marcia (1966) is considered by many to be the pioneering model of operationalising Erikson's ideas on identity formation for empirical research. Marcia's status approach focuses on capturing individual differences in the way people approach and resolve identity issues at certain times during the course of their psychological development (Luyckx, Schwartz, Berzonsky, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Smits, & Goossens, 2008). Marcia (2002) assumes that identity develops through successive stages and has a transitional quality in the adult life cycle. He thus suggests that individuals develop through particular psycho-social statuses. In Marcia's system, there are four different statuses of identity, with each corresponding to a stage in which individuals engage in a process of exploring and committing to an ideology. Marcia (1966) described them as orthogonal dimensions of exploration and commitment. In Marcia's (1966) conceptualisation, varying combinations of levels of exploration and commitment give rise to four identity statuses that are independent of each other. Each status of identity corresponds to a stage in the process of exploring and committing to an ideology: *identity achieved status* (i.e., commitment followed by personal exploration); *foreclosure* (commitment followed by less personal exploration); *moratorium* (involving ongoing exploration with little commitment); and *diffusion* (involving lack of commitment and lesser amount of systematic exploration). The following grid (Figure 1.1) presents how varying combinations of commitment and exploration give rise to four statuses of identity formation.

	No Exploration	Exploration
No Commitment	Identity Diffusion	Moratorium
Commitment	Foreclosure	Identity Achievement

Figure 1. 1: *Identity statuses in relation to commitment and exploration*

Marcia (2002) nevertheless viewed the statuses to be adaptive and proposed that people might differ quite widely in their progression. For example, he argues that a person having moratorium identity status can succeed in having identity achievement status at later stages of their adulthood, suggesting that development in human agency can lead to development in statuses.

Although the status approach has been widely used over the last 50 years and has inspired a considerable amount of research on identity formation, critics argue that this approach is overly narrow (Côté & Levine, 1988; Côté & Schwartz, 2002; Luyckx et al., 2008). Theorists such as Burwell and Shirk (2007), and Treynor, Gonzalez, and Nolen-Hoeksema (2003) have particularly examined the exploration dimension and subdivided it into reflective vs ruminative components, and exploration in breadth vs exploration in depth (Grotevant, 1987; Meeus, 1996). Further extending upon the binary dimensions of commitment, a four-dimensional model of identity formation has been developed that includes commitment making, identification with commitment, exploration in depth, and exploration in breadth (Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, Beyers, 2006). Luyckx et al. (2008) then included ruminative exploration as an additional dimension of identity formation. The multidimensional extension of "exploration" suggests its dual role, implying that exploration can function as a positive or a negative role in identity formation, depending on the specific context and circumstance of an

individual. In general, identification with commitment is found to be positively related to positive behaviour indicators and negatively related to depressive symptoms. Exploration in breadth has been seen to be positively related to depressive symptoms and substance use and psychological distress, suggesting the effects that a maladaptive exploration might play. Exploration in depth, on the other hand, has been seen as being positively related to academic adjustment and negatively to substance use (see e.g., Luyckx et al. 2006; Luykyx et al, 2008). These studies highlight the adaptive and maladaptive functions that exploration can play in its relations to commitment.

1.1.3 Berzonsky: A Constructive Epistemological Perspective

Extending upon Marcia's theorisations on identity formation, Berzonsky (1989a, 1989b, 1990) proposed a constructivist epistemological perspective in which individuals construct both a sense of who they think they are and the reality within which they act. Berzonsky (2008) in particular stresses the importance of social and cognitive processes that individuals may use while forming and maintaining their sense of identity. Berzonsky thus defines identity as follows:

> Identity is conceptualised as a cognitive structure or self-theory, which provides a personal frame of reference for interpreting self-relevant information, solving problems, and making decisions. Identity is also viewed as a process that governs and regulates the social cognitive strategies used to construct, maintain, and reconstruct a sense of personal identity (Berzonsky, 2011, p. 55).

Berzonsky (1990, 2011) sees self-identity as essentially a self-theory, which is a constructivist perspective of self that assumes people play an active role in constructing their sense of self and the reality within which they live. He further suggests that constructs are not always acquired at a conscious or an intentional level, but rather that they can be acquired from significant others, for example through parents, peers, and others, via modelling. Berzonsky further reflects upon the adaptability of identity formation, and sees it as a process of maintaining effectiveness; in his opinion self-constructs have to be monitored, evaluated, and revised across the life span. The processes of monitoring, utilising, testing and revising identity give rise to individual differences in identity formation (see, e.g., Berzonsky,1989b, 1990; Berzonsky, Macek, & Nurmi, 2003; Philips & Pittman, 2007).

In Berzonsky's (2011) opinion, this process approach to identity formation highlights differences in the social-cognitive processes that individuals use to engage in identity related issues. This varying use of social cognitive processes gives rise to different identity patterns that Berzonsky links to Marcia's identity statuses. Thus, according to Berzonsky, Marcia's (1966) four identity statuses reflected three different stylistic approaches to dealing with identity crisis. Berzonsky labels these style categories as informational processing orientation, normative processing orientation and diffuse avoidant processing orientation. The linkage between identity statuses and styles is further described in Figure 1.2.

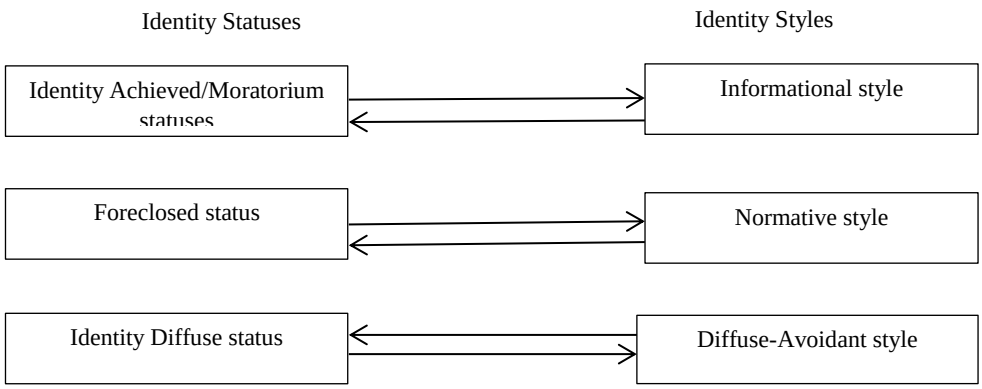

Figure 1. 2: Relationship between Identity Statuses and identity styles

These identity styles have subsequently been well researched over the course of several years (e.g. Adams, Munro, Doherty-Poirer, Munro, Petersen, & Edwards, 2001). The next section therefore describes these identity styles in further detail. The critical point to note for this thesis, though, is that almost all of Berzonsky's research has been constructed largely on Western empirical evidence, therefore it will be interesting to explore how these apply in non-Western contexts. The purpose of this thesis is to deliver such an indigenous contribution.

1.1.3.1 Informational Processing Style. An informational style involves a readiness to investigate multiple solutions to a given problem and to explore several options and alternatives before committing to any one solution (Berzonsky, 1990). Individuals with an informational identity style deliberately and actively seek out identity relevant information and their commitments are the result of their personal exploration. Individuals with information orientation exhibit critical attitudes towards their self-conceptions (Berzonsky, 2008). They are described as scientific self-theorists, as they tend to obtain accurate self-diagnostic information based upon their intuitive reasoning (Berzonsky, 2011). Other characteristic qualities of information orientation may include high levels of cognitive complexity, greater vigilance to independent

decision making, need for cognition, problem-focused coping, autonomy, and cognitive persistence (Soenens, Duriez, & Goossens, 2005). Among the Big Five personality factors, openness to experience and conscientiousness have been shown to have the strongest link with the informational style (Dollinger, 1995). Furthermore, informational orientation is found to have a positive association with academic performance (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2005).

Research by Berzonsky and Sullivan (1992) and Grotevant (1987) indicated that the utilisation of an informational identity orientation is positively associated with self-exploration, need for cognition, problem-focused coping, introspectiveness, facilitative anxiety reactions and openness to ideas. Therefore, Berzonsky's informational style, which is based on information seeking, is positively related to active exploration (S.J. Schwartz, 1996), flexible commitment (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994), high level of self-reflection, and need for cognition (Berzonsky, 1993a) and negatively related with other directedness, to debilitative effects of anxiety, to reliance to wishful thinking and to emotional distancing (Nurmi, Berzonsky, Tammi, & Kinney, 1997).

1.1.3.2 Normative Processing Style. The normative style represents identity formation by conforming to social and familial expectations and a high degree of commitment to authority. Berzonsky (1994) speaks of normative orientation as a closed-minded approach. Individuals with normative orientation internalise and adhere to goals, values and prescriptions that they seek from significant others and their referent groups. However, their adherence is established in a relatively "automatic" and what Berzonsky labels as "mindless manner" (Berzonsky, 2011, p. 59). They have rigid, dogmatic and premature commitments that are not the result of their personal exploration (Langer, 1989). They have low tolerance for ambiguity, and tend to disregard any information that is contrary to their hard core values (Berzonsky, 1990;

Berzonsky & Sullivan, 1992). Likewise, Berzonsky and Kinney (2008) also suggested that individuals with high scores on normative style rely on more maladaptive mechanisms as compared to information style holders, as they are least likely to accept self-discrepant information and feedback. Such an automatic approach to self-construction leads to rigidly organised self-theory composed of change resistant self-constructs, thus presenting individuals with this style as being blindly obedient to authority (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Berzonsky, 2011). They learn through imitation and conformity, which marks them as passive recipient of identity relevant information that is explored by others (see e.g., Berzonsky, 1989b; Berzonsky, 2011; Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994).

1.1.3.3 Diffuse-Avoidant Style. The diffuse-avoidant style, as the name implies, involves avoiding confronting identity related information. According to Berzonsky (1994) this style is marked by a tendency to procrastinate and to make decisions on a situation-by-situation basis. Diffuse-avoidant individuals tend to procrastinate rather than face identity related issues and are reluctant to confront and deal with identity conflicts and issues. They exhibit a confused and fragmented self and what Berzonsky (1992, p. 772) labels as "loosely integrated identity structure". Berzonsky (2011) further adds that individuals with diffuse-avoidant orientation adopt an *ad hoc* or situation-specific approach to self-theorising. As a result of procrastination, their actions and choices are determined by situational demands and consequences (Phillips & Pittman, 2007). They also have been found to utilise maladaptive coping mechanisms, more prone to feelings of shame and quite likely to display conduct disorders. Moreover, in terms of five-factor personality theory they have been shown to score high on neuroticism and low on agreeableness and conscientiousness (see Soenens, Berzonsky, Vansteenkiste, Beyers, & Goossens, 2005). According to Berzonsky (1990), individuals

with diffuse-avoidant identity style supposedly operate in a hedonistic, situation-specific fashion, and diffuse-avoidance is found to be negatively related with rational thinking. Other characteristic qualities include self-handicapping behaviour, impression management, little or no commitment, an external locus of control, negative self-appraisal and greater confusion (Berzonsky & Ferrari, 2009). Studies have found strong associations between diffuse-avoidant style and maladjustment and psychological distress (see, e.g., Adams et al., 2001; Nurmi, et al., 1997; Phillips & Pittman, 2007).

The literature described in the preceding paragraphs elaborates how the study of ego identity formation has evolved from psycho-social theory of human development as proposed by Erikson (1950), how the identity status paradigm manifested identity formation as developing through successive statuses, and finally the constructivist view suggests how individuals deliberately and actively construct their identities. From the constructivist perspective, the informational style is considered to be the most successful and mature style for identity development, because of its greater openness to experience, deliberate reasoning, actions directed by personal thinking, pursuit of decision-relevant information, and the exercise of greater ego control (Berzonsky, 1990; 2011; Berzonsky, Soenens, Luyckx, Smits, Papini, & Goossens, 2013).

An extensive review of the empirical literature in particular suggests that informational processing style is associated with both rational and automatic processing, whereas a normative style is more exclusively automatic (Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez, & Soenens, 2011). In Berzonsky's (2011) opinion, it is quite likely that the automatic processing associated with the normative and informational style occurs for different reasons. For example, Berzonsky (2011) sees both information and normative orientation as automatic processes and reasoning is rational in both styles, but for the former information is sought by a person in decision-making process him- or her-self.

Such information acquisition becomes automatic as it is repeatedly accessed and utilised at a deliberate and intentional level and requires less mental effort for future utilisation. In contrast, for normative orientation, information is sought by significant others and this information is automatically internalised as unquestioned and unchallenged.

A diffused-avoidant identity style, on the other hand is negatively associated with rational processing, and is marked by situational demands and consequences (Berzonsky & Ferrari, 2009). In Berzonsky's (2011) opinion, individuals with high informational scores tend to be more effective along a number of social, cognitive and personality dimensions than their diffused-avoidant counterparts, whereas people with high normative scores generally fall somewhere in between.

The understanding and utilisation of identity styles holds a very significant importance. According to Philips and Pittman (2007) by identifying adolescents' primary identity styles it is possible to intervene and place them on a more positive trajectory if necessary. In their opinion, adolescents with a diffuse-avoidant style could benefit potentially from activities designed to encourage meaningful exploration, decision making, problem solving, goal setting and delay of gratification. Individuals employing a normative style may benefit from interventions focussed on encouraging exploration, forming alternative commitments and shifting from external to internal orientations. This model assumes that there is therefore a close correspondence between the description of an identity style, and the "corrective" behaviour necessary to adjust it; theory and practice are closely related. The challenge in transferring this relationship to cultures other than those in which the model was developed is that if this account of primary identity styles is only slightly biased, then the proposed actions taken to transform it could have very damaging practical consequences for the individuals involved. It is therefore important to understand how identity styles operate in relation

to other psychological variables. The following sections give an overview of such variables and their relation to identity styles.

1.2.2 Commitment, Identity Styles and Well-being

Strong associations have been found between identity styles and Ryff's (1989) six dimensions of psychological well-being, namely self-acceptance, environmental mastery, positive relations with others, purpose in life, personal growth, and autonomy (Tariq, 2012; Vleioras & Bosma, 2005). Quite frequently this relationship is strengthened through commitment (Luyckx, et al., 2006). Although Ryff's dimensions have been largely studied in relation to identity styles, it is important to realise that they only measured indicators of positive well-being. Vleioras and Bosma (2005), for example, have found that information and normative orientation is related to higher levels of commitment, whereas diffuse-avoidance is associated with lower levels of commitment. Moreover, diffuse-avoidance is significantly negatively related to well-being, whereas normative and information styles are only positively predicted by personal growth. Therefore, the ways that individuals deal with identity issues are not necessarily directly related to psychological well-being, but rather "commitment" mediates the relation between the two.

In a similar vein, Berzonsky (2003) has explored three dynamic ways through which identity commitment may play a significant role in personal well-being. These ways may include, first commitment as having a direct impact on well-being, second commitment mediating the relationship, and third commitment as moderating the relationship between well-being and identity styles. In his study, commitment qualified as a strong predictor, mediator as well as a strong moderator at these three levels of analysis. Both normative and informational processing styles were positively associated with identity commitment. However, Berzonsky (2003) maintains that commitments

held as a result of information are cognitively driven, whereas commitments held as a result of normative processing are emotionally driven. Cognitive commitments suggest commitments based upon "rational" information processing, whereas emotional commitments in contrast are based upon "non-rational" information processing (Berzonsky, 2003, p. 139). Such emotionally driven commitments are referred to as "premature cognitive commitments" (Langer, 1989). Berzonsky (2003) views such commitments as occurring mindlessly because they do not involve one's critical information processing and evaluation into the decisions making. Interestingly, it is worth noting that despite having different processes of commitment both normative and informational processing style were positively associated with the measure of well-being that is "personal agency" in this study.

Crocetti and Shokri (2010) replicated a similar model using an Iranian sample and tested similar pattern of relationship among identity styles and Ryff's (1989) well-being dimensions. Their study supported the mediational-effects model where commitment mediates the relationship between identity styles and well-being. The informational and normative styles, and commitment were positively associated with well-being, and diffuse-avoidance was negatively related to well-being. The findings of their study are important for the present research because it was conducted in a non-Western and an Islamic culture similar to that of Pakistan. These studies highlight the salience of the role that commitment can play in strengthening the relationship between identity styles and well-being. That is why as well as directly investigating the impact of identity styles on well-being, I have relied on commitment as a mediator, to strengthen and deeply understand this relationship in my sample.

The preceding paragraphs highlight the significance of commitment for psychological well-being in its relation to identity styles. Nonetheless, there are other

psychological variables that can serve as mediating mechanisms in terms of how identity styles can influence psychological well-being. Since identity formation occurs as a result of commitment to an ideology, understating the driving mechanisms (i.e., motives behind identity formation) can also help to understand how identity styles with varying combinations of underlying motives can have an impact on a person's psychological well-being. The next sub-section describes the role that identity motives can potentially play in identity formation, and their impact on well-being in more detail.

1.2. Well-Being, Commitment, and Identity Motives

1.2.1 Psychological Well-being

The literature on identity suggests that there are strong associations between identity styles and psychological well-being (see, e.g., Côté & Schwartz, 2002; Nurmi et al., 1997; Suh, 2002; Thoits, 1992; Waterman, 2007). This well-established phenomenon posits the question as to why such styles lead to better or worse well-being. An interesting challenge for the present research is to explore the role of identity styles and their relationship to well-being in the very different cultural context of Pakistan. Furthermore, a more challenging task was to operationalise the indicators of well-being in this very different context. Although psychological well-being is an extensively researched phenomenon, it has been operationalised in a variety of diverse ways in the identity literature and beyond.

Psychological well-being is a multi-dimensional concept, and different researchers have operationalised it in a variety of ways. According to Liu (as cited in Felce & Perry, 1995) there are as many definitions of psychological well-being as there are people studying the phenomena, since it is largely a matter of personal opinion. The subjective experience of happiness and satisfaction by the individuals has thus been termed as psychological well-being (Okun & Stock, 1987). Bradburn (1969) considered

it as a balance between positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA), and Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988) also agreed with this statement. Diener (2006) concluded that despite many and important individual differences in its causes and expressions, psychological well-being can be defined by three central components: satisfaction with present life, as people who are high in psychological well-being like their work and are satisfied with their current personal relationship; relative presence of positive affect is explained as individuals with high psychological well-being more frequently feeling pleasant emotions, mainly because they tend to evaluate the world around them in a generally positive way. And lastly, relative absence of negative affect is referred to as individuals with a strong sense of psychological well-being experiencing fewer episodes of negative emotions. Lucas and Diener (2008) further add that this affective reaction of satisfaction is generally not related to material gain or objective conditions of life only. Rather, in their opinion, psychological or subjective well-being is more a question of attitude and approach to life situations, leading to positive attitudes including cheerfulness, optimism, self-control, a sense of freedom from frustration serve as indications of psychological well-being.

Other related terms that have been associated with well-being have included human flourishing (Ryff & Singer, 1998), striving for perfection that represents the realisation of one's true potential (Ryff & Keyes, 1995) personal expressiveness (Waterman, 1993) and Sheldon and Elliot's (1999) concept of "self- concordance". Keyes, Shmotkin, and Ryff (2002) suggest that subjective and psychological well-being are conceptually related but empirically distinct. They stated that subjective well-being is evaluation of life in terms of satisfaction and balance between positive and negative affect, whereas psychological well-being entails the perception of engagement with existential challenges of life.

At a broader level, the dominant approaches to studying well-being have been termed as subjective well-being (Christopher, 1999; Diener, 1984; Diener & Lucas, 2000; Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003; Diener, Eunkook, Suh, Lucas, & Smith,1999; Ryff , 1989; Watson, et al., 1988) and eudemonic well-being (Waterman, 1990, 1993; 2011; Waterman et al., 2010). My research builds primarily on the subjective well-being literature (Diener & Lucas, 2000; Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Ryff & Singer, 1998). Such an approach emphasises the importance of a few general components such as satisfaction with life, dimensions of positive and negative affect (Diener & Lucas, 2000; Watson et al., 1988), subjective vitality, and absence of depression and anxiety (Campbell, 1990; Diener, 2006; Ryan, & Frederick, 1997).

Furthermore, subjective well-being does not simply assume the absence of negative characteristics, but rather it also includes managing these negative characteristics in a constructive fashion. Berzonsky (2003) has widely used both positive and negative indices of well-being while establishing their relationship with identity styles (see e.g. Berzonsky, 2003; Nurmi et al., 1997). Phillips and Pittman (2007) found diffuse-avoidance participants as less optimistic, having lower self-esteem, greater helplessness and higher delinquent attitude scores. On the other hand participants using informational and normative styles were not distinguished on positive well-being.

Considering the dimensionality and diversity of subjective well-being, I operationalised subjective well-being into two opposite domains, namely positive well-being (PWB) and negative well-being (NWB). My research aims to capture the dimensions of positive well-being (PWB) through the amount of satisfaction that people hold towards life, i.e., through satisfaction with life scale. Such a dimension of PWB seeks to capture global life satisfaction. (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985;

Pavot, & Diener, 1993). Second, positive affect has been well recognized as an indicator for positive well-being and reflects a person's enthusiasm, high energy and activeness (Watson et al, 1988). The third indicator for PWB in the present research is subjective vitality that reflects a positive feeling of aliveness and energy, a psychological experience of possessing enthusiasm and positive spirit towards life (Ryan & Frederick, 1997).

As described previously, psychological well-being is not merely the presence of positive well-being indicators, but rather it also includes absence or management of negative indicators of well-being. Consequently, negative well-being (NWB) of participants will be captured through indicators of negative affect. Unlike positive affect, negative affect reflects a person's subjective feeling of distress that leads to a negative mood state characterised by aversive mood states, e.g. anger, guilt, and fear (Watson et al., 1988). Since well-being involves management of negative indicators of well-being (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002), therefore my research further aims to capture such negative indicators through feelings of anxiety, stress and depression (DASS-21-Henry & Crawford, 2005).

The next sub-section takes these arguments further by exploring in more details the role of commitment formation in linking identity styles and well-being.

1.2.3 Identity Motives

A constructivist perspective on identity formation (Berzonsky, 2011) assumes that people play an active role in constructing both a sense of who they think they are and the reality within which they live. Therefore, exploring the role of motives that satisfy aspects of one's identity formation is inevitable. Tracing back from Erikson's (1950, 1963) psycho-social theory, it can be argued that humans have an innate drive for

“generativity”; after achieving successful identity formation at an adolescent age, the next stage demands the individuals to be generative, and this in turn ensures continuity in their lives. A lack of generativity can result in stagnation and a person cannot proceed to the next stage of his/her psycho-social development.

Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT) as proposed by Vignoles (2011) is a pioneering attempt to consolidate underlying motives behind identity formulation into a single theory. Vignoles (2011) has proposed that there are at least six identity motives that people tend to satisfy while formulating their sense of identities. The present study therefore makes a primary prediction that each of the three identity styles are related with conceptually corresponding identity motives. These identity motives are defined in a variety of contexts, but for the present research I adopted the definitions as described by Vignoles (2011), since I have relied upon an integrated (Motivated Identity Construction Theory) approach. Vignoles (2011, p. 403) suggests that people are motivated to see themselves in a positive light (self-esteem motive), to believe that their identities are continuous despite significant changes in their life course (the continuity motive), to believe they are distinguishable from others (the distinctiveness motive), to see their lives as meaningful (the meaning motive), to see themselves as competent and capable of influencing their environments (the efficacy motive), and as accepted within their social context (the belonging motive).

The associations between these six identity motives and identity styles have not yet been tested in a single model previously. I found it interesting to explore the individual role of these six motives in information processing for identify formulation. There is, though, less accumulated research evidence on the relationship between identity motives, identity styles and well-being. However, there appears to be a strong relationship between identity styles and causality orientations (Luyckx, Soenens,

Berzonsky, Smits, Goossens, & Vansteenkiste, 2007; Smits, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Luyckx, & Goossens, 2010; Soenens et al., 2005) and this established link may give a direction to the expected relationship. Soenens et al. (2005) have found that there is a significant relationship between information style and autonomous orientation, normative style and controlled orientation and diffuse avoidant style and impersonal orientation. Luyckx et al. (2007) also identified a relationship between motivational orientations and identity styles and psychological well-being in line with previous findings because information style is seen as being related positively with autonomous orientation, which results in increased well-being, and diffuse-avoidant style is related with impersonal orientation leading to low well-being.

In the present research, I relied on exploring the role of identity motives separately, rather than relying on the integrated causality orientation of motives, because controlled, autonomous and impersonal motives cannot capture the uniqueness of motives behind identity formation. On the other hand, Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT), captures and operationalises the unique characteristics of identity motives and can help in identifying the unique role each motive can play behind identity formation and its impact on resultant well-being. The present research foresees psychological well-being as an outcome of healthy identity style, and past research provides a baseline for this assumption. My research further aims to explore how identity motives mediate this well-established theoretical link (Berzonsky, 2003; Nurmi et al., 1997; Deci & Ryan, 2000). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the relationship between identity styles and motivation is well established in theory tracing back to Erikson's work. However, it is interesting to explore how this relationship occurs and operates in varied and different cultural context. The following section therefore

summarises theories describing cross-cultural differences over identity formation and well-being.

1.3 Cultural Perspectives on Identity Formation

1.3.1 The Cultural Context

Berzonsky's (2011) identity styles theory suggests that the effectiveness of any identity style is considered to be an interactive function of individuals and environmental contexts; the demands and consequences on the environment determine the functional utility of a particular style. It can be seen from the literature cited above that the functional utility of an identity style depends on the culture and context where that style is formulated and adopted for identity construction. In Berzonsky's (2011) opinion, in relatively stable tradition-oriented contexts, a normative style appears to be quite functional. In technologically advanced Western cultures characterised by relatively rapid change and transition, an informational style may be more adaptive than a normative one. Likewise, a diffuse-avoidant identity style may maximise adaptive flexibility in a relativistic, post-modern world. Therefore, it is apparent that although information orientation is considered to be the most adaptive and mature identity construction, the effectiveness of a style depends on the demands and circumstances of social and cultural environment.

Existing literature, although small in amount, suggests that different cultural contexts may add to the functional value of a particular identity style. Moreover, the nature of decisions to be taken also determines the utility of an identity style. For example, normative style has been found to be relatively adaptive for some individuals belonging to modern Western cultures with respect to decisions such as career planning, educational involvement, and self-regulation (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000, 2005). The literature on identity provides a small amount of evidence of cultural differences in

identity consistency and well-being (e.g., Berman, You, Schwartz, Teo, Mochizuki. 2011).

It is however important to understand how "culture" is defined in such studies. An important factor for cross-cultural differences is the identification of particular characteristics that become the defining markers of a pertinent culture. There are many well established definitions for describing and defining culture at a broader macro-level (Cole, 1990; Erez & Gati, 2004; Lonner & Malpass, 1994) and there are many theories that capture the nature of cultural differences across the globe (Hofstede, 1991; P.B. Smith, 2011; Trafimow & Davis, 1993; Triandis, Brislin, & Hui, 1988; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990).

For instance, such cultural differences are widely described and debated in terms of binary or bipolar dimensions of culture. One of the most widely used and well cited cultural differentiations is the division between individualistic and collectivist cultures (see e.g., Hofstede, 1980, 1991, 2001; Triandis, 1995, 2001), and this distinction has been the topic of an extensive debate over the last two decades (Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Smith, Bond & Kagitcibasi, 2006; Triandis, Chan, Bhawuk, Iwao, & Sinha, 1995).

Identity is differentially manifested and expressed according to cultural context. Relying on the notion of a collectivist-individualistic dimension, in collectivist cultures the group identity supersedes the individual identity because of the cultural expectations of conformity, norms and values (see e.g., P. B. Smith, 2011). In such a culture, the collective or common good is generally regarded as more important than individual well-being (Kalyanpur & Harry, 1999; Triandis, 1995; Zuniga, 1998) and intergroup homogeneity is higher in collectivist culture than in individualistic cultures (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). On the other hand, in individualistic cultures the well-being

of the individuals takes a central position. Individual identity supersedes the group identity in such cultures (P. B. Smith, 2011). These cultures appreciate individual autonomy, and social hierarchy is relatively less strict in such a cultural context. People in an individualistic cultural context take their decisions more independently, are autonomous to explore their options and found as relatively assertive and aggressive in an attempt to establish their identity as distinct from others.

Another conceptually parallel approach to describe cultural differences has been proposed by Markus and Kitayama (1991). Conceptually parallel implies that it is difficult to distinguish between self-construals and individualism-collectivism. Cross, Hardin, and Gercek-Swing (2010) described both as being conceptually related, but in their opinion, individualism-collectivism is a dimension used to describe cultures, whereas self-construal describes individuals. Markus and Kitayama's (1991) model suggests that self-construals mediate the influence of culture on behaviour. Markus and Kitayama's (1991; 2003) discussion of culture and the self construals has therefore become extremely influential and well-cited (Matsumoto, 1999; Trung, 2005; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994) and self-construals have been used to explain a wide range of psychological variables and behaviours, including cognitive styles, well-being, social anxiety, self-regulation, self-esteem, communication styles, and pro-social behaviour (see Cross et al., 2010; Gudykunst & Lee, 2003; Levine et al., 2003; P B. Smith, 2011).

The classifications of cultures as described in the preceding paragraphs divide the world into two comparable domains, in which Eastern and Western cultures are portrayed as being in a state of comparison to each other on domains of how independent/individualist or interdependent/collectivist they are. I nevertheless remain cautious in relying too heavily upon these well-established traditional classifications

and classical findings of identity differences nested upon such classifications. While strictly following these classical categorisations of culture there are chances that we may tend to over emphasise, exaggerate, undermine, overlook or completely ignore the existence of some phenomenon that are very unique to a pertinent culture under discussion. Quite recently Vignoles and colleagues (2015) proposed a multidimensional approach to cultural model of selfhood, in which they broke down the classical categorisation of independent and interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and found a mixed pattern of self-construals, encompassing 63 cultural groups, across 35 nations. Additionally, they proposed a seven dimensional model of ways of being independent as against being interdependent. They further argued that a simple contrast and comparison between independent and interdependent does not capture the diversity in self-construals across a wider range of societies. This finding is encouraging and suggests the necessity for indigenous theories and indigenous models to counter the dominant Western cultural bias. In addition, it will be helpful in finding ways of understanding culture beyond the traditional and classical dimensions of cultural categorisations.

The primary motive behind my current investigation was, therefore, to explore the phenomenon of identity styles, and psychological well-being in collectivist/interdependent cultures such as Pakistan. Consequently, in order to make some empirical assertions within the Pakistani context, it is now essential to understand Pakistani culture beyond the existing classical definitions and categories of literature on culture.

1.3.2 Pakistani Culture as the Context of the Present Study

Pakistan is a particularly interesting place and context within which to test the identity styles and their impact on resultant well-being. Pakistan is a relatively newly

established state, being formed from the partition of South Asia in 1947, but it has its roots in several other cultural orientations as a result of its history of wars and invasions, notably the Persian invasions, Arab invasions, Turkish invasions, and British imperialism (Alvi, 2002; Cooper & Berdal, 1993; Kaufmann, 1998; Jalal, 1995). In addition to these, the subcontinent's partition in 1947 led to many fundamental social transformations that have had a very significant influence on its peoples ever since (Marsden, 2005). According to Marsden (2005), Pakistani specialists describe Pakistani Islam as unique and distinct from its broader South Asian past and that of neighbouring Middle Eastern Islamic countries. Moreover, Pakistan was explicitly created as a nationalist ideology based on religion. Verkaaik (1999) argues this nationalist ideology stated that the new state of Pakistan was not simply based on Islam, or ideals of Muslim community, but rather that the ideology had adaptive functions that also incorporated the importance of modern education and independent reasoning. Under this nationalist ideology, some practices were rejected as being traditional, backward or a remainder of Hindu colonialism. Religion in Pakistan is described as a state matter rather than a personal mater (Hoodbhoy & Nayyar, 1985). This complex situation has given rise to multiple factors and multifaceted manifestations of identity formation in Pakistan, which include the impact of religion, region, cast, nationalism creed, gender and language, at historical, institutional and ecological levels.

It is important to reflect upon the contemporary features of the cultural context of Pakistan apart from its historical features. The contemporary fanatical religious groups and movements that have emerged in Pakistan over the last couple of decades have changed the means of exhibiting one's identity in terms of appearance and clothing (see e.g., Ahmed, 2008). Ahmed (2008) explored how some religious institutions first alter their ideology and behaviour, and then encourage others to alter theirs in order to

fit to a prototype of a true “Muslim”. This has given rise to a conflict between religious identity and cultural identity (see e.g., Bolognani, 2007; Gilmartin 1988). Even within religion, an institutionalised religious identity is more prevalent in contemporary Pakistan.

At a broader level, Pakistan has been described as a collectivist culture, having interdependent self-construal, in contrast to the more individualistic culture of the West. Gelfand et al. (2011), using data from 33 nations, have described Pakistan as ranking the highest in what they term “tight culture”. Here, “tight” implies cultures that have strong norms and a low tolerance for deviant behaviour. In contrast, the opposite term “loose” implies cultures having weak norms and a high tolerance for deviant behaviour. They further elaborated that “ecological and human made threats increase the need for strong norms and punishment of deviant behaviour in the service for social coordination for survival” (Gelfand et al, 2011, p.1101). In summary, they suggested that nations facing particular challenges such as scarcity of resources, high population density, fighting with diseases and natural disasters, having agricultural lands, and defending against territorial threats, are more likely to develop strong norms and have very low tolerance for deviant behaviour. Nations with less ecological and human threats have much lower need for order and hold weaker norms, and greater adaptability for deviance. Seemingly, the highest score of Pakistan on tightness suggests that it is a highly normative society.

These ecological, historical and contemporary circumstances of Pakistan suggest that ever since its foundation it has faced particularly difficult challenges that have threatened its very survival. The ideological foundation of Pakistan has blurred the lines between culture and religion and a combination of both. These mark Pakistan as being very different from the “Western” contexts where theories on identity formation

have previously been developed, and it therefore provides an interesting context in which to explore their relevance and validity.

1.3.3 Gender and Identity

On a broader level, the literature on identity describes, discusses and focuses on many gender differences, and differential motives have been identified for male and female while making their sense of identity (see e.g., Barker, 2009; Bussy, 2011). But whilst precisely focusing on identity formation processes, relatively fewer gender differences are found. It is however imperative to note that such differences are identified through mean differences among males and females. For example, Kroger (1997) found minimal patterns of gender differences among college participants from New Zealand, men and woman used similar psychological structures to address identity related issues, and undergo similar developmental processes in transition from one identity structure to another. Nonetheless, a few studies primarily done on sample from North America, have found males scoring higher on diffuse-avoidance (Berzonsky & Kinney, 2008; Philips & Pittman, 2007) and females scored higher on normative identity style (Soenens et al., 2005), and information orientation (Berzonsky, 1992, 2008; Philips & Pittman, 2007). On the other hand, there are a number of studies that found non-significant mean differences between males and females (see for example, Berzonsky, 1989a, 1993b; 1994; Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994). So the research at a broader level portrayed role of gender as ambivalent.

However, overall gender did not moderate the relationship between identity styles and other psychological variables for example causality orientations (Soenens, et al., 2005) and defence mechanisms (Berzonsky & Kinney, 2008). Berzonsky (2011) postulated a question “Does gender qualify relationships between identity styles and other variables?” (p.67). He answered this as “no” for the most part.

The reason for these findings may not be clear, but Berzonsky and Kinney (2008) suggested identifying the contributions of gender role stereotypes and differences in parenting that might contribute to such differences in identity styles of men and women. Therefore, the ambivalence of the role of gender in identity formation can be due to lack of understanding the context where identify is formulated. Bussey (2011) described gender as a collective category, in which she further elaborates that social influences are built on biological differences between the genders to heighten gender differentiation. This highlights the importance of understanding the cultural context where identities are established, to more precisely understand the role of gender. Bussey (2011) further argues that in cultural contexts where gender equity is valued and legally sanctioned, people have considerably more flexibility in the extent to which gender influences their identity and life course. On other hand, in cultural contexts where women have fewer rights, there is little choice about the pervasive influence of gender on a woman's identity and life course.

As it is noted earlier the gender in relation to identity styles is primarily investigated in the Western cultural context. The present study is therefore designed to explore how gender operates as a moderator for identity formation in Pakistani culture. Pakistan has been widely descried as a patriarchal society (Frederick & Bertsch, 2013; Kandiyoti, 1988; Littrell & Bertsch, 2013; Moghadam, 1992; Moghadam, 2004). It is quite likely that salience of gender in identity formation might occur at a more complex level in a patriarchal culture of Pakistan than what is established in Western studies. According to Isran and Isran (2012) different social controls are applied to control women's social and economic behaviour at varied levels of society. They further added that such a central and systematic form of control is patriarchy. Therefore, exploring gender differences in terms of identity formation, and identity structure in a patriarchal

society such as Pakistan may lead to the identification of gender differences that might not have been prevalent in Western cultures. This increases our caution to assume generalisability of identity styles across gender in Pakistan.

1.3.4 Identity Formation: An Indigenous Perspective

The literature cited in the previous sections reflects the serious dearth of indigenous theories and measures for investigating the processes of identity formation in Pakistan. According to Poortinga and Malpass (1986), the history of psychology has shown various examples of sweeping generalisations that have been made about cross-cultural differences in terms of abilities and traits of respective populations. In order to avoid such sweeping over generalisations they suggested that it is essential to demonstrate the absence of bias rather than simply assuming it. For this reason, in the present research I used a mixed methods approach that comprised both qualitative and quantitative techniques to explore the bias and cultural equivalence on measures in a systematic manner.

Further, in order to understand identity formation in the indigenous context of Pakistan, four important considerations need to be taken into account. First, a small number of studies have already been conducted in Pakistan on identity and its related issues including well-being (Gillani, 1999; 2005; Imtiaz & Naqvi, 2012; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2011; Siddique, 2011; Tariq, 2012). However, these studies relied quite heavily on Western theorisation and measures of identity formulation. Interestingly, some newer cross-cultural studies have begun to generate a debate as to whether there is a Western cultural bias underlying such theoretical models that have imported Western theories to non-Western contexts (e.g., Berman, et al., 2011; Benet-Martinez, 2002; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002; Pederson, 1987; S. J., Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz, et al., 2006; Smith & Long, 2006). It is therefore

important to test the applicability of the Identity Styles Inventory constructed in the USA (ISI-5, Berzonsky et al. 2013) in the cultural context of Pakistan before drawing any conclusions based upon such a measure, because previous research in Pakistan has reported lower predictive power for identity styles, especially with reference to the normative style (e.g., Tariq, 2012).

Second, if the identity styles are generalizable across cultures, as claimed by Berzonsky (2011), then both the structure of the measures and their correlations with other variables should be consistent between the Pakistani sample and other samples where the ISI has been used. Therefore, the present study aims to examine the associations between the variables of identity styles, commitment and well-being in the context of Pakistan. It further aims to explore what motives people adopt to satisfy aspects of their identity and whether gender has any effect on moderating such a relationship among identity formation, well-being and identity motives. This will help in drawing additional insights and nuances to try to account for more of the variability in the data from Pakistan than has been generated by earlier models.

Third, the findings of these two studies should help to establish whether identity styles and their relationship with the above mentioned psychological variables are indeed applicable to the specific cultural context of Pakistan, and if not, it will extend and complement previous research to explore qualitatively the processes that adolescents and young adults from Pakistan employ while forming their identities.

Fourth, identification of such indigenous processes of identity formation should facilitate the construction of representative measures to capture dimensions of identity formation in Pakistan. This will pave the way for creating theoretical counter-arguments coming from the indigenous perspective of non-Western societies such as Pakistan. Building on these, a more comprehensive overall model of identity formation can be

proposed that expands the work of previous researchers, such as Berzonsky (2011), and which could in the future be applied and tested in a wider cross-cultural context. The thesis explicitly seeks to draw on non-Western experiences, insights and data to help develop a more widely applicable theory of identity style formation. Finally, the thesis recognises that quantitative and qualitative approaches offer different kinds of insights, and it therefore aims to combine both to help develop this more comprehensive understanding of identity formation.

1.4 Overview of Research

This concluding section provides an overview of the arguments that follow in the four papers that comprise this thesis. I have described in the literature review in this chapter how identity develops and evolves from diverse yet related theoretical perspectives, its implications in different cultural context, the possible role that gender can play, and how individuals are motivated to construct their sense of self and identity. As I have mentioned earlier, there is not much empirical evidence from Asian cultures to test the associations among these variables. Therefore, I investigated these ideas through three exploratory studies conducted over the last three years, which are presented here in four papers.

Given the lack of indigenous measures available to measure identity styles for Pakistani youth, I began by relying on the very well-known measure of identity styles as designed by Berzonsky et al. (2013). Paper 1 therefore provides a confirmatory factor analysis of his Identity Style Inventory-5 (ISI-5) (Berzonsky et al., 2013) for my data from Pakistan. Identity styles including informational, normative and diffuse-avoidant identities have been studied widely across North America and Europe, but very infrequently in “non-Western” cultures. In Paper 1, I therefore tested the factorial structure of ISI-5 and evaluated the functioning of individual items among 479

adolescent and young adult participants from Pakistan. The findings support the predicted three-factor solution, but only when numerous poorly-performing items were deleted, in particular from the normative identity style. These findings suggest the possibility of a construct bias in identity styles as they have been operationalised in Western cultures, since they cannot effectively show the equivalence to represent identity construction amongst Pakistani youth. It also suggests a need to generate more representative items in a culture such as Pakistan that has tight norms, where normative orientations are likely to occur at a more complex level. In Paper 1, I further tested the associations between identity styles and value priorities. Consistent with previous research in Western cultures, the normative style predicted conservation (vs. openness to change) values and lower hedonism; and the diffuse-avoidant style predicted greater hedonism; however, the informational style did not predict openness to change (vs. conservation) values. Paper 1 concludes that Berzonsky's three identity styles are distinguishable in a non-Western culture such as Pakistan, but that the ISI may not fully capture the breadth and complexity of identity formation processes in particular normative orientations among Pakistani youth (for a detailed description of resource material used in this study see Appendix 1.)

Using further measures from the same study, Paper 2 explores the relationships between identity styles and well-being in the cultural context of Pakistan. It also aims to explore the role of gender as a moderator of these relationships. This study tested the associations between identity styles, commitment and their impact on well-being as proposed by Berzonsky. In addition, it investigates the relatively less explored role of identity motives (meaning, efficacy, self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness and belonging) in mediating the relationship between identity styles and well-being. As well as using the identity inventory, I used confirmatory factor analysis for all other

measures to refine the measures for Pakistani sample (for a detailed description of resource material used in this study see Appendix 1). Well-being was predicted positively by information orientation and negatively by diffuse-avoidant orientation in the Pakistani sample. At a broader level, contrary to what was expected, the normative orientation in Pakistani culture remained a non-significant predictor of psychological well-being. Identity commitment and satisfaction of identity motives partially mediate these links, and such mediation occurs at relatively more complex levels for women than men. Such differences from previous Western findings reflect that the tightly normative and highly gendered nature of Pakistani society, and supports the case for the indigenous theorisation and measurement of identity formation among people from Pakistan, and probably other similar cultures as well.

The findings of Papers 1 and 2 reflect the ambivalence of normative orientations in Pakistani culture, as theoretically such an orientation should have led to better psychological adjustment, rather than having a null effect on well-being. This suggests that there might be different or alternative patterns of identity formation in particular normative orientations in Pakistani culture. I further extended and complemented the research in the previous quantitative studies to explore qualitatively such social, cultural, religious and personal aspects of identity formation that might be operating in a different way in Pakistan to what has previously been established in the Western literature. As described above, Western theories of identity formation (e.g., Berzonsky, 2011) provide a relatively negative view of normative orientation, and see normative orientation as a mechanistic and mindless effort to adhere to authority. Paper 3 therefore consists of an analysis of semi-structured interviews with 12 Pakistani young adults, using the approaches of thematic analysis and recommendations from interpretative phenomenological analysis (see Appendix II for interview guideline). The data revealed

that adhering to norms in Pakistani culture involves much more complex and active levels of information processing than would be expected from existing Western models. Participants described a variety of ways in which they sought to reconcile normative expectations (parental, religious, and cultural) with their personal interests and preferences, when deciding about their careers, relationships, and values. This suggests that normative orientation is not merely an automatic and mindless process; exploration works in combination with *normativeness* at three main levels: (i) when congruence is maintained between norms and personal interests to secure personal and social benefit; (ii) negotiation occurs between norms and personal interests when norms are brought into line with personal interests within normative boundaries, and varying credibility is associated with different forms of norm.; and (iii) a conflict occurs between norms and personal interests when both come into conflict with each other. In Pakistani culture, normative influences seemingly often play a more positive and flexible role in identity formation than has been suggested by previous Western research. This research finding necessitated a need to develop an indigenous measure that is representative of such processes of identity formation in Pakistan.

Hence, Paper 4 focuses on the construction and psychometric testing of possible new measures of normative orientation suitable for use in Pakistan. Based upon the data from the qualitative interviews, I generated an item pool comprising 44 declarative items measuring processes of identity formation including congruence, negotiation and conflict while following norms. Moreover, three additional questions required participants to think about decision domains that define “who you are”, namely which education/career path to follow, when and with whom to start a relationship, and which values should guide your life (see Appendix III for item pool, list of measures and all other resource material used in this study). An Exploratory Factor (EFA) analysis of

these items suggests four factors measuring “normative orientations” and three factors providing a measure of “sources of influence on identity formation”. Analyses suggests that these newly generated scales better measured the aspects of normative orientations that had not previously been addressed and served as better predictors for well-being, commitment and self-determination, in comparison to identity styles as operationalized by Berzonsky et al. (2013). I propose using these measures in future research to measure aspects of identity in the cultural context of Pakistan.

2. PAPER 1: Researching Identity Styles in Pakistan: Confirmatory Factor Analysis and associations with Value Orientations

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2.1.Abstract

Identity styles are social-cognitive approaches that individuals adopt when dealing with identity-related issues. Berzonsky (1989a) developed the Identity Styles Inventory (ISI) to assess informational, normative and diffuse-avoidant identity styles. At least five versions of this measure have been introduced to date. Identity styles have been studied widely across North America and Europe, but very infrequently in "non-Western" cultures. We tested the factorial structure of the latest such inventory, ISI-5, and evaluated the functioning of individual items among 479 young adult participants from cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad in Pakistan. Our findings support the predicted three-factor solution, but only when numerous poorly-performing items are deleted. We further tested associations between identity styles and value priorities. Consistent with previous research in Western cultures, the normative style predicted conservation (vs. openness to change) values and lower hedonism; and the diffuse-avoidant style predicted greater hedonism; however, the informational style did not predict openness to change (vs. conservation) values. We conclude that Berzonsky's three identity styles are distinguishable in a non-Western culture such as Pakistan, but that the ISI may not fully capture the breadth and complexity of identity formation processes among Pakistani youth.

Keywords: *Identity styles; confirmatory factor analysis; value orientations; culture*

2.2.Introduction

This study tests the applicability of Berzonsky's (1989a, 2011) theoretical distinction between informational, normative, and diffuse-avoidant identity styles in a non-Western context, specifically that of Pakistan. The Identity Styles Inventory (ISI: Berzonsky, 1989-2013) has been extensively used to measure individual differences in identity construction, especially in Western culture, and the three identity styles are generally assumed to apply universally (Berzonsky, 2011). Our study had two main objectives: First, we examined the factorial structure of the ISI items among a sample of 479 Pakistani adolescents and young adults; and second, we explored the correlations between identity styles and value orientations to ascertain how these may be similar or different to those observed in Western contexts. Pakistan is an important context in which to study identity styles, because previous research suggested that Berzonsky's (2011) arguments may not be fully supported there (e.g., Tariq, 2012). Pakistan is often described as being representative of a "collectivist" culture, in contrast to the more "individualist" cultures of North America and Western Europe, where much of the research on identity styles has previously been conducted.

2.2.1. Identity Formation: Theories and Measurement

A considerable amount of research on identity formation has been conducted following the pioneering theoretical work of Erikson (1950). In his later work, Erikson (1968) described identity formation as a crucial developmental task that adolescents must negotiate if they are successfully to navigate the transition to adulthood. Over the 60 years since Erikson's initial writings on identity formation, several theorists have elaborated on his conceptualization and theoretical propositions about identity formation in adolescence and during the transition to adulthood. S. J. Schwartz (2001) described Erikson's definition of identity formation as multidimensional, broad and

elusive, as Erikson (1950) wrote clinically and abstractly, rather than developing empirical approaches to identity.

Erikson's (1950, 1963) ideas have inspired a considerable amount of subsequent research, particularly the work of Marcia (1966), Berzonsky (1989), Grotevant (1987), Waterman (1990), and Côté and Levine (1987, 2002). These authors have elaborated upon Erikson's work, studying identity formation from developmental and social-cognitive perspectives. In particular, Marcia (1966, 1980) and Berzonsky (1989a) have played a prominent role in operationalising and establishing empirical instruments based upon the ideas proposed by Erikson (1950). Marcia (1966) has thus framed identity formation as defined by dimensions of "exploration" and "commitment". Exploration refers to sorting through various potential choices, and commitment refers to deciding to adhere to one or more of the options considered. Marcia further divided these dimensions into "high" versus "low" and subdivided them to derive four identity statuses: *(a) Identity Achievement*, where exploration is followed by commitment; (b) *Moratorium*, where exploration is underway, but no commitment has been made; (c) *Foreclosure*, where commitments are made without prior exploration; and (d) *Diffusion* where there has been neither exploration nor commitment.

Building on the identity status model, and adopting a constructivist epistemological approach where people are viewed as active agents who develop their own identities, Berzonsky's (1989a) theory of identity styles focuses on the cognitive processes that individuals use to formulate a sense of who they are and the reality within which they live. Berzonsky (1989a) described these processes as giving rise to three *identity styles*, labelled as informational, normative and diffuse-avoidant. According to Berzonsky (1988, 1989a), people with an *Informational Style* actively and deliberately seek out, elaborate and evaluate self-relevant information, whereas those with a

Normative Style conform to the normative expectations held by significant others and reference groups, and those with a *Diffuse-Avoidant style* tend to procrastinate or avoid confronting identity-related issues.

Berzonsky (1988, 1989a) suggests that these identity styles underlie Marcia's (1966) identity statuses: an informational style underlies moratorium and achievement, a normative style underlies foreclosure, and a diffuse-avoidant style underlies diffusion. The styles are viewed as characterological and enduring, such that by late adolescence each individual is likely to have adopted a "dominant" style that she or he will use throughout their life.

2.2.2. Identity Style Inventory: Correlates, and Application across Cultures

The Identity Style Inventory (ISI) is the most widely used instrument to assess and measure the three identity styles (Bosch & Card, 2012). In his initial attempts to operationalize and measure identity styles, Berzonsky (1989) devised the ISI-1. As of 2013, six versions, including a revision of the ISI-4, had been constructed: ISI-1 (Berzonsky, 1989), ISI-2 (Berzonsky, 1992a), ISI-3 (Berzonsky, 1992b), ISI-4 (Smits, Soenens, Luyckx, Berzonsky, Goossens, Kunnen, & Bosma, 2009), ISI-4 Revised (Berzonsky, Soenens, Luyckx, Goossens, Dunkel, & Papini, 2011) and ISI-5 (Berzonsky, Soenens, Luyckx, Smits, & Papini, 2013). Researchers have tested the association of identity styles with numerous psychological variables: identity statuses (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994), psychological well-being (Philips & Pittman, 2007; Vleioras & Bosma, 2005), causality orientations (Smits, Soenens, Vansteekiste, Luyckx, & Goossens, 2010), value orientations (Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez, & Soenens, 2011; Berzonsky & Papini, 2014), cognitive reasoning processes (Berzonsky et al., 2013), parenting (Smits, Soenens, Luyckx, Duriez, Berzonsky, & Goossens, 2008) and personality traits (Dollinger, 1995), to name a few.

The ISI has also been used across cultures. According to Berzonsky (2011, 2013), English or translated versions of the ISI have been used in numerous countries, including Australia, Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, Slovakia, and Turkey. Most of these countries, though, are in what is widely referred to as the "Western" world, being in Europe, North America and Oceania. In contrast, very little previous research has been published using the Identity Styles Inventory in so-called "non-Western" countries (although for two exceptions, see Crocetti & Shokri, 2010; Xu, 2009). Relationships between identity styles and other correlates have tended to be consistent across the limited range of cultural contexts sampled (e.g., Berzonsky, Macek, & Nurmi, 2003; Crocetti & Shokri, 2010; Krettenauer, 2005; Soenens, Duriez, & Goossens, 2005). Based upon such limited empirical evidence, Berzonsky (2011) has claimed that identity styles are indeed generalisable across cultures, implying that the ISI measures capture universally applicable styles underlying identity formation. Our research is designed to examine such an assumption.

It is important to look carefully at how the ISI has been used in other cultures and what psychometric support exists for this, so that its use in influencing policy and practice in diverse cultural contexts can be appropriately justified. According to Berzonsky (2011) and Berzonsky et al. (2013), psychometric properties of the ISI-3 in particular, when translated and used in various cultures, have been acceptable. However, the psychometric properties of the ISI versions have typically been evaluated only in terms of reliabilities in these studies. Berzonsky et al. (2013, p. 895) note that the range of alpha coefficients for the ISI-3 subscales range from 0.60 to 0.75. However, compared to the other identity styles, the normative identity style is generally found to have lower reliability in some such studies, especially in those where the original

version has been translated into different languages (Berzonsky, 2011). Moreover, no published study that we are aware of has yet evaluated the item-level factorial structure of any of the ISI measures beyond their cultures of origin. Our first goal in the present investigation is therefore to test the item-level factor structure of the ISI-5 in a non-Western country such as Pakistan.

2.2.3. Validating the ISI in other Cultures: the example of Pakistan

Pakistan has been described in many contrasting ways, as a "nation", as a "culture", and even as a "nation comprising different cultural groups" (Fiske, 2002). Above all, though, it has been described as having been established specifically on a nationalist religious ideology (Jalal, 1995). At the time of its independence from India in 1947, Pakistan's national status was based upon specific religious and cultural values (Alvi, 2002; Marsden, 2005). Under this nationalistic religious ideology, some traditional practices were rejected as being backward or a remainder of Hindu colonialism. This has given rise to multiple and complex influences on identity formation in the country, including the impacts of religion, region, caste, nationalism, creed, and language, at historical, institutional and ecological levels. These mark Pakistan as being very different from the "Western" contexts where theories on identity formation were originally developed. Pakistani culture can thus provide an interesting context for testing the cross-cultural validity of identity styles. In a major recent study of 33 nations, Gelfand et al. (2011) have described Pakistan as having the "tightest" norms of all nations sampled, whereas the US was characterized by relatively loose norms and openness to diversity. Thus, Pakistan appears to provide an appropriate alternative context to examine how the ISI, constructed in the US and validated in other Western nations, works in such a different cultural context.

Only one previous, unpublished, study has tested any version of the ISI in Pakistan. In her PhD study, Tariq (2012) conducted confirmatory and exploratory analyses of the ISI-4 (Smits et al., 2009) among a sample of 150 Pakistani adolescents. She found barely acceptable reliabilities for the informational style ($\alpha = .60$) and diffuse-avoidant style ($\alpha = .60$), and poor reliability for the normative style ($\alpha = .46$). Furthermore, a measurement model using the original scoring algorithm provided an unacceptable fit to the data (CFI = .59, RMSEA = .07). To address these problems, with the help of a committee of experts, she reviewed each item on the basis of its content and loading and reassigned many items to different style categories. For example, a diffuse/avoidant item ("*I try to avoid personal situations that require me to think a lot and deal with them on my own"*) and an informational item ("*I have a definite set of values that I use to make personal decisions"*) were reassigned to the normative identity style, because the committee believed that both of these items reflected dependency on others. However, such an approach reduces the extent to which the identity styles are independent to each other and creates scales that bear an unclear relationship to Berzonsky's (1989a) original constructs.

Other than Tariq's (2012) study in Pakistan, validation studies of the ISI in Italian (Crocetti, Rubini, Berzonsky, & Meeus, 2009) and Iranian samples (Crocetti & Shokri, 2010) provide useful comparators in terms of the methodological approaches that authors have used in different cultural contexts. In these studies, the authors relied on item parcelling to determine the factorial structure of the ISI. Perhaps because of the parcelling approach, the three-factor solution was confirmed without losing any items from the style subscales in these studies. Item parcelling is a useful way of creating just-identified latent variables for use in structural models when the factorial structure of the measures has already been established (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman,

2002). However, parcelling does not provide a way of testing whether individual items are performing as expected, because the items are combined with each other and cannot be separated.

2.2.4. The Present Study

In the current study, our first goal was to provide a more adequate test of the factorial structure of the ISI-5 items in our Pakistani sample. Thus, we ran a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) using individual items, rather than item parcels (cf. Crocetti et al., 2009; Crocetti & Shokri, 2010). This allowed us to identify items with low loadings, as well as those that did not load cleanly on their target factor. Eliminating, rather than reclassifying, poorly loading and cross-loading items (cf. Tariq, 2012) would help create a more valid instrument to measure Berzonsky's (1989a) theoretical constructs in a new cultural context. Moreover, examining which items performed better or worse might reveal subtle differences in the meanings of the three identity styles in a non-Western culture such as Pakistan.

Second, if the identity styles are generalizable across cultures, as claimed by Berzonsky (2011), then *both* the structure of the measures *and* their correlations with other variables should be consistent between our Pakistani sample and other samples with which the ISI has been used. Therefore, in the present study we aimed to examine the associations between identity styles and value orientations (S.H. Schwartz, 1992, 2007).

Like identity styles, value orientations are cognitive dimensions that form an important basis for making major life decisions, and developing a clear set of values is also seen as one of the main outcomes of identity formation (Erikson, 1950; Marcia, 1966). S.H. Schwartz' model of individual-level value priorities has been extensively validated across a wide range of cultural contexts (S.H. Schwartz, 1994a, 2007; S.H.

Schwartz et al., 2001). The model comprises 10 individual values, organized in a circumplex structure defined by two higher-order bipolar dimensions. The first bipolar dimension, *openness to change versus conservation*, captures the conflict between values that emphasise independence (self-direction, stimulation) and values that emphasise order and self-restriction (tradition, conformity, security). The second bipolar dimension, *self-transcendence versus self-enhancement*, contrasts values that emphasise empathy and interest for others (universalism, benevolence) with those that prioritise one's own self-interest and dominance over others (achievement, power). One value, *hedonism*, is less well captured by the two bipolar dimensions, because it is related to both openness and self-enhancement (S.H. Schwartz, 2007) and so it is treated separately here.

Theoretically, openness to change values are closely aligned with the definition of an informational identity style, where the individual makes their own decisions (self-direction) and is interested in exploring new experiences (stimulation); whereas conservation values are more aligned with the theoretical definition of a normative identity style, where the individual follows what is expected of them by close others and by society (tradition, conformity). It is less clear how the second bipolar dimension, self-enhancement versus self-transcendence, should relate theoretically to identity styles. Finally, the individual value, hedonism, implies a carefree approach to life with little concern for others that might be characteristic of those using a diffuse-avoidant style but uncharacteristic of those using a normative style.

Two previous studies have supported this pattern of associations among Western samples: Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez and Soenens (2011) in Poland, and Berzonsky and Papini (2014) in the USA found that the informational identity style positively predicted openness (vs. conservation) values, whereas the normative orientation

positively predicted conservation (vs. openness) values. They also reported that hedonism was predicted positively by diffuse-avoidance and negatively by a normative style. Additionally, the informational style predicted self-transcendent (vs. self-enhancing) values in both studies, whereas other predictive relations were inconsistent across the two studies.

For the present research, we expected to find similar associations between value orientations and identity styles within our Pakistani sample. In particular, we expected that the bipolar dimension of openness to change (vs. conservation) would be positively predicted by an informational style and negatively predicted by a normative style, and that the individual value of hedonism would be positively predicted by a diffuse-avoidant style, but negatively predicted by a normative style.

2.3.Method

2.3.1. Participants and Procedure

Participants were 479 students (286 females, 192 males: 59% females; 52% undergraduates; 48% postgraduates) from six universities in Islamabad and Rawalpindi (Pakistan), recruited from classes or through printed advertisements. Islamabad is a metropolitan city and the capital of Pakistan; Rawalpindi is adjacent to Islamabad. We distributed paper copies of our questionnaire to all students in the sample. Participants were aged 18 to 25 years (M = 21.86; SD = 1.89). The research received approval from the research ethics committee of our home university in the United Kingdom. Approvals from Vice Chancellors/Directors at the respective Pakistani universities were obtained prior to data collection. Participation was voluntary, and no compensation was provided. Participants were briefed regarding the purpose of the study, and written consent was obtained. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured. Data were collected in classrooms, and all participants were informed that they could withdraw at any point

in the study. After the study, participants were debriefed and given an opportunity to request a summary of findings.

2.3.2. Measures

2.3.3. Identity Styles Inventory. Identity styles were assessed using ISI-5 (Berzonsky et al, 2013), which includes 9 items for each of the three styles. Each ISI-5 item was responded to using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Not at all like me) to 5 (Very much like me). The ISI-5 assesses use of three identity styles including: informational orientation (e.g., "*I handle problems in my life by actively reflecting on them"*); normative orientation (e.g., *"I strive to achieve the goals that my family and friends hold for me*"); and diffuse-avoidance orientation (e.g., "*When personal problems arise, I try to delay acting as long as possible*").

2.3.4. Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ). Participants completed the PVQ-21 (S.H. Schwartz, 2007). Each PVQ item comprises two sentences describing the goals, aspirations and wishes of a person of the same gender as the participant. For example, the statement "*Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to her(him). She(He) likes to do things in her(his) own original way*" reflects Self-Direction, one component of openness to change values. Respondents rated each portrait, using a six-point scale ranging from 1 (Very much like me) to 6 (Not like me at all). For the present study, all items were reverse-scored, so that higher numbers indicated stronger endorsement of the value in question. The PVQ-21 includes two items measuring each of self-direction, power, achievement, security, stimulation, conformity, tradition, benevolence and hedonism, and three items measuring universalism. Following S. H. Schwartz (1992, 1994b, 2011), we centered each individual's value responses around his or her own mean across all items of the value scales, to adjust for social desirability and systematic response sets. Scores for self-direction, stimulation, tradition (reversed), conformity (reversed), and security

(reversed) were combined to measure the bipolar dimension of *openness to change versus conservation* (α = .81). Scores for universalism, benevolence, achievement (reversed) and power (reversed) were combined to measure the bipolar dimension of *self-transcendence versus self-enhancement* (α = .80). As in previous research into identity styles and values (Berzonsky et al., 2011; Berzonsky & Papini, 2014), the value of *hedonism* (2 items: r = .27) was analyzed separately.

2.4. Results

2.4.1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The ISI items were subjected to a series of CFAs in order to test their structure in our Pakistani sample. Robust maximum likelihood estimation was used to adjust standard errors and fit indices for non-normality in the indicator variables (Satorra & Bentler, 1994). Several indices were used to assess model fit, including the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and Standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Recommended cutoffs for these indices are as follows: for RMSEA, acceptable values are < .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999); values of SRMR < .05 indicate a good fit, and values < .10 may be interpreted as acceptable (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1995; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006); for CFI values ≥ .90 reflect acceptable fit (Bentler, 1990).

To test the ISI-5 measurement model, all items were allowed to load on their specified factor according to Berzonsky et al. (2013), and no cross-loadings or error covariances were permitted. Standardized factor loadings from this model are shown in Table 1. Our initial test of the ISI-5 provided poor fit: (χ^2 = 735.221, df = 321, CFI = .70, RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .06). We then revised our model by deleting poorly performing items, based upon two criteria. First, eight items with standardized factor loadings below .35 on their target factor were deleted. Second, three items were deleted

when modification indices suggested standardized cross-loadings greater than .25 on one of the other factors. For example, the normative style item *"I prefer to deal with situations in which I can rely on social norms and standards.*" was deleted because modification indices suggested a cross-loading of .35 on the information style factor. Our revised model showed a substantially improved model fit (χ^2 = 172.458, *df* = 101, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .03, SRMR = .04).

Deleting these poorly performing items left 7 information orientation items, 4 normative orientation items and 5 diffuse-avoidance items in our revised ISI measure. Items retained and deleted are reported in Table 2.1, with their respective factor loadings in the original and final models. The reliabilities of reduced items are (informational α = .67; normative α = .54, diffuse-avoidant α = .51).

Table 2.1: ***Factor loadings of the ISI-5 and Items retained after CFA***

ISI items		Factor loadings ISI-5		
Information Identity Style Items			Items retained After CFA	Items deleted after CFA and reason for deletion
I1	When making important decisions, I like to have as much information as possible.	.57 ***	.56***	-
I2	When facing a life decision, I try to analyse the situation in order to understand it.	.53***	.56***	-
I3	When making important decisions, I like to spend time thinking about my options.	.52***	.55***	-
I4	When facing a life decision, I take into account different points of view before making a choice.	.44***	.44***	-
I5	I handle problems in my life by actively reflecting on them.	.44***	.43***	-
I6	It is important for me to obtain and evaluate information from a variety of sources before I make important life decisions.	.40***	.40***	-
I7	I periodically think about and examine the logical consistency between my values and life goals.	.40***	.40***	-

Table 2.1: … *continued*…

I8	Talking to others helps me explore my personal beliefs.	.36***	-	Low loading[1]
I9	I spend a lot of time reading or talking to others trying to develop a set of values that makes sense to me.	.34*	-	Low loading
Normative Identity Style Items				
N1	When I make a decision about my future, I automatically follow what close friends or relatives expect from me.	.60***	.70***	-
N2	I never question what I want to do with my life because I tend to follow what important people expect me to do.	.45***	.45***	-
N3	I automatically adopt and follow the values I was brought up with.	.38***	.37***	-
N4	I think it's better to hold on to fixed values rather than to consider alternative value systems.	.35***	.37***	-
N5	I think it is better to adopt a firm set of beliefs than to be open-minded.	.36***		Low Loading
N6	I prefer to deal with situations in which I can rely on social norms and standards.	.42***	-	Cross loading of .35 on information style
N7	I strive to achieve the goals that my family and friends hold for me.	.38***	-	Cross loading of .26 on information style
N8	I have always known what I believe and don't believe; I never really have doubts about my beliefs.	.13*	-	Low loading

[1] *Note a few items lost the magnitude of their initial loading after the deletion of other items in their respective factor.*

Table 2.1: … *continued*…

N9	When others say something that challenges my personal values or beliefs, I automatically disregard what they have to say.	.25***	-	Low loading
Diffuse-Avoidance Style Items				
D1	I try to avoid personal situations that require me to think a lot and deal with them on my own.	.45***	.40***	-
D2	I'm not sure where I'm heading in my life; I guess things will work themselves out.	.44***	.45***	
D3	I try not to think about or deal with problems as long as I can.	.43***	.50***	-
D4	My life plans tend to change whenever I talk to different people.	.40***	.40***	-
D5	I am not really thinking about my future now, it is still a long way off.	.36***	.45***	-
D6	When I have to make a decision, I try to wait as long as possible in order to see what will happen.	.39***		low loading
D7	When personal problems arise, I try to delay acting as long as possible.	.40***	-	Cross loading of .25 on normative style
D8	It doesn't pay to worry about values in advance; I decide things as they happen.	.35***		low loading
D9	Who I am changes from situation to situation.	.33***	-	low loading

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05*

2.4.2. Concurrent Validity

Table 2.2 shows correlations between each identity style and the values orientations. Following Berzonsky et al. (2011; Berzonsky & Papini, 2014), hedonism is treated separately because it is not included in either of the two bipolar dimensions. As expected, the normative style was negatively related to openness (vs. conservation) and to hedonism. Diffuse-avoidance was related positively to self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence). However, the information style did not relate to openness (vs. conservation) and hedonism, but it was negatively related to self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence).

Table 2.2*: Correlations between identity styles and value orientations*

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Informational style	-				
2. Normative style	.13**	-			
3. Diffuse-Avoidant style	-.14**	.32**	-		
4. Hedonism values	-.06	-.09*	.07	-	
5. Openness vs Conservation values	.01	-.29**	-.07	.21**	-
6. Self –Enhancement vs Self Transcendence values	-.12**	.02	.22**	.09*	.14**

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05*

Table 2.3 shows hierarchical regression analyses predicting values as a function of the three identity styles. These analyses show the extent to which the each of the three styles related to the value dimensions, controlling for the other styles. Following Berzonsky et al. (2011; Berzonsky & Papini, 2014), gender (coded as a dummy variable: Male = 1, Female = 2) and age were entered as control variables on Step 1. The three identity styles were entered on Step 2. The informational, normative, and diffuse-avoidant styles accounted for significant variation in the openness to change versus conservation dimension. As expected, normative style was a negative predictor of openness (vs. conservation) values, but information style and diffuse-avoidance style didn't predict openness (vs. conservation). With regard to the Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence dimension, diffuse-avoidance predicted self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence), and information style marginally negatively predicted self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence). As predicted, the association between diffuse-avoidance and hedonism was positive, and the normative style was negatively associated with hedonism.

Table 2.3: ***Hierarchical Regression of Openness to Change versus Conservation and Self-Enhancement versus Self-Transcendence Value Dimensions and Hedonism on Identity Styles***

	Openness to Change versus Conservation		Self-Enhancement versus Self-Transcendence		Hedonism	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β	*β*	*β*	*β*	*β*	*β*
Sex	-.16**	-.12**	-.06	-.06	-.13**	-.11*
Age	.00	.01	-.01	.00	.06	.07
Informational style		.06		-.08 †		-.02
Normative style		-.29***		-.01		-.11*
Diffuse-avoidant style		.04		.22***		.12*
ΔR^2	.02	.10	.00	.06	.02	.04

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10*

2.5.Discussion

2.5.1. Factor structure of the ISI items

The results of the present research, utilizing our Pakistani sample, largely support the three-factor structure of identity styles as proposed by Berzonsky (1989a, 1990, 1992b; Berzonsky et. al. 2013). Our findings are also in line with research conducted in countries such as Italy (Crocetti et al., 2009) and Iran (Crocetti & Shokri, 2010). However, our CFA indicated that numerous poorly performing items should be deleted, especially from the normative and diffuse-avoidance scales. Only the information style items remained relatively intact. The previous validation studies mentioned above did not recommend deletion of items, perhaps because item parcelling was used, which does not allow for identification of poorly performing items. A strength of the present research is therefore that our item-level analysis allowed us to identify items that did not work well in the Pakistani context.

The deletion of items from the identity style framework in general, and from the normative orientation in particular, highlights the need to consider the cultural relevance of these items. As described in the introduction, Pakistan has been broadly categorised as a collectivist/interdependent/tight culture and is generally depicted as having rigid social norms (see, e.g., Gelfand et al. 2011; Tariq, 2012). The deletion of more than half the items from the normative orientation subscale in the ISI-5 leads us to speculate that these items might not be adequately representing the ways in which the normative orientation works in Pakistani culture. Two items (N6, N7: see Table 2.1) indicated substantial positive cross-loadings on the informational style, perhaps because they referred to personal preferences and strivings. The other three deleted items (N5, N8, N9) focused on closed-mindedness, fixedness and lack of questioning of one's beliefs—without mentioning that it is social norms that are not being questioned. Indeed, one of

these items (N9) explicitly refers to defending *personal* rather than *normative* beliefs and values, and mentions *disregarding* the influence of others.

In contrast, three of the four items retained within the normative style scale referred explicitly to following the influence of others: “close friends and relatives” (N1), “important people” (N2, and “the values I was brought up with” (N3). Although not referring explicitly to others, item N4 may have been interpreted by participants as referring to religious values, which are a major source of normative social influence in Pakistani society (Naeem, Gobbi, Ayub, & Kingdon, 2009). Thus, the four items (N1-N4) that were retained seem to provide greater face validity for measuring normative orientation than those that were dropped. Yet these items still retain an emphasis on the use of norms in an automatic and unquestioning manner, which is consistent with Berzonsky’s (1989a, 2011) definition of the construct but at odds with some other portrayals of how individuals may use normative influences more flexibly in their decision making. In any case, the substantial loss of items from the normative style category raises the possibility that some aspects of the use of norms for identity formation in a non-Western society like Pakistan are either not addressed through these items or not captured by the way that normative style is defined in Berzonsky’s (1989) model.

We also lost 4 items from the diffuse-avoidance subscale. Closer inspection suggests that the highest loading items on the original scale tended to emphasize avoidance of facing identity-related issues, whereas the lowest loading items tended to refer to a state of diffusion, where the individual is lacking a clear sense of identity (see Table 2.1). Berzonsky and Ferrari (2009) recently emphasized that diffuse-avoidance should be understood as a strategic, motivated tactic, rather than a quasi-random state of “self-confusion”. Notably, this sense of avoidance as a strategy, rather than diffusion as

a state, is more apparent in the five items that were retained (D1 – D5) than in most of those that were deleted (D6 – D9).

2.5.2. Concurrent validity with value orientations

Our results partially supported the predicted pattern of associations between identity styles and values, thus partly replicating previous Western findings (Berzonsky et al., 2011; Berzonsky & Papini, 2014) and validating our reduced ISI-5 measure for use in the Pakistani context. Consistent with previous research, the information style was a negative predictor of Self-Enhancement versus Self-Transcendence but contrary to what was expected it was a non-significant predictor of both openness to change (versus conservation). Individuals with high normative styles endorsed values emphasizing Conservation (versus openness to change), and those with high diffuse-avoidant endorsed values self-enhancement (versus self-transcendence). However, these styles diverged in their associations with hedonism: As expected hedonism was positively predicted by diffuse-avoidance but negatively predicted by a normative style.

With our revised scale, we largely replicated the associations between identity styles and values orientations observed in Western research. This highlights the important role identity styles might have in relation to value orientations, not only in Western cultures. However, our data in the current study were cross-sectional, and longitudinal data would be needed to provide evidence of the causal direction of the relations observed.

2.5.3. Limitations and Future Directions

Participants in our study were all university students from a relatively high socio-economic background living in two urban centres of Pakistan. Hence, our results may not generalise to less affluent members of Pakistani society, nor to those living in rural areas of the country. Consistent with this, there has been much criticism that

research in the social sciences using students as participants presents a biased view of the wider population (Druckman & Kam, 2009). In interpreting the results, it must be recognised that only around 5% of young people aged 17-23 in Pakistan attend university (Aaj News report, 2011), and care must be taken in generalizing the findings beyond this privileged group. Moreover, all of our participants were attending universities where English was the language of instruction. Targeting participants with less education and lower socio-economic status would require an Urdu version. A more representative sample could have shown a broader picture of the operation of identity styles in Pakistan. Nonetheless, Western research into identity styles is also dominated by affluent and well-educated samples. As the first systematic evaluation of the item-level factor structure and correlates of the ISI in any non-Western cultural context, our study provides a significant step towards greater generalisability.

Further, both the ISI and PVQ-21 are self-reported measures, and all self-report instruments are vulnerable to social desirability, false or invalid responding, and response sets (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). As Berzonsky et al. (2013) have pointed out, the ISI measures perceived styles rather than actual processing of identity related information. A performance-based decision making measure would have been necessary to avoid the limitations associated with self-reports.

Considerable caution should be used when importing instruments developed within Western cultural contexts into a new cultural context (i.e., an “imposed etic” approach: Berry, 1989), and any instruments should first be tested to ascertain their cultural relevance. There may be subtle differences between the types of items constructed and validated in the United States and other Western contexts, and those that might be more suitable for a Pakistani sample. The loss of numerous items from the US scale suggests a need to develop indigenous understandings of identity formation in

Pakistan, as well as in other countries that do not fit the “Western” model (i.e., an “emic” approach), and thus generate new items that are more culturally consonant with the population being investigated. In particular, there needs to be greater emphasis on indigenous study of the normative identity style. It is not well understood how the role of norms in identity formation may differ between Western and non-Western contexts. Hence, the current research should be complemented by in-depth qualitative research exploring the processes that Pakistani young adults employ while negotiating with identity related issues and forming their life decisions.

2.6.Concluding Remarks

According to Berzonsky et al. (2011), identity formation does not occur in abstraction, but always takes place within a context. Accordingly, this study provides an interesting view of how identity styles operate in a non-Western context, which has different ecological and historical challenges to those of Western countries. Our results provided support for the three-factor structure of informational, normative, and diffuse-avoidant styles, and largely replicated the relationships between identity styles and values previously found in other countries (Berzonsky et al, 2011; Berzonsky & Papini, 2014). However, the poor performance of a substantial proportion of individual ISI items in our study suggests that this measure may not fully capture the complexities of identity formation in this cultural context, and highlights the need to incorporate an indigenous perspective in future theorising and research into identity formation.

3. PAPER 2: Identity Styles and Well-Being among Pakistani Youth: Moderated by Gender, Mediated by Identity Motive Satisfactions

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Reference:

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3.1 Abstract

There are strong associations between the adoption of different identity styles and well-being according to existing research. However, there has been little such work in non-Western cultural contexts. This paper tests associations between identity styles, commitment, and well-being among youth in Pakistan. Additionally, we investigated the previously unexplored role of identity motives (meaning, efficacy, self-esteem, continuity, distinctiveness and belonging) in mediating the relationships between identity styles and psychological well-being, and we tested for gender differences in the pathways in our models. Across the whole sample, information oriented style predicted better well-being, whereas diffuse-avoidant style predicted poorer well-being. However normative identity style remained as a non-significant predictor of well-being. Additionally, relationships between identity styles and well-being were not significantly moderated by gender. Identity motive satisfaction partially mediated the associations between identity styles and well-being. For males, motive of meaning, continuity, and belonging served as partial mediators, and for females' motives of meaning, self-esteem, continuity, and belonging partially mediated the relationship between identity styles (especially for information and diffuse-avoidance style) and well-being.

Key words: *Identity styles; psychological well-being; identity motives; culture; gender; moderation; mediation.*

3.2 Introduction

This paper aims to test the associations among identity styles, psychological well-being, and identity motives underlying identity formation among young people in Pakistan. Furthermore, it aims to test the impact of gender on the relationships among these variables. To meet this objective, we first seek to replicate an established relationship between Berzonsky's (1989a-1990) identity styles, commitment and psychological well-being in a non-Western context (see Berzonsky, 2003; Crocetti & Shokri, 2010; Nurmi, Berzonsky, Tammi, & Kinney, 1997). Information style, which is widely considered to be the most mature identity style, is generally seen as leading to higher psychological well-being (e.g., Vleioras & Bosma, 2005), and diffuse-avoidance, which is widely considered to be the least mature style, generally leads to lower levels of well-being (Phillips & Pittman, 2007). However, normative orientation has been found to relate to both positive (Berzonsky, 2003) and negative well-being (Berzonsky, 1992a).

Therefore, we aim to see how the relationship between identity styles and well-being works for a Pakistani sample in comparison to what has already been established in Western contexts (Berzonsky, 2003). As well as being described as a normative/collectivist society (Gelfand, et al., 2011), Pakistan is traditionally categorized as a patriarchal society (Littrell & Bertsch, 2013; Moghadam, 1992). The cognitive theory of identity styles (Berzonsky 2011, p.67) assumes that gender does not have an impact on the relationship between identity styles and other variables. Most relevant studies have been undertaken in Western societies, where gender might not have the complex social consequences that are prevalent in Pakistan. Consequently, the role of gender is worth exploring in terms of its potential influence on identity styles and other study variables in the traditionally patriarchal society of Pakistan.

Furthermore, we aim to explore a link between identity styles and the satisfaction or frustration of identity motives. Existing research suggests that Western societies are characterized by a cultural emphasis on independence and autonomy (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; P.B. Smith, 2011). However, in a recently study, Vignoles et al. (2015), have proposed a multidimensional model of selfhood, and encouraged researchers to explore 'why' different models of selfhood are prevalent in a pertinent culture beyond the bounds of interdependence and independence. Hence, in order to explore the 'why' in identity formation, it is essential to explore the motives people belonging to a non-Western society might adopt. The literature on identity motivation is broad and expansive, therefore, we have relied primarily on Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT, Vignoles, 2011) which seeks to summarise the predictions of previous theories in terms of the operation of six identity motives. These six motives, which have been described by Vignoles (2011) as being crucial for a satisfactory sense of identity, are: motives for meaning, self-esteem, self-efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, and belonging. The potential link between MICT and identity styles has not previously been tested.

3.2.1 Identity Styles and Commitment

This paper explores the ways through which identity styles affect psychological well-being, by examining the mediating processes that can play a significant role in accounting for this relationship (see Berzonsky, 2003; 2004; 2011; Doumen, Smits, Luyckx, Duriez, Vanhalst, Verschueren, & Goossens, 2012; Nurmi, Berzonsky, Tammi, & Kinney 1997; Tariq, 2012). In the 1960s, Erikson (1968) proposed a lifespan model of psycho-social development, which placed 'identity' as a crucial developmental task. Extending Erikson's conception of identity, Marcia (1966; 1993) proposed that people can be classified into four different statuses during the course of identity growth. Marcia

(2002) summarised these status domains briefly as: *Identity Achievement*, where exploration is followed by commitment; *Moratorium*, where people are in the process of exploration and have vague commitments; *Foreclosure*, where they have made commitments without prior exploration; and *Diffusion* where there is no commitment, and they are not actively involved in exploration, or they do not explore at all.

Extending Marcia's identity status paradigm, Berzonsky (1990) developed a constructivist approach to understand individual differences in identity formation, focusing on social-cognitive processes that individuals rely on when they process self-relevant information, negotiate identity issues, and make personal decisions. In Berzonsky's (1990) work, the dominant themes of commitment and exploration remained the same as those of Marcia (1993). However, Berzonsky's (1990) social cognitive model explored inter-individual differences in adolescents' ways of exploring possibilities and of processing identity-relevant information and he referred to these as 'identity styles' (Berzonsky, 1989a; 1990). Three identity processing orientations or styles have been identified by Berzonsky (1989a): *information style, normative style* and *diffuse-avoidant style*.

Individuals with an information style actively and deliberately seek out, elaborate, and evaluate self-relevant information and make their commitments on the basis of information they have sought by themselves (Berzonsky, 1994; Berzonsky 2003). Individuals with normative style conform to the normative expectations held by significant others, and referent groups. Normative adolescents are found to have high levels of commitment, but their commitments are not the result of personal exploration, rather they are influenced by norms and values that they and their referent group hold (Berzonsky, 2003; Berzonsky, 2011; Philips & Pittman, 2007; Soenens, Duriez, & Goossens, 2005). Lastly, a diffuse-avoidant style refers to the avoidance of confronting

identity issues. Such individuals procrastinate when facing identity related issues or conflicts for the longest time possible. They lack both commitment and exploration, and often show symptoms of depression and anxiety (Berzonsky & Ferrari, 2009; Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez, Soenens, 2011).

Extensive research has supported the theoretical links between identity statuses and identity styles summarised in Figure 3.1 (see e.g., Berman, You, Schwartz, Teo, & Mochizuki, 2011; Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Berzonsky, Macek, & Nurmi, 2003; Berzonsky & Niemeyer, 1994; Vleioras & Bosma, 2005). The identity styles model serves as the conceptual framework for the present study. According to Berzonsky (1990), an information orientation is considered the most mature identity style, a diffuse-avoidant orientation the least mature, and the normative orientation lies in between. This paper explores how these identity mechanisms play a vital role in predicting psychological well-being. The following section describes the theoretical definitions of well-being and its relationship to identity styles.

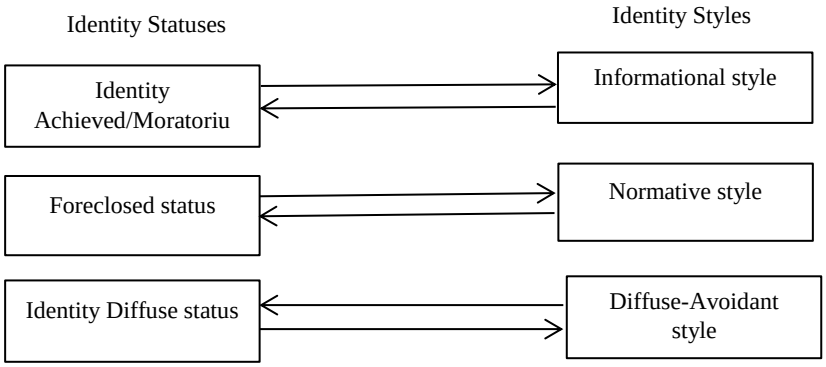

Figure 3.1 : Relationship between Identity Statuses and Identity Styles.

3.2.2. Psychological Well-being

According to existing well-established theories in developmental psychology, developing and maintaining a consistent identity is a key determinant of psychological

well-being (Berzonsky, 2003; Nurmi et al., 1997; Phillips & Pittman, 2007; Waterman, 2007). However, there are as many definitions of psychological well-being as there are theories themselves. Therefore, a challenge for the present investigation is to decide upon one such approach that can be used as a framework for the investigation that follows. Broadly, the dominant approaches to studying well-being have been termed as subjective well-being (Christopher, 1999; Diener & Lucas, 2000; Waterman, 2007; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) and eudaimonic well-being (Ryff, 1989; Ryan, & Frederick, 1997; Waterman, 1990, 1993; Waterman et al., 2010). In combination, such literature emphasises the importance of a few crucial components of well-being such as satisfaction with life, dimensions of positive and negative affect (Diener & Lucas, 2000; Watson et al., 1988), subjective vitality, and indicators of depression and anxiety (Campbell, 1990; Diener, 2006; Ryan, & Frederick, 1997). We examine all of these here.

Although there is now a growing literature on subjective well-being across cultures (Diener, 2000), theorising about the role of identity formation in well-being has been primarily developed and tested in Western cultures, and there is a need for more research on such constructs from non-Western cultures (Berman, et al., 2011; S. J Schwartz et al., 2006). Accordingly, an important contribution of this paper is that it examines the role of identity styles as predictors of psychological well-being among adolescents and young adults in the non-Western cultural context of Pakistan.

3.2.3. Identity Styles and Well-Being

Successful identity formation is related to being psychologically well (Smits et al., 2010; Vleioras & Bosma, 2005). Berzonsky, Soenens, Luyckx, Smits, Papini and Goossens (2013) suggest that late adolescents are generally capable of utilising all three identity styles mentioned above, but individuals differ in the manner in which they go

about monitoring, utilising, establishing, testing and revising their identities. The utilization of each identity style can to varying extent predict different levels of psychological adjustment (see e.g., Philips & Pittman, 2007). Avoiding facing identity issues is negatively related to psychological well-being, whereas actively resolving identity issues is positively related to psychological well-being (Vleioras & Bosma, 2005). There are well established associations in the existing literature where information orientation is related to indicators of positive well-being, such as life satisfaction and self-esteem, and helps in coping successfully with stress, anxiety, negative affect, and depressive symptoms (see Berzonsky, 2003; Berzonsky, 2011; Berzonsky et al., 2013; Smits et al., 2010). Diffuse-avoidance has been found to be negatively related to well-being, especially being related to self-handicapping, weak commitments, behavioural problems and greater levels of stress and anxiety (Berzonsky, 2011; Berzonsky & Ferrari, 2009; Berzonsky et al., 2013; Vleioras & Bosma, 2005).

Research on normative identity style presents varied findings, portraying normative orientation as an ambivalent predictor of well-being. Consistent with information style, at times it is positively related to indices of positive well-being, but on the other hand strong correlations have also been found with negative well-being indicators (Berzonsky, 1990; Philips & Pittman, 2007; Vleioras & Bosma, 2005). Identity style theory sees normative orientation as a passive approach to identity formation. Adolescents with normative orientation are considered to deal with identity issues in a reactive fashion, as they automatically internalize values and beliefs without deliberately searching for them (Berzonsky, 1990; Berzonsky, Macek & Nurmi; 2003). Consequently, adolescents higher on normative orientation are considered less tolerant of ambiguity, and are unwilling to seek information that may conflict with their personal values and beliefs (Berzonsky, 1990; Nurmi, et al., 1997). Thus, even though

adolescents with normative orientation have higher levels of commitment, which can lead to positive well-being, whenever they come across information that is contrary to their personal beliefs and core values, the unwillingness to accept such inconsistent information possibly leads to higher levels of stress and anxiety that can cause negative well-being (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2005).

This ambivalence of normative orientation makes it a crucial construct for the present study, where its association with well-being is tested in the tightly normative cultural context of Pakistan, rather than the loose, individualistic contexts of Western societies (Gelfand et al., 2011). Culture plays an important role in identity development, self-determination and psychological well-being of an individual throughout their lives (see Berman et al., 2011; Triandis, 1995, 2001). This study aims to make a key contribution in establishing how the relationship between identity styles and well-being works in the context of Pakistan. The next section therefore briefly describes the role of culture in identity development and resultant well-being.

3.2.4 Culture, Identity Styles and Well-being

Culture provides a broad context for the selection and presentation of particular identity configurations, and its crucial role in identity formation has long been accepted (Crocetti, Rubini & Meeus, 2008; Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2010; Levine et al., 2003; Smith, 2011). Broadly, cross-cultural literature on identity explores differences in identity across nations (see e.g., Berman, et al, 2011; Berzonsky, Macek, & Nurmi, 2003), usually based on cross-cultural categorizations of individualism vs collectivism (see e.g. Oyserman, Coon,& Kemmelmeier, 2002; Tariq, 2012; Yuki, 2003), Western vs Eastern cultures (see, e.g., Holland, Fox, & Daro, 2008; Suh, 2002) or ethnicity (see, e.g., Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2011; St. Louis & Liem, 2005; Syed, Walker, Lee, Umana-Taylor, Zamboanga, Schwartz, Armenta, & Huynh, 2013). This implies that ‘culture’ is a broad umbrella term,

and previous research has explored identity formation based upon national, social, ethnic and geographical differences that are often treated as being interchangeable, but may not necessarily be so.

Such binary cultural classifications are often criticised for being too simplistic and reductionist when national or ethnic samples are compared on psychological variables (see, e.g., Fiske, 2002; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003). It is worth noting that researchers have increasingly recognised the dearth of empirical evidence from a wider range of non-Western and collectivist cultures or societies beyond the common focus on East Asian samples (e.g., Berman et al. 2011; S.J. Schwartz, et al., 2006; Vignoles et al., 2015). This study is therefore also a contribution to widening our understanding of these societies. Research must determine not only the extent to which variables, like identity styles, might take a different form in different cultural contexts, but more importantly it should ask whether these Western concepts are even relevant to capture the processes of identity formation and its impact on well-being in other cultures.

Therefore, it is interesting to focus on a specific non-Western country and examine in detail whether such models of identity styles do indeed apply. This chapter therefore draws on data specifically collected in Pakistan, which provides an interesting amalgamation of culture, religion and nationalism (Jalal, Hassan & Pandey, 2001). Widely categorized as a collectivist culture (see Hofstede & Hofstade, 2001; Tariq, 2012), Pakistan has also been described as a “normative” society (Bovarnick, 2007). Indeed, in their 33-nation study of cultural differences in terms of tightness vs. looseness of norms, Gelfand et al. (2011) found that Pakistan had the tightest norms of all of the nations sampled in their study. Thus, Pakistan provides a very different

cultural context from those “looser” cultures in which identity styles have more commonly been studied.

Pakistan’s culture is more complex than is often suggested by the classic term ‘collectivist’. Correspondingly, identity styles and their relationships to commitment and well-being might be more complex than predicted previously (Berzonsky, 2003; Philips & Pittman, 2007). Two broad approaches to the relationship between identity styles and well-being can be envisaged: a universalist approach, and a differential approach. According to the former, it can be suggested that the relationships between Identity Styles Inventory (ISI) and well-being are universal, and therefore that if a particular style is adaptive in one cultural context, then the same would also apply in another context. In contrast, a differential approach, would imply that identity styles are differentially adaptive in different cultural contexts. Thus, one might imagine some contexts in which a normative style would be more adaptive and others in which it would be less adaptive. If the differential approach is adopted, then it might be predicted, for example, that a normative style would be more clearly positive for well-being in Pakistan, compared with the ambiguous results that have been found in previous Western research, because those who adopt a more normative style would be fitting in well with the cultural system, and so they would be ‘good cultural members’. This alternative possibility needs to be tested from such normative cultures.

Alongside cultural context, it is also worth exploring whether these associations between well-being and identity styles apply equally to men and to women in Pakistani culture, as the previous literature drawn from a Western perspective provides little focus on the role of gender. This is explored further in the next section.

3.2.5 Gender Differences and Identity Processing Styles

One aspect of the tightly normative focus of Pakistani society is patriarchy, which is usually seen as resulting in the prevalence of strong gender norms (Frederick & Bertsch, 2013; Isran & Isran, 2012; Kalim, 2001; Tarar & Pulla, 2014). Gender roles might therefore be assumed to play a crucial role in identity development and its impact on well-being in Pakistan (Gillani, 2010; Tariq, 2012). Even if previous Western studies have not found moderating effects of gender, this finding might not be applicable in Pakistan. Tariq (2012), for example, has found that boys scored higher on information identity style and commitment as compared with girls, whereas such differences were non-significant in her samples from the USA and Belgium. In contrast, Luyckx, Schwartz, Berzonsky, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Smits, and Goossens (2008) found a few mean differences between the two genders: female participants in their study scored higher than male participants on their status dimensions of exploration in depth and ruminative exploration that are consistent with informational orientation style. At a broader level, identity styles are assumed in most studies to be universal, leaving very little or no room for gender differences to have an effect (Berzonsky, 2011; Soenens, Berzonsky, Vansteenkiste, Beyers, & Goossens, 2005). For this reason, in our study we avoid formulating specific hypotheses regarding gender differences, and a more open and exploratory approach will be followed.

3.2.6. Identity Commitment and Identity Motives as Mediational Processes

In previous studies, the relationship between identity styles and psychological well-being appears to be mediated by commitment (Berzonsky, 2003; Crocetti & Shokri, 2010; Nurmi et al., 1997). In general, information and normative orientations are seen as leading to stronger commitment, thus leading to better psychological adjustment, and diffuse-avoidance are seen as leading to weak or no commitments at all,

resulting in poorer or negative well-being. We expect a similar relationship between identity styles, commitment and psychological well-being to be found in the Pakistani context as well. As outlined in the introductory section of the present research, identity formation through styles is seen as being a constructivist approach (Berzonsky, 1989a). This provides a rationale to study links between identity styles and motivated identity construction. Theoretically, identity styles should predict well-being to the extent that they help an individual to form a more satisfactory sense of identity. In previous research, this has been operationalised only in terms of commitment, and thus some studies show that commitment fully or partially mediates the relationships between identity styles and well-being (Berzonsky, 2003; Crocetti & Shokri, 2010). However, a much fuller account of what makes a satisfactory identity is provided by MICT. Hence, in addition to commitment, we explore the potential mediating role of the satisfaction of six different identity motives.

MICT (Vignoles, 2011) proposes six identity motives that people try to satisfy when constructing their identities:

1. to maximise or maintain positive self-regard (the self-esteem motive);
2. to distinguish themselves from others (the distinctiveness motive);
3. to feel that their past, present, and future identities are connected (the continuity motive);
4. to feel accepted or included by important others (the belonging motive);
5. to feel a sense of subjective meaning in their lives (the meaning motive); and
6. to feel competent and capable in influencing their environment (the efficacy motive).

Following Vignoles (2011) each of these motives has a theoretical basis for universality, but he further reasons that different cultural contexts can provide different

ways of satisfying these motives. The six motives provide a way of defining what counts as a "satisfactory identity". Thus, adopting the right identity styles would help to construct a better (i.e. more satisfying) identity, and this, in turn, would predict better well-being. Theoretically, a more satisfactory identity should predict higher well-being. However, this has not yet been tested empirically with the six motives in MICT. Moreover, the same motives may bring about different consequences in different cultural contexts. Therefore it is interesting to explore what role the satisfaction of these identity motives can contribute to predicting the well-being of young people from Pakistan, and considering whether in its patriarchal structure males and females do use differential or similar motives.

Associations between the six identity motives and identity styles have never been tested previously. However, previous research does provide some insight into how these motives might be linked with identity styles and well-being (Smits, et al, 2010). Information style is positively related with autonomous orientation; the more that adolescents actively seek out, process and evaluate identity relevant information the more likely it is that they will be inclined to explore independently and to act in accordance with personal values and standards (e.g., Soenens, et al., 2005). Tentatively, this may suggest that those with an information orientation will have higher satisfaction of the identity motives for self-esteem, self-efficacy and distinctiveness. Similarly, the normative identity style is positively related with controlled orientation (e.g., Soenens, et al., 2005). As adolescents with normative orientations adhere to the expectations of important authority figures, they are more likely to exhibit behaviour that is guided by expectations of significant others. Thus, tentatively, they might be expected to show greater satisfaction of the belonging motive. Additionally, individuals with normative orientation learn through conformity and are resistant to change, which might lead them to show higher satisfaction of the continuity motive, as resistance to change can help

them to maintain continuity in their behaviour. If we are agreeing to the assertion that being normative is being conformist, a further speculation can be that distinctiveness will have a negative relationship with normative orientation. Furthermore, people who avoid identity formation altogether are unlikely to form a satisfactory sense of identity. So diffuse avoidance should negatively predict satisfaction of all six motives.

3.2.7 The Present Study

The present investigation aims to see whether previous findings linking information style to better well-being and diffuse-avoidant style to poorer well-being can be replicated in a very different cultural context from those that are usually studied in the identity styles literature. Additionally, given that previous studies have shown inconsistent findings regarding the normative style, we are especially interested to see whether and how this style might predict well-being in the context of a society with much tighter norms than those studied in previous research.

Second, previous studies have suggested that gender plays a relatively small role, or indeed no role at all, in influencing identity styles and well-being. However, given the patriarchal nature of Pakistani society, the salience of gender is worth exploring in some detail. As noted above, previous studies have found some gender differences, but these have been based only on mean differences, whereas the present study treats gender as a potential moderator among study variables.

Third, previous research on identity and well-being has considered ‘commitment’ as an important mediating variable between identity styles and resultant psychological well-being (Berman et al., 2011; Berzonsky, 2003; Crocetti & Shokri, 2010). This study broadens this approach and adds identity motive satisfactions (Vignoles, 2011) as potential mediators along with commitment. This study therefore

aims to explore how these motivational principles of identity may predict psychological well-being. On the basis of the literature reviewed above on identity motives, certain tentative predictions about possible relationship between identity styles and the six identity motives are made. Nonetheless, given the novelty of research in this area, strong theory-driven hypotheses are avoided.

The current study is designed to test a model of the relationships between identity styles, commitment, identity motives, gender and psychological well-being. In a stepwise procedure of model testing, the relationships between identity styles, commitment and identity motives, psychological well-being and gender were established. The overarching theoretical model for the study is presented in Figure 3.2.

More formally, the paper has three specific objectives:

1. To test the replicability of Berzonsky's (2003) proposed model of relationships between identity styles and psychological well-being in a Pakistani adolescent sample.
2. To test the potential role of gender in moderating these relationships.
3. To test the potential roles of commitment and of identity motive satisfactions in mediating these relationships.

Theoretical Model of the Study

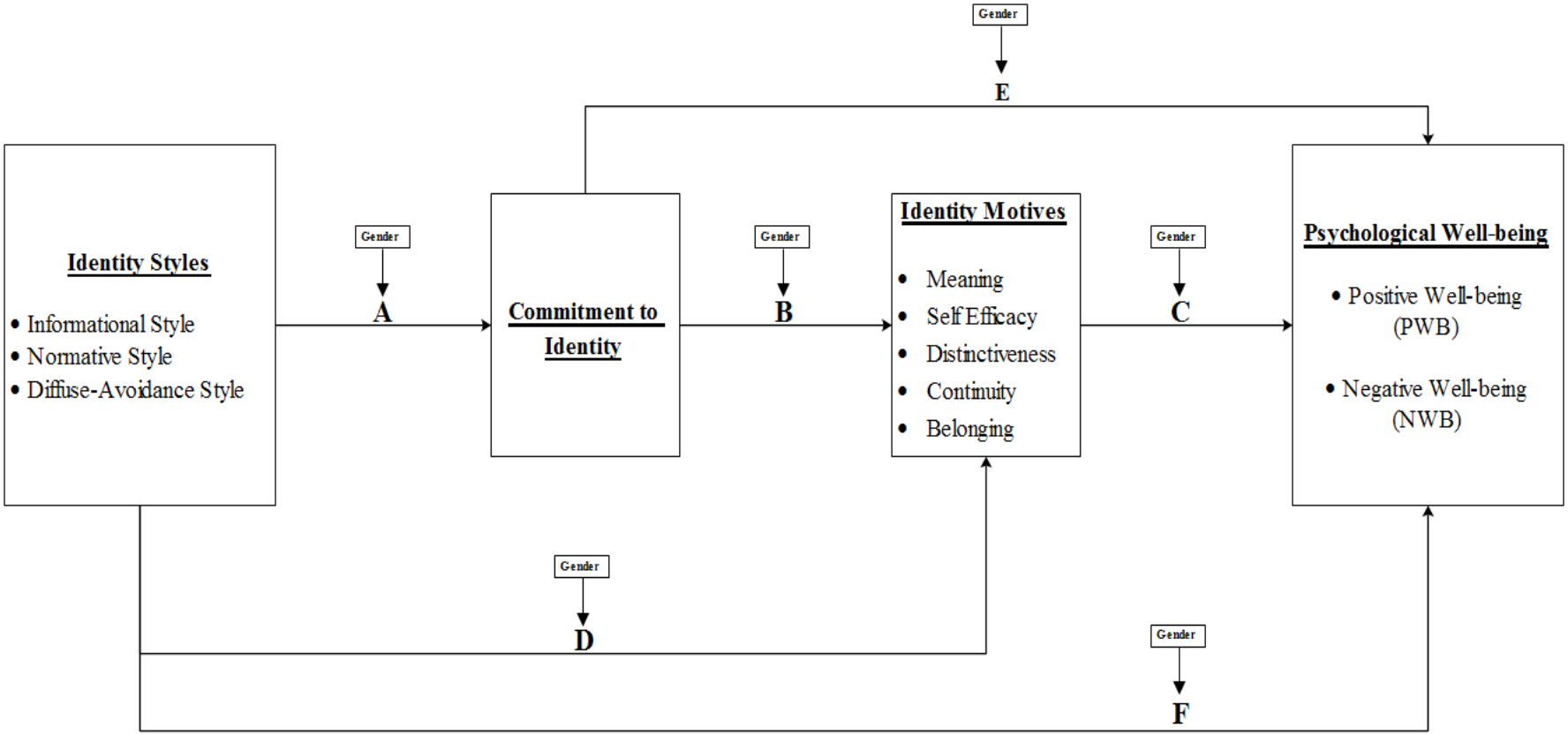

Figure 3.2: Model representing the relationship between identity styles and well-being through commitment and identity motives, and moderating role of gender among all study variables.

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Participants and Procedure

A sample of 479 students (286 females, 192 males: 59% females; 52% undergraduates; 48% postgraduates) from six different Universities in Islamabad and Rawalpindi (Pakistan) provided the empirical basis for this study. Islamabad is the capital city of Pakistan and Rawalpindi is adjacent to it, so that they are often referred to as twin cities. They are also the hub for top ranked Universities in Pakistan, where students from all over Pakistan come to seek higher education. The students in the sample were aged between 18 and 25 years, with the mean age of the participants being 22 years (*SD* = 1.89). All of the participants followed an academic track, which means that they were preparing themselves for higher education qualifications. Participants were briefed about the purpose of the research, and informed consent was obtained from all of them. None of the participants who were invited to participate refused to do so. Respondents were assured that the data obtained would be kept confidential and would be used only for research purposes. The research received approval from the Science and Technology Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) of the University of Sussex, United Kingdom. All participants were asked to provide written consent and were informed that they could withdraw at any point in the study. The participants were debriefed about the purpose of the research, and respondents were given the opportunity to receive a summary of the research findings. (For informed consent, information sheet, and complete set of measures used see Appendix I).

3.3.2 Instruments

Participants were asked to complete a set of core measures, details of which are described below[2].

3.3.2.1. Identity Styles. In order to measure the identity styles of the participants, a reduced version of the Identity Styles Inventory (ISI-5, Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez & Soenens, 2013) was used, based upon the CFA of ISI-5 items from our earlier analyses of these data. The detailed CFA can be found in Paper 1 of the present thesis. The total number of items from the original ISI-5 was reduced from 27 to 16 items, as described in Paper 1. Items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Not at all like me) to 5 (Very much like me). ISI-5 (reduced) comprises three identity styles including: informational style (7 items, such as "*When making important decisions, I like to have as much information as possible"*), normative style (4 items, such as *"I never question what I want to do with my life because I tend to follow what important people expect me to do*"); and diffuse-avoidance style (5 items, such as "*I try to avoid personal situations that require me to think a lot and deal with them on my own"*). The alpha coefficients found are information style (α = .67), normative style (α = .51), and diffuse-avoidant (α = .54) respectively.

3.3.2.2 Identity Commitment. The 9-item commitment scale of the ISI-4 (Berzonsky et al., 2010) was administered. Items (such as ''*I know basically what I believe and don't believe''*) were scored on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Not at all like me) to 5 (Very much like me). Cronbach's alpha was.70.

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[2]These measures were included in a larger questionnaire (see Appendix I). The list of all the measure used includes: Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (I-PANAS-SF, Thompson, 2007), Subjective Vitality Scale (Ryan, & Frederick, 1997), DASS Depression, Stress, Anxiety Schedule (Henry & Crawford, 2005), Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ: Schwartz, 2007), Self-Construal Scale Version 1 (CIRN-SCS-1: Vignoles, Owe, et al.) Identity Motives Inventory (Vignoles, Hassan, and colleagues, in preparation), Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction Scale (Sheldon & Gunz, 2009).

3.3.2.3 Measures of Well-Being. Four well-being measures were used to measure positive well-being and negative well-being of individuals. Two latent variables measuring positive well-being (PWB) and negative well-being (NWB) were generated. Indicators of positive well-being (PWB) were measures of participants' satisfaction with life, positive affect and vitality. Indicators of negative well-being (NWB) were measures of negative affect, anxiety, stress and depression. The detailed description for each measure of well-being is as follows:

3.3.2.3.1. The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS). Positive and negative affect were measured through the 10-item measure i.e., International Positive and Negative Affect Schedule Short Form (I-PANAS-SF, Thompson, 2007), which includes separate subscales measuring positive affect (5 items) and negative affect (5 items). Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they have experienced each particular emotion (e.g., active, inspired, upset, hostile) within the time span of the previous one month on a 5-point Likert scale. The response categories are: 1 'Never', 2 'Seldom', 3 'Sometimes', 4 'Often' and 5 'Always'. The reliability for Negative Affect was found to be .60 and for positive Affect it was found to be .62.

3.3.2.3.2. Subjective Vitality Scale. The subjective vitality scale developed by Ryan and Frederick (1997) was used to measure participants' perceptions of vitality. This scale aims to measure the energy, zeal, interests, purposes in life, and feelings of aliveness in people, on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (agree strongly), in terms of how they "apply to you and your life at the present time". Sample, items include "*I feel alive and vital*" and "*I don't feel very energetic"* (reversed). The reliability for subjective vitality for the present sample was found to be .75.

3.3.2.3.3. Satisfaction with Life Scale. Participants completed the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Grin, 1985). This provides a cognitive measure of

satisfaction with life, and contains five items (such as "*In most ways my life is close to my ideal"*). The reliability was 74. Respondents were asked to use a 7-point Likert-type rating scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

3.3.2.3.4. Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale - 21 Items (DASS-21). We used a slightly shorter version of the Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale that included 21 Items (DASS-21, Henry & Crawford, 2005) to measure the dimensions of negative psychological well-being. DASS comprises three self-report scales designed to measure the emotional states of depression, anxiety and stress. Each scale comprised 7 items, on a 4-point scale, where 0 (did not apply to me at all), 1 (Applied to me to some degree, or some of the times), 2 (Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time), and 3 (Applied to me very much or most of the time). The characteristics of depression include pessimism, lack of life satisfaction, lack of interest or, slow, lacking in initiative; sample, items include (a) *I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all,* and (b) *I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things*. The characteristics of anxiety include feeling apprehensive, panicky, trembly, shaky, dryness of the mouth, breathing difficulties, pounding of the heart; sample items include (a) *I felt I was close to panic/losing control over myself,* and (b) *I felt scared without any good reason*. The characteristics of stress include feeling over-aroused, tense, unable to relax, touchy, easily upset, irritable, scared, intolerant of interruption or delay; sample items are (a) *I found it difficult to relax,* and (b*) I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy*. Scores for depression, anxiety and stress were calculated by summing the scores for the relevant items. The alpha coefficients found are Anxiety ($\alpha = .80$), Stress ($\alpha = .78$), Depression ($\alpha = .80$) respectively.

3.3.2.4. Identity Motives. We initially included 75 items designed to measure satisfaction of the identity motives for Meaning, Self Esteem, Self-Efficacy, Distinctiveness, Continuity and Belongingness. The items for Meaning were adapted from

a well-established measure, the "presence of meaning" subscale of Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ; Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006) (e.g., *I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful*). Items for Belongingness were adapted from SOBI-P (Sense of Belonging - Psychological State) by Hagerty and Patusky (1995) (e.g., I *generally feel that people accept me*). The Self-Esteem (e.g., *I am very comfortable with myself*) and Efficacy items (*e.g., I am able to do most things I try to do*) were adapted from Self-Liking/Self-Competence Scale-Revised Version (SLCS-R; Tafarodi & Swann, 2001). The items for Distinctiveness (*e.g., I feel I am different from other people*), and Continuity (*I feel a sense of continuity between past, present and future in my life*), were developed by Vignoles (2012). The measurement model suggested deleting a few items from the identity motives inventory based upon their low factor loadings, and many items were removed because modification indices suggested substantial cross-loadings on alternative factors, A final measure with 50 items provided a satisfactory model fit (χ^2 = 2277.212, *df* = 1150, *p* < .001, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .04, SRMR = .05). All subscales showed adequate reliability: Meaning (8 items: α = .90), Self Esteem (4 items: α = .60), Self-Efficacy (4 items: α = .72), Distinctiveness (6 items: α = .60), Continuity (11 items: α = .77), and Belongingness (17 items: α = .91).

3.4 Results

Structural equation models were computed, using MPlus 6 (Muthén & Muthén, 2011) to test the relationships between identity styles, commitment, identity motives and well-being. We tested our first research question using a single-group model across the entire sample. We tested the second and third research questions using multi-group models, with participants divided according to their gender. Equality constraints were used to test the significance of gender differences in the relationships among variables. The indices used to assess model fit include the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Root

Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). Recommended cutoffs for these indices are as follows: for RMSEA, acceptable values are < .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999); values of SRMR < .05 indicate a good fit, and values < .10 may be interpreted as acceptable (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1995; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006); for CFI values ≥ .90 reflect acceptable fit (Bentler, 1990).

3.4.1 Correlations among all Study Variables

Correlations among all study variables are presented in Table 3.1. Commitment was positively related to the measures of positive well-being and to satisfaction of all six identity motives and negatively related to measures of negative well-being. The correlations for information orientation show almost the same pattern as for commitment. Only the association with negative affect is non-significant. The diffuse-avoidance style showed an opposite pattern from the information-oriented style, as it was negatively related to measures of positive well-being and positively related to negative well-being. Additionally, diffuse-avoidance has negative correlations with all six identity motives. The normative style showed a non-significant relationship with commitment, measures of positive well-being, depression and negative affect. Additionally, similar to diffuse-avoidance style it was positively related to anxiety and stress and negatively related to distinctiveness motive.

In short, commitment and information-oriented style in the Pakistani sample are significantly associated with better outcomes (more positive well-being, less negative well-being, higher motive satisfaction), whereas diffuse-avoidant style is significantly associated with poorer outcomes (less positive well-being, more negative well-being, lower motive satisfaction). The normative identity style has largely shown a non-significant relationship with most variables under study.

Table 3.1*: Correlations among commitment identity styles, identity motives and psychological well-being*

		M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Commitment	3.77 (.69)	-															
2	Information Orientation	3.84 (.69)	.43**	-														
3	Normative orientation	3.40 (.87)	-.00	.13**	-													
4	Avoidance	2.79 (.84)	-.44**	-.14**	.32**	-												
5	Life satisfaction	4.03 (.90)	.21**	.12**	.05	-.04	-											
6	Positive Affect	3.60 (.68)	.25**	.27**	.03	-.18**	.24**	-										
7	Vitality	5.10 (.87)	.28**	.19**	.05	-.10*	.34**	.34**	-									
8	Negative Affect	2.59 (.67)	-.17**	-.04	.08	.12**	-.19**	-.11*	-.11*	-								
9	Anxiety	1.20 (.70)	-.26**	-.12**	.12**	.26**	-.11*	-.08	-.02	.37**	-							
10	Stress	1.28 (.67)	-.25**	-.13**	.09*	.20**	-.17**	-.12**	-.06	.32**	.72**	-						
11	Depression	1.11 (.69)	-.40**	-.21**	.06	.33**	-.22**	-.20**	-.20**	.33**	.70**	.72**	-					
12	Meaning	4.33 (1.08)	.49**	.36**	.01	-.36**	.31**	.28**	.32**	-.25**	-.30**	-.26**	-.47**	-				
13	Esteem	4.01 (.94)	.34**	.22**	.05	-.14**	.28**	.20**	.29**	-.22**	-.25**	-.27**	-.42**	.53**	-			
14	Efficacy	4.23 (.92)	.33**	.30**	-.01	-.24**	.20**	.17**	.25**	-.17**	-.23**	-.15**	-.37**	.46**	.50**	-		
15	Distinctiveness	3.81 (.78)	.22**	.17**	-.14**	-.20**	.01	.10*	.04	-.06	-.15**	-.04	-.17**	.22**	.18**	.26**	-	
16	Continuity	3.90 (.74)	.36**	.28**	-.06	-.36**	.17**	.24**	.18**	-.29**	-.43**	-.35**	-.52**	.54**	.41**	.31**	.31**	-
17	Belonging	4.11 (.96)	.36**	.18**	-.01	-.32**	.09*	.18**	.14**	-.30**	-.44**	-.40**	-.52**	.45**	.32**	.24**	.22**	.61**

**p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001*

3.4.2Relationship between Identity Styles and Well-being

Our first structural model (Model 1) tested the predictive effects of identity styles on positive and negative well-being (F paths in Figure 3.2) across the entire sample. The three identity styles were modeled as observed variables, and the seven dimensions of well-being were used as indicators of two latent factors, labeled as Positive Well-Being (PWB) and Negative Well-Being (NWB). The model showed acceptable fit indices (χ^2 = 93.90, *df* = 28, *p*<.001, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .04). Standardized path estimates are shown in Figure 3.3.

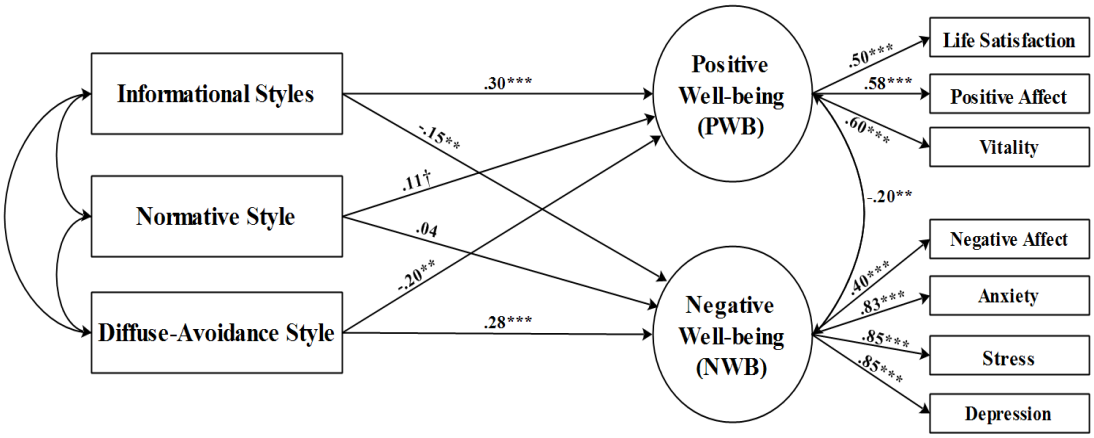


Figure 3.3: Relationships between identity styles and psychological well-being

Information style showed an expected positive relationship with PWB and negative relationship with NWB. Similarly, diffuse-avoidance predicted greater NWB and lesser PWB. Both of these predictions are in accordance with previous Western research. On the other hand, normative style in our Pakistani sample has shown a non-significant relationship to NWB and showed a marginally significant positive relationship with PWB.

3.4.3. Moderation by Gender.

The data were then split on the basis of gender to test whether the relationships between identity styles and well-being were different for males and females in the sample. Thus, we re-estimated Model 1 as a multi-group model. Initially, all structural paths and covariances were estimated freely across the two gender groups, while loadings of the seven well-being measures on PWB and NWB were constrained to equality across genders. This model also showed an acceptable fit (χ^2 = 158.44, *df* = 66, p<.001, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .05). Results are shown in Table 3.2.

This model showed a similar pattern of effects among male and female participants. The information orientation style predicted higher PWB and lower NWB in both samples, nonetheless the same pathways were non-significant in relation to normative orientation in both samples. Notably, diffuse-avoidance predicted lower PWB and higher NWB in both genders, but somewhat more strongly for females than for males as the relationship with PWB is non-significant in male sample.

To test the significance of these gender differences, we computed a series of models in which we constrained each path in turn to be equal across genders. In all six cases, the constrained models showed no significant loss of fit, in comparison with the unconstrained models. Details of these model comparisons can be found in Table 3.2. The present findings suggest that, similar to Berzonsky's (2011) prediction, the relationship between identity styles and well-being is not moderated by gender in the non-Western culture of Pakistan.

Table 3.2: ***Pathways from identity styles to psychological well-being among male and female samples.***

Direct Paths Model 1	Standardized path estimates (β) from unconstrained model		Model comparisons testing for gender differences		
F Paths	Male	Female	χ^2	$\Delta\chi^2(1df)$	*p*
Information → PWB	.35***	.26***	158.96	.52	.469
Information → NWB	-.22**	-.11†	159.28	.84	.358
Normative → PWB	.15	.07	158.97	.52	.467
Normative → NWB	.04	.05	158.44	.00	.956
Diffuse-Avoidance → PWB	-.09	-.26**	159.70	1.26	.260
Diffuse-Avoidance → NWB	.37***	.23***	160.18	1.74	.186

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10*

3.4.4 Mediation through Commitment

Next, we sought to test whether the predictive effects of identity styles on well-being among males and females were mediated by identity commitment (A, E, and F paths in Figure 3.2). Thus, for Model 2, we added commitment as a potential mediator of the links between identity styles and positive and negative well-being. We tested the mediating role of commitment separately for males and females in a multi-group model. As before, we initially estimated all structural paths freely across the two samples, then tested the effects of adding model constraints on model fit in order to check the significance of gender differences. The unconstrained model showed acceptable fit indices (χ^2 = 171.57, *df* = 76, *p* = *<.001*, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .05). Table 3.3 shows the direct paths among identity styles, well-being and commitment.

Among ‘A’ paths, information orientation predicts higher commitment in both genders, and diffuse-avoidance predicts lower commitment as expected. The normative orientation predicts commitment only among males. However, none of these paths showed significant gender differences. Among ‘E’ paths, commitment is positively related to PWB and negatively related to NWB in both genders. The ‘F’ paths showed a relatively different pattern of relationships than found earlier in Model 1, indicating that commitment partially mediates the relationships between identity styles and well-being. Information identity style positively predicts PWB and negatively predicts NWB only among males. Additionally, among males diffuse-avoidance predicts greater NWB. Whereas normative identity styles is a non-significant predictor of well-being in both samples. This is an interesting finding as in a tight normative and a patriarchal culture people in general, and woman in particular are expected to be more normative to better adjust in the society. These findings suggest that commitment partially mediates the relationship between identity styles and well-being, nonetheless, the the effects of adding model constraints and their comparison with free structural paths suggest such a mediational effect is not moderated through gender.

Table 3.3: ***Pathways from identity styles, commitment, to psychological well-being among male and female samples***

Direct Paths Model 2	Standardized path estimates (β) from unconstrained model		Model comparisons testing for gender differences		
A Paths	*Male*	*Female*	χ^2	$\Delta\chi^2$***(1df)***	***p***
Information→ Commitment	.41***	.33***	171.72	0.15	.698
Normative → Commitment	.12*	.04	172.29	0.72	.396
Diffuse-Avoidance→Commitment	-.38***	-.43***	171.90	0.33	.560
E Paths					
Commitment→PWB	.20*	.44***	173.34	1.77	.183
Commitment→NWB	-.19*	-.30***	172.56	0.99	.317
F Paths					
Informative →PWB	.25*	.11	172.76	1.196	.274
Informative →NWB	-.14†	-.00	173.01	1.44	.229
Normative →PWB	.12	.05	171.99	0.42	.512
Normative →NWB	.07	.06	171.57	0	1.00
Diffuse-Avoidance → PWB	-.00	-.06	171.74	0.17	.673
Diffuse-Avoidance → NWB	.30***	.10	174.65	3.08	.079

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05,* †*p*<.10

Table 3.4 shows the standardised estimates of the indirect paths from identity styles through commitment to well-being, with 95% bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals (10,000 resamples). In both genders, commitment significantly mediates the relationship between information style, diffuse-avoidance and both positive and negative well-being. Information style predicts better commitment, and hence greater PWB and lower NWB. Diffuse-avoidance style is negatively related to commitment and thus predicts lower PWB and higher NWB. In contrast, consistent with the non-

significant relationships between normative orientation and well-being in the preceding analyses, we also found no significant indirect relationships through commitment in both genders.

Table 3.4: Model 2 *indirect paths among identity styles, commitment and well-being*

	Males		Females	
Indirect paths Model 2	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
A, E & F Paths				
Information→ Commitment→ PWB	.08†	[-.01, . 17]	.14***	[.70, .22]
Information→ Commitment→ NWB	-.08*	[-.15, -.01]	-.10***	[-.15, -.04]
Normative→ Commitment→ PWB	.02	[-.01, .05]	.02	[-.28, .07]
Normative→ Commitment→ NWB	-.02	[-.05 .00]	-.01	[-.04, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment→ PWB	-.08†	[-.16, .00]	-.19***	[-.28 -.09]
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment→ NWB	.07*	[.01, .14]	.13***	[.06, .18]

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10*

3.4.5 Mediation through Commitment and Identity Motives

Finally, we sought to test the complete theoretical model presented in Figure 3.2, including all paths A, B, C, D, E and F. Thus, for Model 3, the six identity motives were added as mediators between commitment and well-being. Table 3.5 presents all of the direct paths shown in Figure 3.2. This model replicated the similar pattern of relationships between identity styles and commitment for both genders as established through Model 2 (see Table 3.5, A Paths). Among the identity motives, all six motives including meaning, self-efficacy, self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity and belonging are predicted by stronger commitments among females. Nonetheless such a direct effect from commitment to distinctiveness and belonging is non-significant among males. As before, we tested the significance of these gender differences whilst adding constraints on each path to be equal across genders. However, comparing constrained paths with

unconstrained model suggested these gender differences are non-significant (see Table 3.5, B Paths).

In relation to psychological well-being, meaning and self-esteem predict higher PWB among females, whereas feelings of self-esteem, continuity, and belonging predict lower negative well-being. Among males meaning predicts higher PWB and continuity and belonging predict lower NWB (see Table 3.5, C Paths). An interesting finding, though, is that model constraints suggested a significant moderation effect of gender, where greater distinctiveness predicts greater NWB for females and such a relationship is non-significant for males. Likewise, self-esteem predicts lower NWB only among females and not among males. Also, the pathway from self-esteem to PWB was significant among females only, even if the gender difference was not significant.

In relation to identity styles, information style is positively related to satisfaction of all of the motives except motive for self-esteem among males. Among females information style predicts only satisfaction of the motives for self-efficacy and continuity. However, the only significant moderation effect between male and female is that, information style predicts motive for meaning in males whereas the same direct effect is non-significant among females (see Table 3.5, D Paths).

Normative style positively predicts meaning and self-esteem among males and predicts lesser distinctiveness among females. The significant moderation effect between male and female is that normative style predicts motives for meaning and self-esteem only among males (see Table 3.5, D Paths).

Moreover, diffuse-avoidance style is negatively related to satisfaction of all of the motives except motive for distinctiveness among males. Among females, diffuse-avoidance negatively predicts meaning, continuity and belonging. However, the only significant moderation effect between male and female is that diffuse-avoidance style

predicts lower self-esteem in males whereas the same direct effect is non-significant among females (see Table 3.5, D Paths).

Tables 3.6, 3.7 & 3.8 (see Appendix IV) present the indirect paths among study variables, shown as A-E, D-C and A-B-C paths in Figure 3.2, with 95% bias corrected bootstrapped confidence intervals (10,000 resamples). Figures 3.4 (a, b, & c) and Figure 3.5 (a, b, & c) summarise all of the indirect paths from identity styles to well-being that reached at least marginal significance for each gender. Adding identity motives in the model does show the significance of these motives with identity styles and commitment, and thus identity motives are helping to account for some of the relationships between identity styles, commitment and well-being.

Table 3.5: ***Pathways from identity styles, commitment, identity motives to psychological well-being among male and female samples (χ^2= 285.869, df = 136, CFI=.94, RMSEA=.06, SRMR= .04)***

Direct Paths Model 3	Standardized path estimates (β) from unconstrained model		Model comparisons testing for gender differences		
A Paths	***Male***	***Female***	χ^2	$\Delta\chi^2$***(1df)***	***p***
Information→ Commitment	.41***	.33***	286.01	.15	.698
Normative→ Commitment	.12*	.04	286.58	.72	.396
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment	-.38***	-.43***	286.20	.33	.560
B Paths					
Commitment→ Meaning	.19**	.39***	288.22	2.35	.124
Commitment→ Esteem	.26**	.32***	285.88	.01	.890
Commitment→ Efficacy	.24**	.15*	287.79	1.92	.165
Commitment→ Distinctiveness	.14	.13*	285.92	.06	.806
Commitment→ Continuity	.14†	.18**	285.96	.10	.751
Commitment→ Belonging	.13	.32***	288.73	2.86	.090
C Paths					
Meaning → PWB	.35***	.20*	286.77	.90	.340
Meaning → NWB	-.02	-.05	285.94	.07	.789
Esteem→ PWB	.07	.28***	288.17	2.30	.128
Esteem→ NWB	.03	-.21***	292.40	6.53	.010
Efficacy→ PWB	.19	.04	286.83	.96	.326
Efficacy→ NWB	-.09	-.10	286.02	.16	.689
Distinctiveness→ PWB	-.14	-.04	286.63	.77	.380
Distinctiveness→ NWB	-.05	.16**	293.17	7.31	.006
Continuity→ PWB	.04	.08	285.91	.04	.835
Continuity→ NWB	-.17*	-.21**	286.07	.20	.648
Belonging→ PWB	-.12	-.03	286.30	.43	.511
Belonging→ NWB	-.38***	-.25***	287.06	1.20	.273
D Paths					
Information→ Meaning	.33***	.07	294.56	8.69	.003

Table 3.5: … *continued*…

Information→ Esteem	.09	.07	285.89	.02	.871
Information→ Efficacy	.13†	.25***	286.59	.72	.393
Information→ Distinctiveness	.19*	.05	287.70	1.83	.175
Information→ Continuity	.17*	.16**	285.86	0	1.00
Information→ Belonging ness	.13†	-.02	288.60	2.73	.098
Normative→ Meaning	.14*	.00	289.34	3.47	.062
Normative→ Esteem	.16*	-.05	291.96	6.09	.013
Normative→ Efficacy	.04	-.05	286.92	1.05	.304
Normative→ Distinctiveness	-.08	-.19**	286.84	.98	.322
Normative→ Continuity	.11	-.07	289.96	4.09	.042
Normative→ Belonging	.12	-.00	287.93	2.07	.150
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Meaning	-.23***	-.21***	286.25	.39	.532
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Esteem	-.15*	.09	291.77	5.90	.015
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Efficacy	-.14*	-.11	286.33	.46	.494
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Distinctiveness	-.06	-.10	285.96	0.1	.751
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Continuity	-.33***	-.21**	287.66	1.79	.179
Diffuse-Avoidance→ Belonging	-.32***	-.16*	288.74	2.87	.090
E Paths					
Commitment→ PWB	.10	.27**	286.95	1.08	.297
Commitment→ NWB	-.09	-.10	285.89	.02	.884
F Paths					
Information→ PWB	.12	.04	286.30	.43	.511
Information→ NWB	-.03	.05	286.93	1.07	.300
Normative→ PWB	.04	.07	285.89	.03	.862
Normative → NWB	.12*	.06	286.38	.52	.470
Diffuse-Avoidance → PWB	.09	-.03	286.87	1.00	.315
Diffuse-Avoidance→ NWB	.09	.03	286.25	.38	.537

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10*

3.4.5.1 Information Orientation, Commitment, Identity Motives, and Well-being. Among males, information identity style predicts meaning and hence positive well-being, such a relationship is also partially mediated through commitment (see Figure 3.4a). Both indirect pathways differed significantly from zero: (i) for *Information → Meaning→ PWB*, standardized point estimate (SPE) = .11, $p < .01$; 95% bias corrected bootstrapped confidence interval (BC CI) = .02, .21; for (ii) *Information→ Commitment →Meaning →PWB*, (SPE) = .02, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.00, .06.

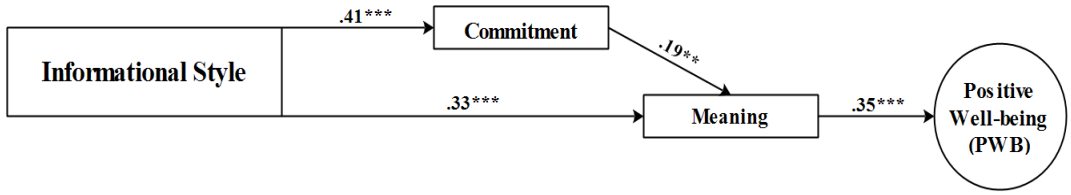
Among females, it is worth noting that the pathways that are significant for males are also significant for females. However, for females, we found a number of additional significant pathways. Hence a more complex set of relationships was found, where commitment mediated the relationship between information style and PWB, whereas continuity motive mediated such a relationship with NWB only (see Figure 3.4b). Both of these indirect pathways differed significantly from zero (iii) *Information → Commitment→ PWB,* (SPE) = .09, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = .02, .16; (iv) *Information → Continuity→ NWB,* (SPE) = -.03, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.06, .00. This suggests that greater commitment predicts PWB among women with information identity style, moreover, information style predicts greater continuity, which in turn lowers NWB.

Additionally, identity motive of meaning is positively related to commitment and PWB among females, with information identity style. Moreover, among females with information style, commitment predicts self-esteem motive and higher PWB, as well as, lowers NWB. The continuity motive and belonging are also positively related to commitments and lower NWB. All of these five indirect pathways differed significantly from zero: (v) *Information→ Commitment →Meaning →PWB*, (SPE) = .02, $p \leq .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.00, .05; (iv) for *Information→ Commitment →Esteem→ PWB,* (SPE) = .03, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = .00, .05; (vi) for *Information→*

Commitment →Esteem→ NWB, (SPE) = -.02, *p* < .01; 95% (BC CI) = -.04, .00; and (vii) for I*nformation→ Commitment →Continuity→ NWB*, (SPE) = -.01, *p* < .05; 95% (BC CI) = -.02, -.00. (viii) *Information→ Commitment →Belonging→ NWB*, (SPE) = -.02, *p* < .01; 95% (BC CI) = -.04, -.00. The indirect paths from information to well-being are shown in Table 3.6 (Appendix IV).

Mediation Paths for Information Identity Styles and Well-being.

Male Sample (a)



Figures representing direct and indirect paths among information identity style, commitment, and psychological well-being among male sample

Female Sample (b)

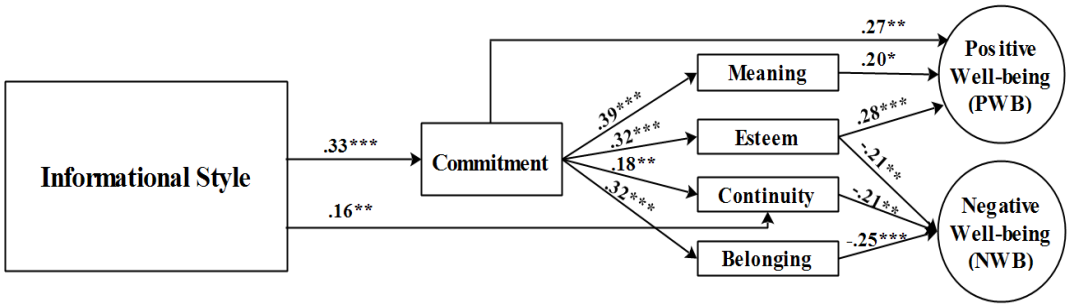


Figure 3.4: Figures representing direct and indirect paths among information identity style, commitment, and psychological well-being among female sample.

3.4.5.2 Normative Orientation, Commitment, Identity Motives, and Well-being. To a large extent, normative orientation served as a non-significant predictor of well-being through commitment and identity motives in both genders (Beta values can

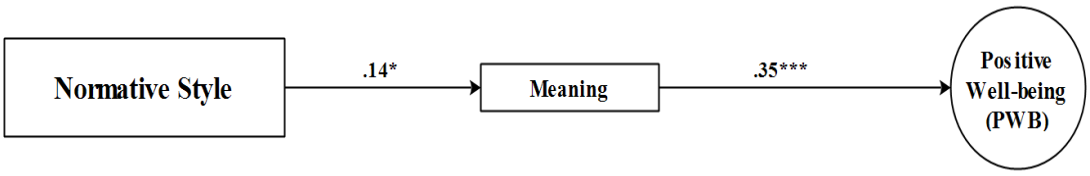
be found in Table 3.5). Among males, just one indirect pathway differed significantly from zero: for (i) *Normative* → *Meaning*→ *PWB*, (SPE) = .05, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.00 .11. Among males normative style predicts motive for meaning and greater positive well-being (see Figure 3.5a).

Likewise, among females, only one indirect pathway differed significantly from zero (ii) *Normative*→*Distinctiveness* → *NWB*, (SPE) = -.03, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.06 .00.

Normative style predicts lower distinctiveness and hence lower NWB among females (see Figure 3.5b). These findings suggest that normative identity style is not related to most of the variables under study. (See Table 3.7, Appendix IV).

Mediation Paths for Normative Identity Styles and Well-being.

Male Sample (a)



Figures representing direct and indirect paths among normative identity style, commitment, and psychological well-being among male sample

Female Sample (b)

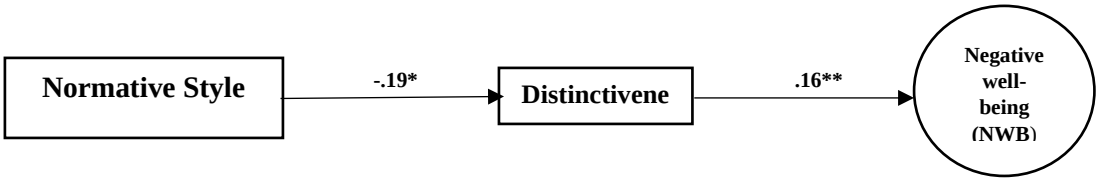


Figure 3.5: Figures representing direct and indirect paths among normative identity style, commitment, and psychological well-being among female sample.

3.4.5.3 Diffuse-Avoidance Orientation, Commitment, Identity Motives, and Well-being. Among the male sample the indirect paths suggest that diffuse-avoidance negatively predicts meaning and in turn, lowers PWB, via and without commitment. These indirect pathways differed significantly from zero: (i) *Diffuse-Avoidance → Meaning→ PWB*, (SPE) = -.08, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.16 -.00; (ii) *Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment→ Meaning→ PWB*, (SPE) = -.02, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.05 .00. Additionally, diffuse-avoidance predicts lower continuity and belonging and in turn, greater NWB among males. These indirect pathways also differed significantly from zero (iii) *Diffuse-Avoidance → Continuity→ NWB*, (SPE) = .05, $p \leq .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.00 .11; (iv) *Diffuse-Avoidance → Belonging→ NWB*, (SPE) = .12, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = .04 .19 (see Figure 3.6a).

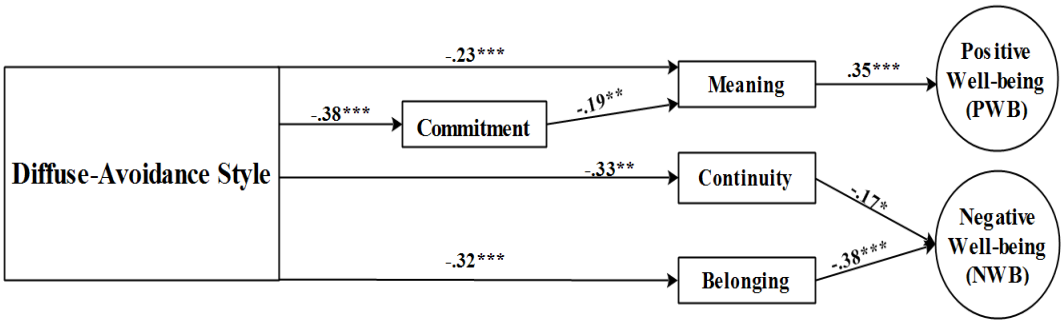
A more complex set of relationships was found among the female sample (see Table 3.8 Appendix IV for indirect paths). As expected, diffuse-avoidance negatively predicts commitment and thus lowers PWB among females. The indirect pathway differed significantly from zero: for (v) *Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment→ PWB*, (SPE) = -.11, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = -.20, -.03. Similar to males, the indirect paths suggest that diffuse-avoidance negatively predicts lower meaning, via and without commitment, among the female sample, and in turn lowers PWB. These indirect pathways differed significantly from zero: (vi) *Diffuse-Avoidance→ Meaning→ PWB*, (SPE) = -.04, $p \leq .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.09 .00; (vii) *Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment→ Meaning→ PWB*, (SPE) = -.03, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.07 -.00 (see Figure 3.6b).

Additionally, diffuse-avoidance negatively predict continuity and belonging and higher NWB among females, with as well as without commitment. All of the four indirect pathways differed significantly from zero: (viii) *Diffuse-Avoidance→*

Continuity→ NWB, (SPE) = .04, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = .00 .08; (ix) *Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment→ Continuity→ NWB*, (SPE) = .01, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = .00 .03; (x) *Diffuse-Avoidance→ Belonging→ NWB*, (SPE) = .04, $p < .05$; 95% (BC CI) = -.00 .08. (xi) *Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Belonging→ NWB*, (SPE) = .03, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = .01 .06. Lastly, diffuse-avoidance negatively predicts motive for self-esteem, less commitment, and in turn, predicts higher NWB and lower PWB among females. Both of these indirect pathways differed from zero; (xii) *Diffuse-Avoidance→ Commitment→ Esteem→ PWB*, (SPE) = -.04, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = -.07 -.00; (xiii) *Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Esteem→ NWB*, (SPE) = .03, $p < .01$; 95% (BC CI) = .00 .05 (for significant paths in model 3 see Figure 3.6b). The indirect paths from avoidance to well-being are shown in Table 3.8 (Appendix IV).

Mediation Paths for Diffuse-Avoidance Identity Styles and Well-being.

Male Sample (a)



Figures representing direct and indirect paths among diffuse-avoidance identity style, commitment, and psychological well-being among male sample

Female Sample (b)

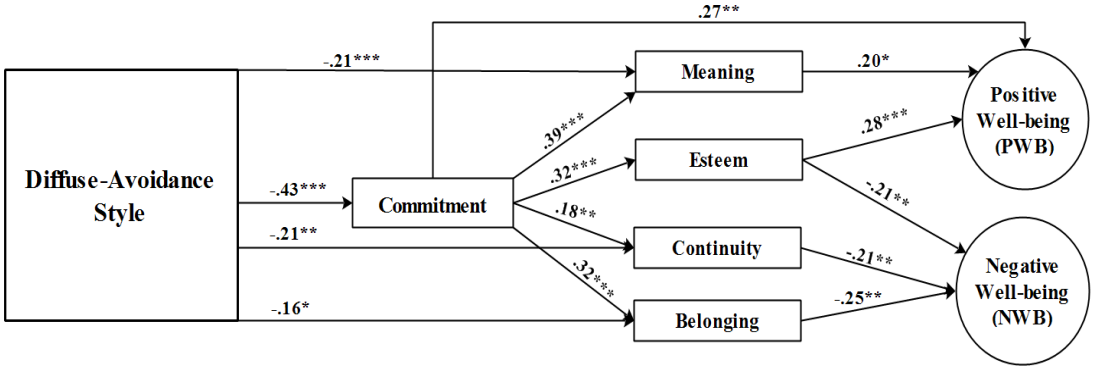


Figure 3.6: Figures representing direct and indirect paths among diffuse-avoidance identity style, commitment, and psychological well-being among female sample.

The overall findings of Model 3 suggest that identity motives largely mediate the relationship between identity styles and well-being, and that this role is more complex for females than males.

The beta values for direct paths in Model 3 can be found in Table 3.5. An interesting finding in Model 3 is that, these paths suggest a significant residual effect of normative identity style on negative well-being only among males, after accounting for the possible pathways through commitment and identity motive satisfaction. This finding is interesting as although normative orientation overall was unrelated to well-being, there is now a significant residual path from normative orientation to more NWB among males, while information and diffuse-avoidance styles have a non-significant relationship with well-being in this model (see Table 3.5, F Paths). These mediational paths (Figure 3.4-3.6) help to explain why normative orientation has ended up with a null effect on well-being in both genders in our earlier models. The six "F-paths" that did reach significance in Table 3.2 were all reduced to non-significance in Table 3.5, as are largely or wholly explained by the combination of identity commitment and identity motive satisfaction. Therefore, it is important to consider the role of commitment and

identity motives while taking into account the relationship between identity styles and well-being.

3.5 Discussion

The above results drew on three basic models: the first focuses on identity styles and well-being, and the role that gender might have in moderating the relationship between them; the second focuses on identity styles, gender and commitment; and the third on identity motives, identity styles, well-being and gender. Each of these is now discussed in more detail, examining the major findings of this research and their theoretical implications.

3.5.1 Identity Styles and Well-being among Men and Women in Pakistan

Starting with Model 1, the present investigation focused first on testing the robustness of the theorised relationships between identity styles and well-being in a cultural context of Pakistan (Berzonsky, 2003; Crocetti et al. 2008; Nurmi, et, al. 1997). As outlined in the introduction, two broad approaches to the relationship have previously been developed: (a) a universalist approach, and (b) a differential approach. Each of these has some relevance to the present research. In line with previous research, the data examined here suggests that information style leads to better psychological well-being, and diffuse-avoidance is found to be associated with greater negative well-being (see Berzonsky, 2003; Nurmi et al, 1997; Phillips & Pittman, 2007). An interesting new finding, though, is that normative identity style in the Pakistani sample is a non-significant predictor of negative well-being and only marginally predicted positive well-being. Based upon a differential approach, it would be expected that in the Pakistani sample, supposedly based on a tight normative structure (Gelfand et al., 2011; Kandiyoti, 1988), being normative would lead to better adjustment in the society,

perhaps even especially for women, but such an argument does not appear to have a strong support by our evidence.

Consequently, a possible explanation might be that individuals belonging to normative societies are conventionally expected to be higher on normative orientation (Smith, 2011). The null effect of normative identity style suggests the possibility that the very operationalisation of a normative identity style lacks exploration by the self, includes automatic processing of information, and represent a blind obedience to authority. Such a passive operationalisation of normative style seemingly suggests that there is no difference between 'norms' and 'self' in such societies, and thus that anyone higher on normative style is expected automatically to adopt the values and norms of its culture. For instance the normative style item "*I automatically adopt and follow the values I was brought up with*", reflects the structure of normative style as a process that does not need to be acquired by self, but is rather only sought automatically. Berzonsky's (1989a, 1990) social-cognitive approach sees all styles, including the normative, as processes that can be actively sought after rather than being blindly adhered to. Building on this idea, such an operationalisation (Berzonsky, 1989a, 1990) does not completely capture the core social-cognitive strategies of normative style, and thus, minimises the scope of normative style as a process. This could explain why normative identity style does not show a stronger impact on well-being. Therefore, it may be useful to reconsider the operationalisation of normative identity style not only in the Pakistani context but also more generally.

A second area where this paper has added to new knowledge is through testing the impact of gender on identity styles, and well-being. The findings though, have revealed a non-significant moderation by gender for all three identity styles. Therefore, one can possibly accept that identity styles are universal predictors of well-being, with

similar relationships existing between these across varied contexts in both Western and non-Western societies, and gender does not moderate such a relationship. Thus the results presented here are in line with the Western findings where gender seemingly does not moderate the relationship between identity styles and well-being.

Nonetheless, the Model 3 in the present study suggest a significant residual effect of normative identity style on well-being, after accounting for the possible pathways through commitment and identity motive satisfaction. Based upon findings from Model 3 normative identity style predicts greater NWB for males and such a relationship is non-significant for females. However, in normative culture of Pakistan it was expected to be a positive predictor of well-being. A possible explanation is that identity styles are relevant to psychological well-being in cases where individuals are exposed to environments that challenge their identities (Berzonsky, Macek & Nurmi, 2003). People in normative societies such as Pakistan are traditionally expected to be more normative and less deviant (Gelfand et al., 2011). However, as well as being a normative society, Pakistan is widely described having a strict patriarchal structure where men hold the power for decision making (Tarar & Pulla, 2014). Such arguments would suggest that in a patriarchal social structure this creates an environment for men higher on normative style to repress expressions of their personal choices and personal explorations. As men higher on normative style are not the agents of their own decision making, but rather they are just the passive recipients of the decisions taken by others. Therefore, for men, being normative can hamper expressions of their selves, and consequently being normative have a negative effect on their well-being. A related consideration can be age of men, as it is quite likely that younger men are expected to be more normative and with growing age their patriarchal role becomes more salient. Therefore, in future research, age differences could be examined to see how younger

and older men are possibly different on their normative orientations and resultant well-being.

Additionally, these findings also suggest to take into account the role of commitment and identity motives while explaining the relationship between identity styles and well-being. This could explain why there was a non-significant effect of normative style on well-being in Model 1 and 2. This suggests that a simple relationship between identity styles and well-being does not adequately capture the diverse ways individuals' formulae their identities, but the mediational pathways in Model 3 through commitment and identity motives can possibly explain some such relationships.

3.5.2 The Role of Commitment

Developing these ideas further, Model 2 suggests that information orientation leads to higher commitment in both genders, and that as expected from previous research diffuse-avoidance predicts lesser commitment. It was particularly interesting, though, to observe that normative orientation significantly predicted commitment only among men and not among women, even if the gender difference did not reach statistical significance.

Previous research (Berzonsky, 1990, 1992) sees normative style relating to greater commitment. However, commitments may influence personal functioning and well-being in a variety of ways. According to Berzonsky (2003), normative commitments are emotionally grounded, and are often termed as premature cognitive commitments (Chanowitz & Langer, 1981; Langer, 1989). Accordingly, it can be argued that in a patriarchal context, women with higher normative orientations (as defined by Berzonsky) would be more likely to formulate such premature commitments. These commitments, though, can tend to be more fluid than firm, and can be changed or given up due to normative pressure at a later time. Therefore, women can experience

fluid commitment or emotionally grounded commitments that are tentative and thus do not have a significant impact on woman having a strong normative identity style. Another explanation might be that being normative for Pakistani women implies that someone else is in control of their identity. So, in the patriarchal social structure (see for example Alexander & Welzel, 2011), the female "I" does not have the freedom to "make a commitment". Thus such commitments may be delegated to someone else (for example male) who actually makes the decision, rather than to one's own self.

3.5.3 The Role of Identity Motives

A third Model was also tested to understand the role of identity motives in relationship to identity styles as outlined in the introduction. This link between identity style and identity motives has not been empirically tested before, either in Western or non-Western contexts. Our results show that: all of the identity motives proposed by MICT (Vignoles, 2011), including meaning, self-esteem, self-efficacy, continuity, distinctiveness, and belonging are positively related to information style, whereas they all have negative relationships with diffuse-avoidance style, the normative style is negatively related to motive for distinctiveness only (see Table 3.1 for correlations).

Furthermore, the role of these identity motives as predictors of well-being was also tested. Identity construction is guided by motivational principles, and satisfaction of such identity motives should theoretically have positive implications for psychological well-being (Vignoles, 2011). However, an interesting finding of the present research is that the distinctiveness motive seems to predict more negative than positive well-being, especially among women, once satisfaction of the other motives is accounted for. One possible reason for this finding might be a conceivably different interpretation of the word 'distinctiveness' in different cultures. As Gelfand et al. (2011) have described, Pakistan is a tight culture having strong norms, and low tolerance for

deviance. It is quite likely, therefore, that people might interpret being distinctive as being deviant from what is generally expected of them, rather than as what they actually want their identities to be. For example, the item "*I find it easy to say what distinguishes me from others*", might make people think of a negative characteristic they possess that makes them distinguished from their in-group, rather than the positive sense in which this could be seen in much Western culture. Thus, being distinctive in Pakistan may be seen in some ways as being deviant, and consequently this may have led to our sample reflecting a negative impact on positive self-regard among women.

However, it is also worth noting that distinctiveness is correlated positively with Positive Well-Being (PWB) indicators and negatively with Negative Well-Being (NWB) indicators. So these unexpected findings are only there when satisfaction of the other motives is controlled for. Thus the effect of distinctiveness only becomes negative while controlling for other motives. Such a dual function of distinctiveness is similar to what Vignoles et al. (2006, Study 3) found among UK psychology students, when they noted that distinctiveness is positively correlated with happiness, but it becomes a significant negative predictor of happiness while controlling for other motives. Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell (2000) described distinctiveness as a motive that strives for establishing and maintaining a sense of differentiation from others. Therefore, such a differentiation might bring about positive and negative consequences for one's well-being depending on the context. This suggests that the distinctiveness motive does indeed apply across different cultures (see Becker et al. 2012), but might do so in somewhat different ways.

This implication of testing identity motives has not previously been examined in the cultural context of Pakistan. Following Vignoles (2011) these motives are adaptive and may have very different consequences in different cultural contexts. Therefore, the

cultural and contextual applicability of identity motives may be different, but the distinctiveness motive can predict both dimensions of well-being, be it positive or negative, depending on the different ways that cultures provide their members with an understanding of notions of distinctiveness.

There is a lack of evidence for gender differences precisely on satisfaction for these motives. For example, it is not known whether men and women use similar motives in their identity formation. In the patriarchal structure of Pakistan (Farooq, 2003; Kandiyoti, 1988; Lim, 1997) it would be problematic to assume a uniformity of motive satisfaction across gender without testing this assertion empirically. The present study is a pioneering effort to see if men and women do indeed use differential motives. The findings suggest that among males only the motive for meaning mediated the relationship between the three identity styles and well-being. Conversely, such a mediation effect for identity motives is much more complex for women, especially for women having diffuse-avoidance orientation.

According to Vignoles (2011), satisfaction of identity motives has positive implications for well-being, and dissatisfaction of motives will lead to frustration which has negative implications for well-being. He further suggests that temporary or chronic situations of motive frustration can lead to intensified strivings to satisfy identity motives (see Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, & Scabini, 2006). It seems likely that the stronger mediation effect of meaning, self-esteem, continuity, belonging, and commitment between information style and well-being within the female sample is because the patriarchal social structure puts greater pressure on women (Sathar & Kazi, 2000). Informed and educated women experience greater negative well-being when such motives are frustrated. Likewise, women high on diffuse-avoidance tend to have greater frustration in terms of their motives, and this results in greater negative

adjustment. In contrast, men within such a patriarchal structure (Kandiyoti, 1988) presumably face less frustration, and thus striving to satisfy their identity motives is apparently relatively less dominant in predicting their well-being.

3.6. Implications, Limitations and Future Directions

Two main implications can be drawn from the research findings presented here. First, and importantly, this study extends identity construction research beyond the usual Western confines of studying identity styles and their correlates, and has thus identified distinct patterns of study variables in a non-Western context. Interestingly, the non-Western sample within the present thesis has revealed some broader patterns of identity construction that were different across gender.

A second implication of the present study relates to the cultural relevance of the measures used. These measures were factor analysed first through CFA in Paper 1 before being used for further analysis in this chapter. As the scale description in the methods section describes, items were removed from ISI-5 after conducting CFA. This in turn puts into question the cross-cultural applicability of the ISI and suggests that we need to generate more representative measures. Such an effort has been initiated based upon the findings of this chapter and Chapter 2 of this thesis. Considering the importance of an indigenous measure for identity style, especially with respect to the normative identity style, an exclusive study on such a scale construction has been initiated. Chapter 5 gives a detailed description of the procedures used for the development and construction of an identity measure representative of Pakistani young people.

Nonetheless, the current findings may have been limited due to measurement issues, such as lower reliability for identity styles. Low reliability of the normative

identity style could explain the low associations of this style with identity motive satisfaction and well-being in the current study. Future research should therefore focus on refining existing measures of identity styles (e.g., Berzonsky et al, 2013) for their wider applicability in the context of Pakistan, and potentially could explore the possibility of supplementary or alterative processes of identity formation occurring there. For example, in a tight normative culture such as Pakistan, a lower reliability of normative style suggests exploring how these normative styles might operate differently in the indigenous context of Pakistan in comparison to cultures, having what Gelfand et al. (2011) call loose norms. My research only provides a limited idea of how one might seek to explain the prevalence of these dimensions in a non-Western context, and only in relationship to subjective well-being. However more socially oriented measures of well-being focusing on familial and peer relationships, people's experiences of trusting other people, and social adjustment in a normative culture could provide a deeper understanding of how identity styles operate in a wider social context.

The present study has opened up our understanding of the relationships between identity styles and well-being, and suggests that there is great potential for further research in different contexts. In particular, the findings here are limited to the views of students within urban areas of Pakistan. More representative data could possibly elicit further information about the effects of culture in general, and gender specifically, on the study variables, especially in a patriarchal society such as Pakistan. Given that patriarchy tends to be more dominant in rural areas of Pakistan (see e.g., Shaheed, 1986), it is quite possible that were rural people surveyed the results noted here would be even more marked. Future studies could also usefully explore the role of religion and its impact on study variables more deeply. A fascinating area of research would thus be to disentangle the influence of patriarchy and religion, in this case Islam, which

have been conflated in the present study of Pakistan. Recent studies on identity suggest that a lack of commitment to identity formation makes young people more vulnerable to radical identity change (Meeus, 2015). Further research on such topics would help to design effective intervention strategies for young people that would in turn help in establishing better commitments and more adaptive styles of identity formation (example of such intervention programmes can be found in the work of Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak & Hawkins, 2004; Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund, Pollard, & Arthur, 2002).

In conclusion, the present study has highlighted the importance of broader cultural and gender differences in identity construction. However much remains to be done. We hope that the study has been useful for researchers interested in investigating individual differences in identity processing styles, motives and well-being, especially for those aiming to explore such phenomena from the indigenous perspective of a non-Western culture. While the broad structure of variables used in Western models does seem broadly appropriate, the ways through which these variables operate in Pakistan suggest that much more research needs to be done in non-Western contexts to determine whether the overall framework suggested by Berzonsky and colleagues does indeed withstand such cross-cultural interrogation. Our research would suggest that it may well be timely to consider developing an indigenous framework that will permit greater flexibility and allow the ways through which identity styles, commitment and motivation operate in non-Western societies to be appropriately reflected.

4. PAPER 3: Reconciling Social Norms with Personal Interests: Indigenous Styles of Identity Formation among Pakistani Youth

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4.1 Abstract

Most research on identity formation and related concepts has been conducted in Western cultures. The present study extends and complements such research to explore qualitatively the "processes" that adolescents and young adults from Pakistan employ while forming their identities. Unlike Western theories of identity formation, which provide a relatively negative view of normative orientation as "blind obedience" without exploring alternative choices, our thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews with 12 Pakistani young adults revealed a much more complex relationship between normative influences and personal interests on identity formation. Participants described a variety of ways in which they sought to reconcile normative expectations (parental, religious, and cultural) with their personal interests and preferences, when deciding about their careers, relationships, and values. In Pakistani culture, normative influences seemingly often play a more positive and flexible role in identity formation than has been suggested in previous Western research.

Key words*: identity; culture; interpretative phenomenological analysis; norms*

4.2 Introduction

Inspired by Erikson's (1950, 1968) writings about identity, a growing body of research in developmental psychology has explored the processes and outcomes of identity formation in North American and European cultural contexts (reviewed by S.J. Schwartz, 2001; Syed, 2012). Much of this work has attested to the importance of active and free exploration of alternatives in order to "find" an identity that matches one's personal interests and preferences. In contrast, the role of normative influences and conformity has often been portrayed in more negative terms, specifically as opposed to exploring one's personal preferences and interests (e.g., Berzonsky, 2011; Kroger, Martinussen, & Marcia, 2010; Waterman, 2011). More or less, within the primarily Western discourse on identity development, "following the rules" and identifying with significant others has often been regarded as a largely mindless and non-autonomous way of developing a sense of personal identity. Kroger and Marcia (2011, p. 35) have characterized the conforming approach to identity development as follows:

> "There is a brittleness, and, hence, underlying fragility, to their position. Because of their difficulty in considering alternatives seriously, they must maintain their stances defensively and either deny or distort disconfirming information. If their values are generally mainstream and they stay within social contexts supporting those values, they appear "happy," "well-adjusted," loving their families and their families loving them. But if they stray from these conforming positions, they experience both self and familial rejection."

Kroger and Marcia's position was intended to apply primarily to North American and Western European individuals who reside in largely individualist, "loose" societies. However, there has been a surprising lack of research into identity formation in non-Western cultural contexts where conformity might be more appropriate. This paper reports a qualitative study designed to explore the processes by which young adults form their identities in contemporary Pakistan, which is a very different cultural context from those in which most research into identity formation has been conducted.

4.2.1 Identity Formation Theoretical Perspectives

Many developmental approaches to identity are rooted in Erikson's (1950) lifespan psychosocial perspective: an eight-stage, lifespan model of psychosocial development. Erikson (1968) described identity formation as a crucial developmental task that adolescents must negotiate in order to progress to later stages of adulthood. An integrated and coherent sense of self provides direction to deal with challenges during adolescence and in the stage of adulthood (Erikson, 1968). The present study primarily focussed on the processes of identity formation among young adults from Pakistan.

As noted by S.J. Schwartz (2001), among the most influential perspectives on identity formation have been those of Marcia (1966, 1993) and Berzonsky (1990, 2011). Marcia (1966) elaborated Erikson's ideas about identity and proposed an identity status model where individuals were categorized into one of four identity statuses according to whether they had engaged in a process of exploring alternative possible identities (identity exploration) and whether they had committed to a given set of identity choices (identity commitment). Marcia classified exploration and commitment as "high" or "low" and crossed these dimensions to derive four identity statuses. According to the status model, individuals' identities might be classified as diffused (haphazard

exploration and little or no commitment), foreclosed (committed without prior exploration), in moratorium (exploring, but not yet committed), or achieved (committed following a period of exploration).

Extending Marcia's (1966) identity status framework, Berzonsky (1990) elaborated on the social-cognitive processes that individuals classified within different status categories are likely to use when processing self-relevant information, negotiate identity issues, and make personal decisions. Berzonsky (1990) referred to these individual differences in adolescents' ways of exploring possibilities and of processing identity-relevant information as *identity styles*. He distinguished among three styles: informational (characteristic of the moratorium and achieved identity statuses), normative (characteristic of the foreclosed identity status), and diffuse/avoidant (characteristic of the diffused identity status). Broadly, the informational style is associated with exploration and flexible commitment, the normative style with closure and conformity, and the diffuse-avoidant style with procrastination and a desire to delay making decisions for as long as possible.

4.2.2 Normative Orientation as Automatic Information Processing

The normative orientation might be the most controversial of the three styles. In Western contexts, individuals adopting the normative style tend to score low on identity exploration (Schwartz, Mullis, Waterman, & Dunham, 2000). Further, whereas a moderate positive correlation between the informational and normative styles has emerged using earlier versions of the ISI, the latest version of the ISI (ISI-5: Berzonsky, Soenens, Luyckx, Smits, Papini, & Goossens, 2013) includes normative items that explicitly refer to lack of exploration. These items include "I automatically adopt and follow the values I was brought up with" and "I never question what I want to do with my life because I tend to follow what important people expect me to do".

According to Berzonsky et al. (2013), the commitments held as a result of normative orientation are relatively automatic, leaving less room for effortful exploration. A substantial amount of research describes the attributes of normative orientation as making commitments without exploration (Kroger, Martinussen, & Marcia, 2010), highly defensive and intolerant of ambiguity (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2005), relatively automatic information processing, little deliberate self-evaluation (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994), defending and preserving existing self-views and identity structure (Berzonsky et al., 2013), and dealing with identity issues in a reactive fashion. People with normative orientation are described as dogmatic self-theorists, with their primary goal being to maintain and conserve self-views and to guard their core values and beliefs against any contradictory or threatening information (Adams, Munro, Doherty-Poirer, Munro Petersen, & Edwards, 2001). Furthermore, various authors have associated normative orientation with imitation and conformity, involving a closed-minded approach (Berzonsky, 1993, Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000), maintaining rigid and dogmatic commitments (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994), stable self-conceptions (Nurmi, Berzonsky, Tammi, & Kinney, 1997), and suppression of self-exploration (Berzonsky, 2011; Berzonsky et al., 2013).

The attributes described in the preceding paragraph suggest that the normative orientation is usually seen as an impediment to negotiating identity related issues, marked by automatic processing and leaving minimal room for deliberate ‘cognitive’ information processing. In addition, these identity styles have been proposed as universal across cultures, with the claim that the relationship between identity styles and other variables is not moderated by culture or country (Berzonsky, 2011; Berzonsky et al., 2013). However, very little research has been published on identity formation (from a neo-Eriksonian point of view) in non-Western cultures (see Schwartz, Zamboanga,

Meca, & Ritchie, 2012). Mindful of such concerns, the current paper therefore provides an in-depth qualitative study to explore the processes and dynamics underlying identity formation within in the cultural context of Pakistan, which is among the "tightest" cultures (Gelfand et al. 2011). We first provide a brief overview of conceptions of identity across cultures.

4.2.3 Binary/Bipolar Dimensions of Culture in Identity Research

Research on identity formation is mainly carried out in the United States (for a review see S. J. Schwartz, 2001; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2012), and some European countries (see Crocetti, Rabaglietti, & Sica, 2012; Klimstra, Luyckx, & Meeus, 2012; Seiffge-Krenke & Haid, 2012). However, a very limited body of research has been undertaken in non-Western contexts (see Crocetti, & Shokri, 2010; Sugimura & Mizokami, 2012; Tariq, 2012). Before suggesting the presence or absence of culturally based differences in identity formation, it is imperative to examine how culture is conceptualized in such studies. To the extent to which cultural differences in identity formation have been considered, they are generally described and discussed on the basis of binary and bipolar dimensions of culture. The most widely used and well cited dimensions in cultural classification have been between (i) Western and Eastern countries, (ii) individualistic and collectivist cultures (Triandis, 2001), and (iii) independent and interdependent self construals (Markus & Kitayama,1991).

The cross-cultural classifications described in the preceding paragraph consider the USA as a prototypical example of an independent/individualist oriented culture (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Because the United States is not prototypical of the rest of the world, research is often criticised when generalisations in identity formation are drawn from research conducted in the USA (Arnett, 2008; Berman, Yu, Schwartz, Teo, & Mochizuki, 2011; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2012).

Generalizing from research conducted in the USA might not allow for the possibility of the existence of additional or alternative identity processes that may operate differently in other countries, and especially non-Western countries (e.g., Berman et al., 2011). But nor should we assume that "non-Western" or "collectivist" cultures are homogeneous. Otherwise, there is a risk of basing theorising about cross-cultural differences on stereotypes rather than reality (Matsumoto, 1999; Takano & Osaka, 1999).

It is important to be cautious about drawing generalisations based upon these Western-based cultural classifications for three main reasons. First, broadly, within the dichotomous views of culture, being individualist/independent is seen as leading to "informational" or interdependent orientations, and collectivism is seen as leading to "normative" or "interdependent" orientations (Nurmi, Berzonsky, Tammi, & Kinney, 1997; Tariq, 2012). Such a dichotomy leaves little room for "exploration" among people belonging to collective cultures, offering a potentially pejorative view of these contexts.

Second, quite recently a few cross-cultural studies on identity have argued that a Western cultural bias underlies in that Western theories are imported to non-Western contexts and used to judge the adequacy of identity development in these contexts (e.g., Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002; Schwartz, Adamson, Ferrer-Wreder, Dillon, & Berman, 2006; Smith & Long, 2006). This leads to questions as to how identity formation might be accomplished in non-Western contexts, whether identity styles can be universally applicable as assumed by Berzonsky (2011), and if not, what the identity formation processes operating in such a non-Western context might look like. Answering such questions necessitates a new line of theorising and empirical research from non-Western cultures (S.J. Schwartz et al., 2012). The current study was designed as a contribution to this agenda.

Third, the binary classification of cultures as individualist or collectivist has raised concerns about how such classifications are theorised. For example, quite often these classifications are based upon geographic locations, or on broad conceptualisations of whether or not a given society promotes individual choice over obligations to others (e.g., Oyeserman, Coon, Kemmelmeier, 2002). This necessitates adopting an inductive approach to examine identity formation in indigenous context without relying too much on what has been established previously. It may therefore be necessary to develop indigenous, "emic" models of identity by interviewing people from the societies that one wishes to understand, rather than importing Western models.

4.2.4 Context for the Present Research: Pakistan

Pakistan provides an especially appropriate context in which to undertake the present research, because it provides a marked contrast to the iconically individualistic U.S. culture in which the identity style model was developed. In particular, it is interesting to examine how identity orientations might operate in a culture characterized by strong norms. Gelfand et al. (2011), for example, reported that Pakistan ranked highest in terms of "cultural tightness" among the 33 nations they sampled. In their research, "tight" implies cultures that have strong norms and a low tolerance of deviant behaviour, whereas the opposite term "loose" refers to cultures having weak norms and a high tolerance for deviant behaviour. Gelfand et al. (2011) further argued that, in tight cultures, "ecological and human-made threats increase the need for strong norms and punishment of deviant behaviour in the service for social coordination for survival" (p. 1101). There is thus a premium placed on banding together and defending the family, community, and nation against threats outlined above.

It is also important to study identity formation in Pakistan from an indigenous perspective, because it is a relatively newly established state, created in 1947 as a result

of the partition of the former British colony of India. Closer inspection indicates significant trends that can have a substantial impact on identity. The assortment of multiple factors affecting Pakistani, or indeed any, identity may include historical (impacts of Persian, Turkic, and British invasions on Indian civilisation before partition), ethnic, cultural, geographical, and religious factors (e.g., Alvi, 2002; Bhui et al., 2005; Jalal, 1995; Mumford et al., 1991). Pakistani youth experience complex ecological and social challenges that can substantially affect their identity (e.g., Jalal 1995; Gillani, 2005), perhaps more so than those found by young people in some other countries.

Very little research has so far been carried out in Pakistan addressing the correlates of and factors affecting identity (Gillani, 1999; 2005; Imtiaz & Naqvi, 2012). The primary focus of the existing research has been studying identity in the context of gender differences, familial relations, and its impact on well-being. There is a lack of research explicitly on how identity formation operates "as a process" in a cultural and religious society like Pakistan. Therefore, the present study primarily focusses on identifying these "processes" underlying identity formation. Furthermore, this paper will provide a chance empirically to investigate the relevance and adequacy of Western theoretical perspectives to describe the process of identity development in a multi-ethnic tight culture such as Pakistan.

Based on a stereotypical view of "binary dimensions of cross cultural differences," Pakistani young people would be expected to score very high on normative orientation, reflecting an unthinking approach to identity formation. However, an alternative possibility is that the Western theoretical understanding of the normative orientation is not appropriate for the Pakistani cultural context, and that the concept of "normative" carries a different meaning in Pakistan than it does in the West.

Notably, among Pakistani respondents, CFA from paper 1 suggested greater item loss from normative identity style. A qualitative study might therefore be necessary to understand what it means to be “normative” in Pakistani context.

To address this possibility, we relied on exploratory indigenous research to provide a fresh look at the processes of identity formation among Pakistani youth. To avoid imposing Western theoretical assumptions, an inductive approach is a prerequisite for the study, which is designed to generate new insights, rather than testing prior theories. For this purpose, an in-depth qualitative approach is optimal. To maximise the depth of analysis, a small sample is needed, and the goal is to generate new insights into possible ways of approaching the task of identity formation within a Pakistani cultural context.

4.3 Method

4.3.1 Sample

Twelve Pakistani university students were interviewed, including 6 males and 6 females. Four were undergraduates, and 8 were postgraduate students. Their ages ranged from 21 to 25 years. Ten participants were Pakistani nationals having Punjabi heritage, and two participants had a Pakhtoon ethnic background. Eleven participants belonged to the Sunni Muslim sect, and one was Shia. These frequencies are reflective of these groups’ representation within the overall Pakistani population. In order to ensure anonymity, participants were assigned pseudonyms (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1*: Pseudonyms and demographic characteristics of study participants*

No	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Education	Ethnicity	Sect
1	Areeba	Female	23	MSc Psychology	Punjabi	Sunni
2	Ali	Male	23	MBA Marketing	Punjabi	Sunni
3	Omer	Male	22	Software Engineering	Punjabi	Sunni
4	Jamal	Male	24	Graduate Civil Services	Punjabi	Sunni
5	Anna	Female	21	BS Psychology	Punjabi	Sunni
6	Sara	Female	22	BS Sociology	Punjabi	Sunni
7	Arooj	Female	23	MSc Psychology	Punjabi	Sunni
8	Marry	Female	23	BS Psychology	Punjabi	Sunni
9	Ray	Male	23	MBA Human Resources	Punjabi	Sunni
10	Sabeel	Male	22	BS Psychology	Punjabi	Sunni
11	Herry	Male	24	MSc Engineering	Pathan	Sunni
12	Sheela	Female	24	MSc Biology	Pathan	Shia

4.3.2 Interview Schedule and Procedure

The interview schedule addressed topics including decision-making while choosing a career (i.e., what process they will follow while making career and educational choices and whom they would like to involve in their decision-making), decision-making regarding interpersonal relationships (i.e., with whom and when they want to start a relationship, and who is involved in that decision), and how they decide on the dominant ‘beliefs’ and ‘values’ that can direct and can impact their life-choices.

The interviewer further probed any conflict, congruence or discomfort experienced by participants while describing their experiences and thoughts.

Semi structured in-depth interviews were conducted that lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. Interviews were conducted at each interviewee's respective University campus in a comfortable and isolated room. Participation was voluntary, and no compensation for participation was provided. Participants were briefed about the purpose of the study, and written informed consent was obtained. Anonymity and confidentiality of results was guaranteed. Respondents were assured that the data obtained would be used only for research purposes. The research received approval from the Science and Technology Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) at the University of Sussex, United Kingdom. All participants were informed that they could withdraw at any point in the study. The participants were debriefed about the purpose of the research, and respondents were given an opportunity to request a summary of the research findings. (For informed consent, demographic information sheet, and interview guideline see Appendix II)

4.3.3. Analytic Approach

The interview transcripts were thoroughly analysed using a phenomenologically-focused Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), to explore participants' experiences of identity formation in the indigenous Pakistani cultural context. Following Widdicombe (1998), a researcher's approach to interview data depends on her/his conceptualization of identity. These considerations indicate that, if identity is to be studied validly across cultures, it needs to be addressed in ways that take full account of variations in respondents' contexts (J.A. Smith, 2011). Following Berzonsky's (1989a, 1990) social- cognitive approach to identity formation, thematic analysis helped to capture the unique and distinctive aspects of participants' information

processing and of their experiences of the influence of others, while deciding on their careers, interpersonal relationships and core values. By interviewing we hoped to gain some perspective on the phenomenology of the participants; therefore, our analysis was also informed by recommendations from interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; J.A.Smith, 2004). While identifying the processes we also considered the dynamics of context where decisions are being taken. This has provided us flexibility to probe and explore and focus on individual's subjective accounts of experience within their personal, social and cultural contexts (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999).

As noted by J.A. Smith (2004), such analysis is inevitably an interpretative process driven by an interaction between the interpreter and the material being interpreted. There is no assumption that another interpreter with a different personal or theoretical background would come up with the same analysis. The analysis presented here is just one of many possible accounts of these data. Hence, the analysis should be judged in terms of the persuasiveness of the interpretations offered, the transparency of the analytical process, and the extent to which the analysis generates new and valuable insights (see Tong, Flemming, McInnes, Oliver, & Craig, 2012).

In interpretative research such as this, it is imperative to acknowledge one's partiality as a researcher while approaching and interpreting the data—and thus to grasp a full understanding of the researcher along with the researched and the research context (Sultana, 2007). The interview conduction, transcription and preliminary data analysis are done by the first author belonging from Pakistan. The background of the first author has affected data interpretation in three major ways: first, The background of first author as a Pakistani and familiarity with native language facilitated in developing rapport and developing empathy with the participants (Stiles, 1993); second, it facilitated in understanding participant's cultural and religious beliefs while formulating their

decisions; and third it has provided an edge to understand family dynamics operating in this cultural context. Thus such a reflexivity helped in developing an "inside perspective" on the data. Nonetheless, the first author's gender as a female researcher, more highly qualified and older than the participants, can serve as potential biases for interpretation. However, interpretations were also closely discussed with the second author during the process of identifying themes and sub themes, and a consensus was developed. The second author is male and British, and thus comes from a different cultural background than Pakistan. Thus, the second author provided an "outside perspective" when understanding the data. This combination of "inside" and "outside" perspectives hopefully helps to rule out some possible biases in interpreting data.

Additionally, lots of verbatim text is illustrated in our account of the analysis, so that readers have the opportunity to interrogate our interpretations and thus form their own judgments about their persuasiveness. This also gives 'voice' to our participants, allowing readers to hear about their experiences of identity formation in their own words (Fine, 2002).

The goal of our analysis was to focus on participants' accounts of their experiences and strategies with an open-minded approach. Nonetheless, we should acknowledge that the authors were familiar with Berzonsky's (1989a; 2011) theorising, and this may have coloured our interpretations. One benefit of this familiarity is that the resulting analysis has strong generative potential to link to and enrich the existing literature on identity formation. Nonetheless the data brought to light the unique dynamics of identity formation and diverse ways that normative influences are interpreted in Pakistani context in ways that we had not previously expected and that we have not seen elsewhere in the identity formation literature. Thus, the analysis has both reflexive validity—having changed the researchers' own understandings (Stiles, 1993)

and generativity—offering novel and valuable insights for the literature (Braun, & Clarke, 2006). Thus analysis captures participants' experiences in their own words while privileging the uniqueness of their experiences. Themes and sub-themes are labelled in the ways that we believe best describe the data in their own terms, rather than using theoretical labels. Theoretical interpretations of the themes that we identified are discussed briefly at the end of each theme and more extensively in the subsequent discussion section.

4.4 Analysis

The major themes and sub-themes that were identified through the analysis are described below. Each theme is illustrated through quotations, with attention given to unique processes of identity formation in the sample. Participants were found to utilize wide-ranging information processing and social interactional approaches in their decision-making regarding their career, interpersonal relationships, and values. These unique identity formation patterns were carefully identified, compared and clustered into an analytical structure of themes and sub-themes. The analysis suggests that identity formation manifests itself in a complex and unique way, leading to a continual interplay of "personal interests" and "normative influences", which provided a frame of reference for labelling the themes. Table 4.2 provides an overview of the themes and subthemes identified during data analysis.

Table 4.2: ***Table of themes and subthemes***

Themes	Sub-Themes
Congruence between norms and personal interests	Identifying with norms Benefits of norms
Negotiation between norms and personal interests	Choosing within normative boundaries Choosing which norms to follow Bringing norms into line with personal interests
Conflict between norms and personal interests	Rejecting norms Rebelliousness against norms Suppressing personal interests

4.4.1 Theme 1: Congruence between Norms and Personal Interests.

Contrary to what might be expected from previous accounts of "normative orientation", participants often did not report experiencing conflict between their personal interests and external normative influences. Instead, they often suggested that social norms and personal interests were congruent, or even mutually reinforcing. In some cases, participants seemed to make little distinction between normative influences and their personal interests, and could therefore be seen as "identifying with norms". Thus norms seem to operate at an implicit level. In other cases, respondents distinguished between the two, but saw the normative influences as being beneficial to their personal interests "seeing norms as beneficial". Here norms are functioning at more of an explicit level.

4.4.1.1 Identifying with Norms. For some participants, norms appeared to be completely internalized, to such an extent that they did not report any distinction or incongruence between their personal interests and what others expected from them. For

example, one participant reported using religion as a frame of reference to evaluate and judge her decision-making:

> *"Religion gives you a great basic outlook on life and helps you understanding things in a spiritual manner. Spirituality comes in between which gives you the power; all of this is very important to me because it made me who I am; and has given me my identity and I would not know who I would be If I was not a Muslim." (Marry) [Extract 1]*

Seemingly, this normative influence of religion as internalized by Marry, manifested in her identity as a Muslim, which she describes as "my identity". Thus, her social identity as a "Muslim" can be equated with her "personal identity". It has "made me who I am" and without it, she "would not know who I would be".

In a similar vein, Sara described valuing and judging her decisions based on the criteria that she had learned and internalized from cultural norms:

> *"I think the values that conform to our society and religion are the values we should adopt and avoid any other thing, which is deviant from these. I value those things which are culturally and religiously appropriate." (Sara) [Extract 2]*

Apparently, Sara has readily internalized the religion and culture as her criteria for value judgment. As with Marry, her language seems to show an equation of social and personal identities, as she seems to use first person singular ("I value") and plural ("we should adopt") pronouns largely interchangeably. Her own judgment and thinking is inseparable from the influence of culture and religion. The religion and culture have

readily become the evaluative criteria for her value judgment. Similarly, Ali, reported complete and unquestioning obedience to his mother's decisions:

> *"Mother is first capital for any child, mother is the first school for everything, you never question your mother even at this point of my life I do not question my mother for any of her decisions." (Ali) [Extract 3]*

Here Ali has shown complete compliance and obedience towards his mother. Whatever mother says should remain "unquestioned". He completely identifies with and endorses the decisions that are taken by his mother and perceives them inseparable from his personal decisions.

Alternatively, at times, instead of directly following the influence of family members on decision-making, participants explained how their family's aspirations are manifested as their own personal goals, tying a strong congruence between family's aspirations and personal goals. For example, one participant referred to "studying psychology as my father's dream".

> *"It's like studying psychology is his [my father's] unfulfilled dream. So I am trying to complete his dream." (Anna) [Extract 4]*

Besides the idea of family as being an important normative influence, there are other manifestations of normative influence found in Pakistani culture, particularly regional identity and religious denomination (a subset of religion in general). One participant thus took great pride in describing his regional identity:

"I belong to a Pakhtoon [regional family]. I am Pathan, but major part of my life is spent in Islamabad, but we try to follow our regional tribal values and traditions. We are very emotional and sensitive people, we respect each other but for the sake of honour and respect we can go to any extend. We tend to get emotionally charged very quickly. I feel pride in those values and feel a sense of belongingness with those". (Herry) [Extract 5]

In the above extract, Herry described his regional identity and further elaborated how he has internalized the regional attributes and takes pride in exhibiting those regional attributes. His "regional identity" and related attributes (*we are very emotional and sensitive people*) associated with this connotation of identity (*honour, respect, pride*) have become parts of his personality. Areeba provided a similar account while highlighting her identity as 'Sunni *'"We are Sunni"* and she further added *"whatever I have heard or read so far about Sunnis I got a stronger belief and belongingness to my own sect."* Being Sunni has given a further affirmation to her identity and her belongingness to that sectarian group.

The data reviewed here shows how participants reflected on their familial, regional, religious and sectarian identities. Such multiple expressions of identity formation are quite likely to flourish within a country having a rich heritage of religion, culture, tribes and values as does Pakistan. These excerpts are in line with what Berzonsky (1989a) has described in terms of normative orientation. Participants described conforming to expectations and acting on the values with which they were raised. For these participants, exploration did not seem to play a significant role, as Berman et al. (2011) found in their 4-cross national study where they proposed that "identity" in eastern countries is simply accepted and never questioned. From the

extracts described above, it is evident that these participants are strongly influenced by norms, and that to a large extent respondents have internalized the influences of significant normative sources. Notably, in this theme none of these participants appeared to differentiate between norms and their own personal interests the participants quoted above tended to portray the two as being congruent, or even interchangeable, and seemingly made their decisions accordingly. In other words, the norms are internalized and operate at a more implicit level.

4.4.1.2 Benefits of Norms. Besides almost completely adhering to norms, interviewees were also found to use norms to safeguard their personal interests while maintaining a congruence between interests and norms. That is, the decision is still made by others and participants were able to differentiate between decisions made by "self" and decisions made by "others", but congruence between the two is maintained as the decision made by others is in the best interest of the self. Indeed, one participant has described this as follows:

> *"I can trust my family to take decision for me and I am very confident that their choices must be far better for me than my personal choices." (Areeba) [Extract 6]*

This person finds the family's decision external to self but the decision is accepted in a positive manner as it is brings greater trust and confidence in her. Another interviewee mentioned her "spiritual mentors" as a stronger source influencing her decision-making.

> *"I always seek guidance from my spiritual mentors, before taking any decision. They are involved in such way, that they provide me with the best option which is*

most appropriate for me based upon the knowledge they are entrusted with by God." (Arooj) [Extract 7]

She further added that

"My mentors helped me to understand the real purpose of head scarf and the very feeling of identity provides me with satisfaction, strength and confidence." (Arooj) [Extract 8]

This respondent regards spiritual mentors as being her best guide. Moreover, there is a sense that her experiences of her identity related choices are dependent on others' judgments and values. The decision has been taken by someone else, but she fully endorses it due to the positive consequences that the other's decision has brought to her, which she described as greater strength, satisfaction and confidence. This is precisely what Berzonsky (1989, 1990) would expect from a normative person.

A slight divergence in the traditional way that normative orientations occur is when the same participant's views "I" and "they" as distinctive and separable. Arooj further gives complete credit for herself and her identity to these normative figures that are the mentors who provide her guidance over spiritual matters in the following way:

"I have been developed as a strong personality who uses to evaluate things before adopting or start believing those. I don't blindly follow each and everything I come across. My thinking has become more rational and logical. I have developed greater confidence and pride in what I am today" (Arooj) [Extract 9]

Here Arooj gives complete credit for her identity to her normative source and describes how her thinking has been changed as a result of adhering to this normative influence. She has narrowed down her options for normative influence, assigned greater trust and credibility to this source, and based her decisions accordingly. Thus, following the normative influence of her mentors does not equate with being "automatic" or "never questioning" as in the preceding extract. Instead, she says that it is the normative influence that empowers her to have "confidence and pride*"* and helps her to be more "rational and logical*"*, and as a result she does not "blindly follow each and everything". There is a process of exploration that goes beyond Berzonsky's (1989, 1990) conceptualisation of normative orientation or foreclosure, that is not merely automatic and is adhered deliberately as it brings benefits to self, such as ''empowerment" and confidence reflected in this extract.

This section has considered accounts of how participants formulate their sense of identity while creating (or experiencing) congruence between self and norms. We have also considered the diverse ways that normative influences can be consolidated and affirmed to safeguard the choices that participants wish to make, or that they perceive as being made for them. The decision is still made by influential others, but participants value this normative influence since it is viewed as being congruent with, and beneficial to, their personal interests.

4.4.2 Theme 2: Negotiation between Norms and Personal Interests

A second theme identified from the interviews suggests that there is a reconciliation process between norms and personal interests. This reconciliation implies that norms are perceived as being distinct from the self and, as a result, negotiation occurs to provide an optimal way for norms and personal interests both to be satisfied. This theme has an informative hint in it, as people follow norms in

combination with their personal exploration. “I” and “they” are distinct here. Four sub-themes capture this dynamic negotiation between norms and personal interests: choosing within normative boundaries; choosing which norms to follow; and bringing norms into line with personal choices.

4.4.2.1 Exploring Within Normative Boundaries. As well as following the norms, participants also reported making their own independent decisions. However, this “independence” operates within the framework or boundary of normative expectations, such that participants described negotiating between their own personal interests and what was expected from them. This sort of negotiation or exploration occurs within the boundaries of the norms, often at an explicit level, but sometimes at a more implicit level. On an explicit level, for example, Marry stated that “My decision-making develops while listening to others; asking for their opinion and weigh out the pros and cons”. However, she further added “My benefit is the most important thing to me at the end”. This implies that Marry is consciously and deliberately asking for others’ opinions, and she further added that she “weighs out the pros and cons” of others’ opinions based on her own thinking and judgement. Here, Marry purposely calls for others’ opinions, but ultimately she likes to make her own decisions.
Ray, provides a similar account, describing it in the following way:

> *“I think I will ask my parents to decide for me. I trust their choice and I am sure they will follow my demands. I want my parents to decide for me but I want my own choice as well.” (Ray) [Extract 10]*

Consistent with the previous extract, here the participant trusts his parents’ choice, but at the same time tries to safeguard his personal choices. That is, the decision is still

taken by others, but Ray tries to bring it in congruence with his personal interests. While probing whether it is Ray or his parents who will actually make the decision, he replied:

> *"Parents will give me an option, I would be given a choice if I like her or not. I will go for the girl who is of my choice." (Ray) [Extract 11]*

The parents provide the options, but he makes the choice among those options. So they set the boundaries, and he chooses within those boundaries.

Other interviewees also described how they formulate their decisions quite independently, while taking into account other people's expectations. In other words, there is a reciprocity between participants' personal thinking and normative boundaries. They are negotiating within the context of norms to bring their personal decisions in line with the normative expectations that others or society hold for them. Consistent with this, another interviewee, Jamal has described it in the following way.

> *"In my case I have got total independence about my career and my personal life as well. They don't stop me working in a certain way. My mother knew about my previous relationship. So I am independent but I do take into account my parents' expectations." (Jamal) [Extract 12]*

Jamal does like to take his decisions independently, but this independence has boundaries, as he "takes into account" the normative expectations.

This sub-section has reflected a type of normative orientation where personal exploration occurs within the boundaries of normative expectations. One such negotiation is established when participants have independently taken their decision, but

have also explored the normative boundaries within which they can make their personal decisions is a socially desirable way. The following two sub-themes elicit other unique patterns of negotiation.

4.4.2.2 Choosing which norms to follow. Norms tend to manifest themselves at varied levels, ranging among societal, cultural and familiar. One way in which participants reconciled their personal explorations and interests with normative expectations was in deciding selectively which norms they are most likely to follow. Sheela, for example while describing the process of a career decision, stated that "*There were only [certain] family members involved, i.e., my elder brother and sisters".* Evidently, she has purposely chosen the family members who will wield stronger influence over her decision-making. She further elaborated that "*there aren't much educated people in the rest of my family, so we didn't take anyone else's opinion".* As well as simple internalization of normative influence, participants gave varied credibility to norms coming from different sources. Sheela thus described how she trusts her closer family more than her extended family in the following way:

> *"The final decision would be mine, but I would love to involve my family. Because I have learned that your sister and your immediate family is the closest to you no matter how loving your extended family is. These are the only people who are going to think about you. So I would obviously take the suggestion of my family." (Sheela) [Extract 13]*

Focusing on a different normative source than familial, Arooj explained how guidance from her spiritual mentors is an integral factor influencing her decision-making. She explained that, her spiritual mentors facilitate her decision-making. Other than her

mentors, she does not take into account the influence of any other person in her decision-making.

> *"No-one else is involved as such because I'm my own master and primarily care about what my mentors say. If anyone else gives me a suggestion and it strikes me, the final decision is still taken by my mentors. And it's not that they enforce something upon me or my family, it's just that I value their advice for my decisions." (Arooj) [Extract 14]*

Pursuing her account, "*it's not that they enforce something upon me*", she stressed "*I value their advice for my decisions".* So this respondent is deciding whose norms she is more likely to follow. In this case mentors become the stronger normative influence. Areeba, exhibited similar concerns about adhering to norms or values. She expressed her discomfort with certain norms that are generally practised within the society of which she is a part and tried to draw her own judgments about them.

> *"I do question my traditional values sometimes, because sometimes people can't differentiate whether they are obligated to do something culturally or religiously. For example, I do believe in sectarianism but I don't like to criticize each other's sect. I do believe in gender differences but I don't believe in segregation. I don't like people too much interfering into each other's life. So I used to question such values which are at times suffocating." (Areeba) [Extract 15]*

Areeba has highlighted how she deliberately and intentionally processes information coming through normative sources, interpreting the information in the light of her own

personal thinking and beliefs. The process she follows while she interprets, compares and contrasts, her own thinking gives an insight into the exploration she exhibits while taking norms into account. For example, the tension between "I believe in gender difference" and "I don't believe in segregation" reflects her own interpretation of mechanisms behind her thinking. And also reflects the process when she is choosing among various knows considering how credible and trust worthy they are.

This sub-section again indicates a negotiation between participants' decision-making and the normative influences. The person makes personal choices about which norms to follow. Thus, the norms that they choose to follow are personally endorsed, rather than representing external constraints. So again, there is no conflict experienced between norms and personal choices.

4.4.2.3 Bringing Normative Expectations into line with Personal Choices.

Sometimes participants reported making their decisions quite independently and trying to convince their family subsequently to agree with the decisions that they had already made. Thus, they brought the sources of normative influence into line with their personal choices, changing the norms to fit their decisions, rather than changing their decisions to fit the norms. Anna described this in the following way:

> *"I am not interested in anything yet … if I developed an interest I will let my family know about it, and will try to convince them for it as well. I need to take my father and brother into confidence most importantly." (Anna) [Extract 16]*

Her account of "I will let my family know about it", and "will try to convince them" implies that she likes to take an independent decision but subsequently wants her family to accept her decision as well. Similarly, Sabeel, described how he had changed his

career plan and major courses in college. He described how he had made the decision by himself and had later convinced his family to accept the decision he had already made.

> *"It was my own decision because I spent almost a year in engineering; my terminals [final exams] were quite near and [I was] prepared for nothing. I told my parents about my situation; initially they were bit shocked but they had an idea that I do not find engineering as an appropriate field and I am not interested in studying this. I have also shared it with my sisters and discussed with them that I want to change my field. After taking my parents and my siblings into confidence, I finally decided to leave engineering and got admission in psychology. They also encouraged and supported my decision." (Sabeel) [Extract 17]*

Sabeel expressed his feelings of contentment that "*I am quite happy and contended now".* As well as discussing his plan with his parents, he was also grateful to God: "*I thank Allah for letting me change my field" and that I have really selected a great field".* The gratitude and pleasure of his parents' acceptance of his decision reflects that, his decision is validated by others. That is, he is trying to bring his personal decisions and the sources of normative influence in line with each other, to ensure social acceptance and approval simultaneously.

Consistent with this, Areeba, while describing her life experiences and factors that play an important role in her decision-making, also elaborated that she had lost her father at an early age. Due to this traumatic incident at a young age, she became shy to make decisions on her own, and her elder siblings played a significant role in her decision-making. She further commented that she has grown up to be a confident young

woman who likes to make her own decisions. However, she still needs affirmation for her personal decisions by others, as reflected in the following extract:

> *"I am much better and confident personality now than I was before, but still I feel like I need social approval like my family's approval for my decisions, I do take decisions at my own but still I feel shy while taking an independent decision of my own" (Areeba) [Extract 18]*

This sub-section has revealed unique negotiation processes where normative expectations are brought into line with personal choices and decisions. As a result, participants reported feelings of confidence and contentment about their personal decisions that are socially approved and affirmed by others. These negotiation processes go beyond what Berzonsky (1989; 1990; 2011) sees as normative as they do involve "exploration" and choosing which norms to follow. So, norms are not always necessarily operative in a mechanistic way. This is a very important finding that adds something to normative orientations other than blind obedience. Participants' thinking and judgment, at both implicit and explicit levels, enables them to interpret information and helps them to make decisions. So, in contrast with Marcia (1966) and Berzonsky's (1989a) conceptualisations of foreclosure and normative orientations, these participants are actively engaging with the norms, rather than just passively receiving them. Moreover they can classify and distinguish between what is coming from their own mind and what is expected from them.

Nonetheless, this conciliation process between norms and personal choices does not always bring socially desirable consequences. A conflict is likely to arise when

these two elements clash with each other. The next theme addresses and explores how such conflicts are negotiated.

4.4.3 Theme 3: Conflict between Norms and Personal Interests

The previous themes represent constructive ways of negotiating between norms and personal interests. This next theme reflects upon what happens when participants come across normative influences contrary to their personal beliefs or interests. Participants exhibited their discontentment about following contrary norms in a variety of ways, and this dissatisfaction leads to certain specific consequences. Such possible consequences from the participants' account may include a range of reactions from rebelliousness and withdrawal, to frustration, stress and compliance while repressing personal interests. This section therefore explores three sub-themes: rejecting norms, rebelliousness against norms, and suppressing personal interests.

4.4.3.1 Rejecting Norms. Some participants quite explicitly and clearly rejected any norms that are in conflict with their existing beliefs and decision-making. In this regard it is important to see how much autonomy and independence these individuals have in making their decisions. Several respondents described their experiences of autonomous and independent decision-making against a backdrop of normative expectations held towards them. Jamal explained how he took his career decision quite independently and deliberately against his father's will. His father wanted him to continue with the family business, but Jamal preferred to opt for a career in the Civil Service. While choosing this career against his father's will, he said:

> "*I can also join my father's business, but it's not something I have established myself. I will only be continuing my father's hard work. In comparison to that, this field I have taken up from very beginning and it will be based upon my own*

hard work and commitment. Secondly, I found this field as challenging profession so I finally ended up establishing my career into this field." (Jamal) [Extract 19]

He further exhibited his independence in the following way:

"In my case I have got total independence about my career and my personal life as well." (Jamal) [Extract 20]

These participants express a preference for independent decision-making, as well as their dislike of having normative expectations imposed upon them. Sabeel, gave a similar account consistent with Jamal's:

I don't follow others' expectations because it's me who is going to do something; so I know better how to do that. I generally take suggestions but I don't like to take directions. (Sabeel) [Extract 21]

Here Sabeel is comparing his independence, "I know better", against "others'" expectations. Moreover, he refers to a distinction between suggestions and directions. For him, expectations are suggestions when he himself calls for others' opinions, but when others intervene into his decisions, he regards it is a direction rather than as a suggestion. Consistent with this, Omer expressed his dissatisfaction with discrepant norms in the following way:

"I am ambitious and I have set quite high goals for myself. I don't like taking influence of the society." (Omer) [Extract 22]

Omer seems reluctant to follow social expectations, since these might restrict his abilities and ambitiousness for achieving his goals. This theme reflects on process when participants reject norms that are contrary to their personal interests. The participants' accounts in the above extracts are anti-normative, but we consider these as dimensions of norms as their personal decision making is occurring in reaction to the normative expectations held towards them. Consequently, they weigh their personal interest against norms and are inclined to reject norms when they don't match their own interests. The following theme highlights another important reaction when norms are seen as contrary to personal interest.

A few participants exhibited their discontentment while following norms. In such cases, following norms can lead to various reactions including dissatisfaction, withdrawal, and even rebelliousness in some cases. Ali has described his process of choosing a career and expressed his displeasure about his father's involvement in his decision, he said,

> *"He [my father] forced me to drop down and I was admitted in a local college so that was the time when I really lost all interest in my education. As long as people they don't tell me what to do what not to do I am quite fine but when people try to drive me or direct me that's when it becomes difficult for me to go along any further." (Ali) [Extract 23]*

Ali has used the word "force" for his father's choice for him, and as a consequence of this enforcement, how he lost all of his interest in his studies. On many occasions during

his interview, he described the frustration he experienced when someone else tried to interfere into his decisions, for example:

> *"I have faced excessive criticism from my father and father's family when I went to UK for my ACCA degree and opted for odd night jobs." (Ali) [Extract 24]*

Seemingly, Ray has also given a similar account consistent with Ali while describing the process of his career decision-making. He said "*I took this decision independently. My father is a doctor and he forced me to become a doctor but I didn't want to be, so I insisted for what I want*".

This sub-section has shown the complexity of behaviour that arises when personal choices of participants come into clash with norms. Participants described their feelings of frustration they experience with such an incongruence between norms and the self. Some such reactions are articulated in the present theme, but on a few occasions such a discrepancy is not explicitly expressed, as evident in the following sub-theme.

4.4.3.2 Suppressing Personal Interests. The incongruence between norms and personal choices can give rise to different reactions. In the preceding theme, participants took charge of their decisions against the normative expectations and resisted abiding by any normative expectations that clashed with their personal choices. In other cases, some participants described reacting in a different way: instead of expressing their reactions they tend to repress their feelings of frustration when they are forced to adhere to the norms. Anna, at many places during her interview, described how important it was for her to follow her family's expectations.

"As far as my parents are concerned, their expectations are too much important for me; to an extent that if I feel like I can't fulfil their desires and expectations I become very much stressed. I can never say "no" to them and whatever they want me to do I try to do so ultimately." (Anna) [Extract 25]

Saying no to her parents seems so difficult to her. She believes in complete compliance and whenever she tries to deviate she experiences greater stress. Norms are not necessarily internalized by Anna, but she is nonetheless complaint and obedient to whatever is expected from her. This can further be inferred from following extract. When I tried probing further how she feels about this compliance she replied:

"Most of the time I like it quite a lot, that I am obliging my parents because they are too concerned and loving to me., but at times when I share it with my friends, I feel like that it's not only a matter of influencing your career, I think it's about every other matter; like you have to do everything with your parent's choice including choosing your friends, while visiting any place you need to take their permission etc. At times it annoys me, but it also vanishes off ultimately because of the realization that they love me so much……. but quite rarely I feel I need to have freedom of my own choice." (Anna) [Extract 26]

The paradox of her compliance or obedience is evident from the fact that, besides following norms she reported having a hidden desire within herself to exert her thinking independently. However, the realization that normative sources are so 'important' to her, and that saying 'no' will be too difficult to express her desire for independence. Thus, the conflict between the normative expectations and her desire for personal choice

is very apparent. Consistently, Noor, while reflecting on her views regarding values, said

> *"I am very committed to my traditions and values, and whenever I try to deviate from these I feel great stress and I want to come back and I feel guilt for doing so." (Noor) [Extract 27]*

The feelings of guilt and stress while not adhering to the norms represent a common concern that Anna and Noor are expressing.

This section has suggested two different pathways when norms become incongruent with personal choices. On the one hand, some participants exhibited their rebelliousness, withdrawal and frustration when they were forced to do something against their will. On the other hand there could also be feelings of stress and guilt when participants did not comply with normative expectations. This implies that norms are not simply internalized and operating at an automated level, but rather that they can be deliberately sought, accepted, or rejected; and the individual can differentiate between their personal thinking and others' expectations towards them.

4.5 Concluding Discussion

Reviewing the research material gathered through interview data, it is necessary to reiterate that this study was inspired by Erikson's (1968) conception of "identity formation" as a crucial developmental task that is most prominent during adolescence and young adulthood. In addition, Marcia's (1993) identity statuses, and particularly Berzonsky's (1990) model of identity styles, shaped the approach to collecting and interpreting these data. The concept of identity, though widely studied, continues to challenge researchers to define its precise properties. The participants' accounts in the

present study affirm such a complex structure of identity formation within the Pakistani cultural context. Normative orientations in particular appear to operate at a much more complex level in Pakistan compared to what has previously been outlined in Western theories (e.g., Berzonsky, 1989a). According to such theories, the 'normative style' in the contemporary Western world is associated with a lack of personal exploration and is characterized by a concern with the standards and expectations of significant others. Moreover, as proposed by Berzonsky, the normative orientation requires resisting change and defending against information that challenges currently held beliefs and values.

In our study, we used an in-depth qualitative approach to study what *normativeness* means in the minds and lives of Pakistani young adults. The processes identified through our in-depth thematic analysis divergence, to some degree, from what have been previously conceptualized as 'foreclosure' and 'normative orientation'. Challenging stereotypical Western expectations, our analysis suggests that norms are not always inevitably automatic, and being 'normative' does not necessarily imply that one does not explore alternatives. Rather, we found that, at least in some cases, participants still actively explore, exert their logical thinking and reasoning, and thus formulate their decisions accordingly, even in a context where normative expectations are very strong.

Based on the empirical material reviewed in the present research, the process of identity formation appears more fluid than would have been assumed according to many Western theories. The major sources of norms identified in this study are parents, siblings, and religion and religious mentors. Moreover, most of the participants were found to maintain strong religious beliefs.

On a broader level, normative identity orientations were found to operate at three major levels. At the first level there exists a congruence between norms and self. This compatibility between norms and self matches quite well with Berzonsky's (1989, 1990, 2011) conceptualisation. The second level involves a negotiation process between norms and personal interests. This second type of *normativeness* emerges as participants attempt to differentiate and distinguish between norms and their personal interests. Contrary to the rather rigid and dogmatic view inherent in the first variant of *normativeness*, this reconciliation process reflects the relative 'adaptability' and 'flexibility' of normative orientations. Third, this conciliation process between norms and personal interests can result in incongruence between the two and thus lead to a state of conflict. Although a few Western researchers (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001) have suggested the possibility of alternative normative processes in different cultural contexts, to our knowledge these themes of reconciliation and negotiation between personal interests and normative influences have received little or no empirical attention in existing approaches to identity formation.

4.5.1. Congruence between Norms and Personal Interests

The first theme suggests that socialization, values, family, religion, and cultural artefacts all play a significant role in how people regard concepts such as 'identity formation' in the context of a culture following strong norms. It is interesting to explore how participants reported their personal, familial, religious, cultural and regional identities and in what way a congruence is established with their personal interest.

Theme 1 reflects such a process of congruence between norms and personal interests. Dwairy (2002) suggests that, due to continued socioeconomic interdependence between children and family, full individuation does not take place in a norm-based collectivist society. He further adds that the 'self' is not autonomous but is connected to

a larger in-group and directs its energy towards achieving group rather than personal goals. Our data extends upon his notion when participants described their processes of congruence between norms and personal interests (see, e.g., Extract 1*: Religion gives you a great basic outlook on life and helps you understanding things……*). Nonetheless, this congruence is not an isolated process, as it can bring some complementary consequences of social affirmation that protect self-interests in the decision being taken. Thus, interviewees reported gaining benefits from this congruence, including greater confidence, strength, satisfaction and increased social approval.

Another possibility is how adolescence is perceived in a collectivist society. As some researchers have previously pointed out, adolescence in collectivist societies is not a 'developmental crisis' (see e.g., Dwairy, 2002; Budman, Lipson, & Melies, 1992), in the way that it is sometimes (but not always: Arnett, 1999) considered to be in individualistic cultures. The reason for this can be that changes take place in the role of adolescents according to cultural expectations, and not through mere individuation from the family (Dwairy, 2002). Because many Pakistani adolescents do not experience this separation from their family at this age and thus are still closely connected to their families. Therefore, interviewees' interdependence on family encourages them to stay connected, and they do not experience a conflict between their personal and family's goals. Hence, this congruence reflects the functional utility of norms, where norms keep individuals connected to their families and serve as a way for people to satisfy their personal interests. This theme is consistent with the normative orientation as proposed by Berzonsky (1989, 1990, and 2011). The decision-making and exploration are performed by significant others, but congruence is maintained because it serves as a medium to secure personal interests, and such norms are internalized without much effortful thinking.

4.5.2. Negotiation between Norms and Personal Interests

The second type of *normativeness* suggests a process that is followed to negotiate between norms and personal interests. The internalization of norms is not as simple as maintaining a congruence between norms and self-interests. Rather, the process goes further for some interviewees. Specifically, it is worth identifying how interviewees reconcile their personal interests and normative expectations. Hence, a process of negotiation may occur between interviewees' personal interests and what is expected of them. Subsequently, one can find 'norms' and 'personal interests' that are distinct from each other. However, this "independence" operates within the framework or boundary of the norms. Following Dwairy (2002), personality only partially predicts behaviour of collectivist people, because much of their behaviour is explained by norms and social expectations. Therefore, these social expectations or "norms" should be taken into account alongside "self", because they provide a boundary within which the self can act and behave in a desirable way. Such a framework provides the person with a chance to verify the information related to their self and identity. For example, Extract 15 (*I do question my traditional values at time, because sometimes people can't differentiate .....)* suggests questioning and challenging beliefs while verifying information consistent with the self and ruling out any other information that is contrary to self (within normative bounds).

The interview responses also speak to the credibility that interviewees attach to varied sources of norms as outlined in sub-theme 2 (choosing which norms to follow). Social identity research has addressed this complexity of assigning varied credibility to competing norms (Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996). Our research extends and complements this work by identifying whose norms participants are most likely to follow. Extracts 13 (*The final decision would be mine, but I would love to involve my*

family…..) serves as good examples of how participants select, interpret, judge and value specific norms among the variety of norms available to them. This process of choosing highlights the process of exploration of the available norms before commitments are endorsed.

In addition, interviewees also reflected upon the ways through which they bring normative expectations into line with their personal decisions. Contrary to Western theories that reference automated processing of information coming through normative sources, participants in the present research appeared to value the independence of making decisions on their own. Although "autonomy" within self-determination theory is culturally universal (Sheldon, et al. 2004) but our data reveals that such an autonomy is expressed in ways that are socially acceptable. Therefore, participant's account reveals that they bring their choices into line with norms to gain and maintain social approval. Extract 17 (*It was my own decision because I spent almost a year in engineering; my terminals were quite near and [I was] prepared for nothing. I told my parents about my situation* …….) provides an excellent example of this and undermines notions in previous research (Berzonsky, 2011) that norms always operate 'automatically' and without personal thinking and judgment. A constant reconciliation process provides participants with a chance to negotiate between their personal interests and norms can thus be seen to operate at three levels: regulating personal interest within the boundary of norms, choosing norms matching personal interest among alternatives, and brining norms into line with personal interests.

4.5.3 Conflict between Norms and Personal Interests

The data presented here further affirm the multifaceted and complex manifestation of norms. The widely accepted cultural categorisation derived from previous research suggests that being collectivist means always being normative. This

notion leaves little or no room for the possibility that norms can be discredited or rejected, as tight cultures do not offer room and space for deviance or divergence from norms (see Gelfand et al., 2012). Our data provides evidence for alternative conceptualization in which a person, while living in a collectivist culture, can follow a different consequential path to those advocated by norms, instead of identifying with them automatically. Our interviewees' accounts suggest that this incongruence can lead to a failure of the reconciliation process between norms and personal interests. Varied reactions can occur as a result of this failure of conciliation or incongruence, including rejecting norms, supressing personal interests and rebelliousness against norms.

This conflict between norms and personal interests was described by respondents in a variety of ways. One possible explanation is that it can be aversive to be treated by others as though one belonged to a category that is discrepant with one's own self-conception (see e.g., Barreto & Ellemers, 2003; Barreto, Ellemers, Scholten, Smith, 2010). Such an aversion is reflected in reactions including rebelliousness, conflict arising from contrary norms, rejecting the norms, or being compliant towards norms while supressing personal interests. Interviewees described such experiences in terms of 'reactions' to incongruent norms, or when they were forced to adhere to norms that do not match their personal interests.

The themes describing the role of norms as a process of congruence, negotiation, and conflict provide insight into the complex manifestation of norms and provide some additions and caveats to previous research on normative orientation. Our data particularly highlight the importance of two-way relationships between norms and self. On the one hand, norms provide a framework both for thinking and for how one's thinking and behaviour are brought into line with the norms. On the other hand, norms

can be discredited and rejected when they are perceived to be conflicting with personal interests. This suggests that normative influences occur in a multiplicity of ways.

4.5.4 Overview of the Themes Identified

In the present study, interviewees' comments revealed a rich and complex interplay of norms and the development of identity. Respondents talked about behavioural and cognitive complexities that exist in Pakistani culture and that are consistent with Berzonsky's (2011) theorizing about *normativeness* in some ways but not others. The role of personal exploration is very much evident from the accounts of our interviewees, and our data further affirm that norms can serve as an active medium for evaluating self-relevant information. The congruence between norms and personal interests does appear consistent with Berzonsky's (2011) description. The parallel processes of constant reconciliation, negotiation and divergence from norms suggest that these aspects are not prevalent in the quintessential individualistic culture of USA and other Western countries or are very unique to Pakistani culture. However, another alternative could be that the role of negotiation and comparison of norms has not been adequately explored in Western cultural contexts as well. Perhaps the tightly normative nature of Pakistani society (Gelfand et al., 2011) makes such processes easier to detect than they would be in the West, where norms are often more subtle and less explicit. The present study further adds to the breadth of research on normative orientation, where norms are explored, evaluated, weighed against personal interests and finally accepted or rejected as a result of process of 'reconciliation'. Therefore, we propose that Berzonsky's theory of identity styles does apply in Pakistan, but that it applies to only some kinds of *normativeness*. The theory needs to be extended for use in Pakistan and similar contexts, but perhaps this extension would also provide a fuller understanding of identity development in Western contexts.

Other than identifying the processes of normative orientations it is worth exploring whether the same people utilize the various normative style variants at different times, or whether each person largely uses the same kind of normative style most or all of the time. Our data suggests possibility for both. Such an example of multiple *normativeness* can be taken from Jamal who preferred complete independence regarding his career but another occasion said he would like to meet his parent's expectations while deciding for interpersonal relationships. So the processes identified through above data suggest people utilize different normative styles in different situations depending on the context, nature of the decision to be taken and type of normative source.

Additionally, sometimes norms are indistinguishable from personal choice, but sometimes this is not the case. For example, Arooj has shown a consistent style throughout the interview where she acknowledged her spiritual mentors as the most significant influence on her decision making. And she has reported how her personal exploration occurs in combination to what her spiritual mentors have taught her. So her norms are distinguished from her personal choices at a more explicit level; however, she maintains a congruence between the two as it brings confidence and satisfaction to her. Suggesting that norms have flexibility where the same person can switch back and forth between varied norms or can also adopt a uniform pattern of *normativeness* in all decision domains.

4.6 Limitations, Implications and Future Directions

Although our study has provided some important insights, it also has some limitations. The present sample is small and lacks diversity in terms of education, age, and ethnicity. Moreover, as is the case for all research, one should be cautious about generalising beyond the sample studied. Hence, we do not claim that our findings are

representative of all Pakistani young adults, let alone of young adults in other cultural contexts. Nonetheless, the study certainly sheds light on the indigenous conceptualization of identity in Pakistani and shows some interesting similarities and contrasts vis-à-vis previous research in Western contexts. The aim of our research was not to produce a definitive and widely generalizable theory, but rather to see whether examining the complexities of identity formation in Pakistani culture would yield new insights that were not previously available from Western theorising. Our findings suggest that the indigenous processes of identity formation from Pakistani perspectives differ from Western models in some ways but not others, and that some of the differences are in terms of degree rather than in terms of different processes occurring. In terms of wider implications, our study has contributed to the field of cross-cultural identity research, and shows clearly that there needs to be much more research on identity formation from an indigenous (emic) perspective rather than imposing Western theories in an etic manner. By encouraging the promulgation of an indigenous perspective through thematic analysis, it may be possible to better understand identity development in non-Western contexts. Thus, we suggest that indigenous concepts and practices could be used better to represent cultural contexts other than that in which the theories were originally developed. Our research may suggest the need for indigenous theorisation and measurement, especially in terms of differentiating among types of *normativeness*. A next step, indeed, is to develop measures to assess the types of *normativeness* identified in the present study.

5. PAPER 4: Expanding the Concept of Normative Orientation: An Indigenous Study from Pakistan

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5.1 Abstract

Identity styles, including information, normative and diffuse-avoidant styles, are widely assumed to generalise across cultures; and information processing through normative identity style is assumed to be done in an automatic manner (Berzonsky, 2011). However, Paper 3 suggested some active processes between norms and self in identity formation of young people from Pakistan. Therefore, in the present study we developed two scales measuring such active processes in the cultural context of Pakistan. Based upon the evidence from our previous qualitative data, items were generated to capture the processes of identity formation in Pakistani culture. An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) of these items suggests the existence of four factors measuring diverse forms of "normative orientations" including Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence), Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence, Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation), and Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference) and three factors measuring "sources of influence on identity formation" (including self-preferences, expectations of parents and God, and expectations of referent group). Our present study suggests that these newly generated scales capture aspects of normative orientations that have not previously been addressed, and that they predict additional variance in psychological well-being, commitment and self-determination, compared to the conceptualisation of identity styles proposed by Berzonsky (2011). We propose using these measures in future research to measure aspects of identity formation in non-Western cultural contexts such as Pakistan.

Key words: *normative orientations; sources of influence on norms; culture; exploratory factor analysis*

5.2 Introduction

Western theories of identity formation (e.g. Berzonsky, 1989a, 2011) view normative orientation as a process of conformity without sufficiently exploring alternative choices. Data from our previous qualitative study (see Paper 3) has suggested that there is a need to examine normative orientations beyond the classical operationalisation of the construct proposed and measured by Berzonsky (1989a). We identified a variety of ways in which young people from Pakistan sought to reconcile normative expectations (parental, religious, and cultural) with their personal interests and explorations, when deciding about their careers, relationships, and values. The present paper addresses two key points related to identity formation and its measurement in the indigenous cultural context of Pakistan, building on the qualitative research we have previously undertaken with Pakistani youth (see Paper 3). *First*, having identified these alternative processes in normative identity orientations, we address a need to construct a new indigenous measure of identity styles for Pakistan. *Second*, we explore how this alternative newly constructed measure of identity construction is related to psychological outcomes such as psychological well-being and commitment. Before elaborating on these objectives, it is important to set this research within the context of existing theoretical models on identity formation.

5.2.1 Identity Formation and Identity Styles

The classical work on identity formation was inspired by the earlier writings and classic personality theory of Erik Erikson (1950, 1968). According to Erikson the term *ego identity* refers to certain comprehensive gains which the individual, at the end of adolescence, must have negotiated or dealt with before meeting the challenges and tasks of adult life (Erikson, 1950). Erikson's ideas have inspired considerable research in developmental psychology for more than five decades, and his work has had much

popularity, with his successors in the identity literature being referred to as Neo-Eriksonian (S. J. Schwartz, 2001). Prominent among these are Marcia (1980), Côté and Levine (1987), Grotevant (1987), Berzonsky (1989), and Waterman (1990). The pioneering attempts to operationalise and instrument the processes involved in identity formation were initiated by the work of Marcia (1966) and Berzonsky (1989).

Marcia (1966) described identity formation as developing through successive stages, where varying combinations of "commitment" to ideology and the process of "exploration" are used to describe the relevant identity status of a person. Whilst comparing varying levels of commitment and exploration, Marcia (1966) derived four identity statuses: *Identity Diffusion*, *Foreclosure*, *Moratorium* and *Identity Achieved*. These statuses are summarised in Figure 5.1, which comprises a two-by-two grid, with exploration on the x-axis and commitment on the y-axis.

	No Exploration	Exploration
No Commitment	Identity Diffusion	Moratorium
Commitment	Foreclosure	Identity Achievement

Figure 5.1: Identity statuses in relation to commitment and exploration

Berzonsky (1989; 1990), another of Erikson's successors, developed an alternative constructivist epistemological approach. He saw identity formation in terms of cognitively driven stylistic processes giving rise to three styles of identity formation namely: (i) *Informational Style* (exploration is done by oneself, followed by firm commitments), (ii) *Normative Style* (exploration is done by significant others, followed by commitment) and (iii) *Diffuse-Avoidance Style* (limited or no exploration is done, followed by procrastination and vague or no commitments at all). Berzonsky (2011)

defined these three styles as cognitive approaches to identity formation that become dominant in an individual's decision making while dealing with identity related issues. An established theoretical relationship exists between these styles and the statuses approach. In terms of status categories, individuals with moratorium and achievement status tend to utilise informational styles, individuals with foreclosure tend to utilize a normative style and individuals in diffusion tend to utilize diffuse-avoidant style (see Berzonsky, 2011; Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994; Berzonsky & Kuk, 2005).

5.2.2 Identity Style Measurement and Cross-Cultural Applicability

The most widely used instrument to measure identity styles is the Identity Styles Inventory (ISI). Between 1989 and 2013, five versions of this inventory have been published (see Berzonsky, 1989; Berzonsky, Soenens, Smits, Papini, & Goossens, 2013), based primarily on data from Western cultural contexts. However, there is a very limited research evidence from non-Western cultures regarding the appropriateness of ISI in such contexts (see Crocetti & Shokri, 2010; Sugimura & Mizokami, 2012; Tariq, 2012). The relative lack of indigenous literature and representative measures from non-Western perspectives can be seen as having led to over-generalisation of Western concepts and theories. Berzonsky (2011) has thus claimed that identity styles can be considered in similar ways in different cultures. Berzonsky (2011; Berzonsky et al., 2013) appears to assume that identity styles represent universal anchors and universal ways of processing identity related information. This raises the important issue of whether "identity styles" are indeed as universally generalisable as commonly assumed.

Our previous studies show limited evidence for cross-cultural generality of the identity styles inventory, especially with respect to the normative style in the cultural context of Pakistan (see Paper 1). This has led us to explore that the definition and measurement of the normative style may be especially problematic in a "tight

normative" culture (Gelfand, et al. 2011) such as Pakistan. We build on this now to explore whether a universal ideal of identity styles, especially with respect to *normative orientations* defined by Western theories, is indeed sufficient to describe identity formation processes in Pakistan, and thus potentially also elsewhere.

5.2.3 Normative Orientations in Breadth: An Alternative Approach

In order to explore aspects of normative orientations in Pakistan, it is necessary to review the characteristics of normative identity style conceptualized by Berzonsky and colleagues. In a recent paper, Berzonsky et al. (2013, p. 894) described people with normative orientations as tending "to internalize and adhere to the goals, expectations, and standards of significant others or referent groups in a relatively more automatic fashion".

In various other places, the characteristics of normative orientation are described as "relative automatic information processing" (Berzonsky,et al., 2013, p. 894); "automatically internalized prescriptions of significant others" (Berzonsky & Kinney, 2008, p. 111); "rigid dogmatic processing" (Berzonsky, 2011, p. 59); "mindless processing" (Berzonsky, 2011, p.59); "lack of personal exploration" and "follow expectations and standards of significant others" (Berzonsky, 1992a, p. 772); "preemptive social–cognitive orientation and a high need for closure" (Adams et al., 2001, p. 310); "thinking and processing in a decidedly biased manner" (Berzonsky & Sullivan, 1992, p.142); "exploration by others" (Nurmi et al., 1997, p. 556); "low tolerance for ambiguity" (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994, p. 426); "inflexible belief and value systems" (Soenens, Duriez, & Goossens, 2005, p. 109); and "closed to discrepant information related to self-identity" (Dollinger, 1995, p.476), to list but a few. This suggests that "norms" are something that is automatically processed to the self without there being, or minimal deliberate conscious information processing.

The attributes described in the preceding paragraph articulate normative orientation as an automatic process leaving minimal room for deliberate "cognitive" information processing. This automaticity associated with norms portrays a normative orientation as a "trait" rather than as a "cognitive process", since it does not require much exploration by the self. This in turn suggests that normative orientation, as conceptualised and operationalised by Berzonsky (1989), may be too simplistic to capture the nuances of the ways through which norms operate and are internalised in a culture that holds tight norms and low tolerance for deviance and uncertainty (see e.g., Gelfand et al., 2011) such as Pakistan.

In a recent paper Schwartz et al. (2013) criticized foreclosure as a perjorative view of identity formation, broadly described overall identity formation through styles and statuses as ambivalent, and hence criticised the global operationalisation of these constructs (Schwartz et al. 2013). Earlier, S.J. Schwartz (2001, 2005) had reframed such criticisms as challenges for identity research, and called for conceptualisations from other cultural contexts through in-depth research. In response to such a critique, focussing especially on normative orientation or foreclosure, the data from our in-depth qualitative study from Pakistan (see Paper 3) provided a rationale for divergence from Berzonsky's (1989) operationalisation of normative orientations. Our data revealed what "*normativeness*" means in the decision making processes of Pakistani adolescents and young adults. The predominant processes that differ from those in Berzonsky's (1989) model include cognitive processes of "reconciliations" between self and norms. These processes occur as a result of exploration that is partly done by others, but largely done by the self. Hence, this suggests that normative orientation is a process that can occur largely as a result of personal exploration, and the automaticity associated with

normative orientation is a single process in combination with various other complex processes of personal exploration based on norms.

Further evidence for our elaboration of normative orientation is seen in Paper 1, where we used items from ISI-5. The confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) performed on items from ISI-5 suggested greater item loss for normative orientations than for the other two styles. One potential reason for this might be that the ISI items do not capture the complexity associated with normative orientation when this occurs as a result of personal exploration and as a reconciliation process between self and others. The CFA undertaken in our previous study suggests that representative items from the indigenous cultural context of Pakistan are important to capture the breadth of "normative orientation". ISI may not fully capture the complexities of identity formation in this cultural context, and hence there is a need to incorporate an indigenous perspective in theorising and measurement of identity formation.

5.2.4 Measurement of Normative Identity: An Indigenous Perspective

We therefore aim here to measure and operationalise alternative possibilities of capturing and conceptualizing normative orientation as a process that can occur as a result of personal exploration rather than being merely automatically adopted. Learning through imitation and conformity requires less or no exploration of alternatives as suggested by Berzonsky (2011). However, our qualitative data highlight the potential value of indigenous research from diverse cultures to help redress the "blind spots" of Western theorising. We have therefore used our qualitative data for item generation for the present study, and see normative orientation as a process in combination with various other processes; individuals are actively seeking for options within normative boundaries. We used an alternative approach to conceptualise normative orientations as a process (i.e., "reconciliation" between self and norms) which facilitated us in

developing an indigenous instrument that is representative of these normative processes in the cultural context of Pakistan. Our qualitative study represented these processes through three broad themes:

(i) Where **congruence** is sought between norms and personal interests, this can occur as an identification with norms or where norms are seen to bring benefits for personal interest.

(ii) A **negotiation** process also occurs when personal interest is secured within normative boundaries, choosing whose norms to follow and bringing norms into line with personal choices.

(iii) Norms can also come into **conflict** with personal interest where they are either completely rejected or can result in suppressing personal interests.

Thus, diverse approaches to normative orientation, including the processes of congruence, negotiation and conflict, have given some breadth to the claims about normative orientation that have not been captured previously with enough rigour. Moreover, in Pakistani culture, normative influences seemingly play a more positive role in identity formation, and are not necessarily opposed to personal interests. Therefore, we suggest that the measurement of identity formation should in future include these diverse ways through which norms can be reconciled with personal exploration. The present study is a pioneering attempt to develop such a measure from the perspective of a non-Western society.

In order to validate our assertions and our new instruments, we aimed to see how these new measures are related to psychological adjustment. In this regard psychological well-being is the most widely used psychological correlate with identity styles (Phillips & Pittman, 2007; Vleioras & Bosma, 2005). Normative orientation has

remained an ambivalent predictor of well-being, and Paper 2 showed that using ISI-5 normative style was largely a non-significant predictor of well-being. The present paper therefore explores further how these new dimensions of "*normativeness*" are related to well-being. In the present study, we relied on measures of subjective well-being, for which the most frequently used measures are satisfaction with life, vitality in life and presence of positive affect, as well as absence of negative affect, anxiety, stress and depression.

Additionally, we looked at the relationships of our new measures with identity commitment. The role of commitment is well established in the literature, where information and normative styles are related to higher commitments and diffuse-avoidance to less or no commitment at all (Berzonsky, 2003; Crocetti & Shokri, 2010). Our conception of normative orientations assumes that *normativeness* occurs as a result of personal exploration, whereas Berzonsky (2003) sees the role of less or no exploration at all in formulating commitments occurring as a result of normative orientations. It is therefore worth exploring further how *normativeness* occurs as a result of personal exploration and how this is related to commitment.

Other than commitment, we also focused on self-determination (Deci et al., 1994). We assume that normative orientations can also occur as a result of personal exploration and therefore that this would positively predict aspects of self-determination better than the passive view of normative style adopted by Berzonky (1989a, 2011). We also used the latest version of ISI-5 in parallel for validation purposes.

Our present study therefore aims to meet three main objectives.

(i) To develop new measures to capture (a) the sources of influence on identity formation and (b) the different ways that people may orient to normative influences;

(ii) To examine how these differ from Berzonsky's normative orientation in their relations with commitment and with self-determination; and

(iii) To test the extent to which they improve on Berzonsky's model in their ability to predict indicators of well-being.

5.3 Method

This account of our method consists of three main sections: item pool generation for our new measures; other measures that we used for validation purposes; and participants and procedure.

5.3.1 Item Pool Generation

The item generation for both of the scales developed in the present study relied on both theoretical and empirical work on notions of normative orientations as a process approach. The item pool for the present measures is informed by our previous qualitative study (details are in Paper 3). We explored these normative identity processes considering the content domains in which identity formation has been studied previously, including career choices, choices about interpersonal relationships, and guiding values and beliefs in one's life. Frequently mentioned attitude descriptions in our qualitative data were converted into items. Items were cast to reflect processes and attitudes related to normative orientations rather than specific behaviour or personality traits. The items were all worded in the present tense. We divided the item generation into two broad categories and thus ended up generating items for two separate scales (for Item Pool see Appendix III)

5.3.1.1 Normative Orientations Scale. The first item pool generates a scale that aims to measure the processes capturing the domain of normative orientation as a reconciliation process between self and norms. The normative orientation scale reflects processes and attitudes related to normative orientations, in particular while deciding for career, interpersonal relationships, and the governing values of life. For our sample we generated items based upon the themes resulting from our qualitative study (Paper 3), including the process of congruence, negotiation and conflict between norms and self. For example, the items generated on the theme of congruence between self and norms include "*I trust my family to make decisions for me"*, and *"My parents decide what is best for me";* an example of negotiation items include, "*I decide for myself what I would like to do, but I need my family's approval before acting on it*", and "*I feel it is safer to follow what people expect of me*" which need not necessarily be considered as negative for identity formulation**.** Examples of conflict items include "*I don't like my family interfering in my decisions*" and "*I often find it difficult to follow my family's expectations"*. A 6 -point Likert scale format was used for all items, with response categories of 1= strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = disagree a little, 4 = agree a little, 5 = agree and 6 = strongly agree. Altogether 44 items were generated. Redundant, ambiguous, difficult, double barrelled, leading, and other "faulty" items were eliminated in the initial screening prior to data collection. Subsequent screening was based on empirical tests of reliability and validity during the analysis process after the data had been collected.

5.3.1.2. Sources of Influence on Identity Formation. The *Sources of Influence on Identity Formation* scale aims to measure the sources and strength of norms. It was evident from the interviews (Paper 3) that norms can take varied forms and that participants attached varied credibility to different sources of norms in particular while

deciding on their career, their interpersonal relationships and the governing values of life. Unlike the normative orientation scale, this scale does not consist of attitudinal items. Rather, the scale lists the possible sources of norms found in our qualitative data, such as parent's expectations and expectations of siblings, and measures the magnitude of importance of these expectations on a 9 point Likert scale where 1= least important, 5= moderately important, and 9=extremely important. 1. For example, participants were asked when making decisions about which education or career path to follow, how important is it for them to take account of each of these: (a) mother's expectations, (b) father's expectations, (c) expectations of brother(s) or sister(s), (d) their personal preferences and so on. This phase led to the generation of 39 items measuring varied sources of normative influence, capturing their influence on the three decision domains of deciding for career, deciding for interpersonal relationships, and deciding for values.

5.3.2 Validation of the Measures [3]

We used ISI-5 in parallel with our new measures to evaluate the discriminant validity of the scores. Our aim is not just to propose alternative measures to Berzonsky's constructs, but rather we propose that our measures succeed in capturing aspects of the identity formation process that Berzonsky's measures did not sufficiently capture for Pakistani youth. We further validated our new measure by testing its predictive effects on psychological well-being, self-determination and commitment in

[3]These measures were included in a larger questionnaire (see Appendix III). The list of all the measure used includes: Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (I-PANAS-SF, Thompson, 2007), Subjective Vitality Scale (Ryan, & Frederick, 1997), DASS Depression, Stress, Anxiety Schedule (Henry & Crawford, 2005), Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ: Schwartz, 2007), Self-Construal Scale (Vignoles, et al.2015) Identity Motives Inventory (Vignoles, Hassan, and colleagues, in preparation), and Self Determination Scale (Sheldon & Deci, 1996).

relation to the ISI-5. (For detailed list of measures, informed consent and other resource material used in this study see Appendix III.)

Four main outcome measures were used in this research.

5.3.2.1 Psychological Well-Being Measures. Two latent variables were created to measure positive well-being (PWB) and negative well-being (NWB). Positive well-being was measured through the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), positive affect items from the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS-Watson et al., 1988), and the Subjective Vitality Scale (Ryan & Frederick, 1997). Negative well-being was measured through negative affect items from PANAS, and an additional three negative well-being variables measured using the Depression, Anxiety and Stress scale (DASS-21, Henry & Crawford, 2005). The details of each of these scales is summarised below.

(i) The Satisfaction with Life Scale. The Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985) has been widely used as a cognitive measure of satisfaction with life, comprising five items (e.g. "*I am satisfied with my life"*). Items are rated on a 7-point Likert-type rating scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). A higher score suggests greater satisfaction with life ($\alpha = .71$).

(ii) Subjective Vitality Scale. In combination with life satisfaction, a ten item subjective vitality scale (Ryan & Frederick, 1997) was used to measure the energy, interests, aliveness and purposes in life, on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (agree strongly), in terms of how they "apply to you and your life at the present time". An example item includes "*I feel alive and vital*" ($\alpha = .70$).

(iii) The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS). Positive and negative affect were measured through the 10-item measure i.e., International Positive and Negative

Affect Schedule Short Form (I-PANAS-SF, Thompson, 2007), which includes separate subscales measuring positive affect (5 items) and negative affect (5 items). Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they had experienced each emotion presented through the scale within the time span of the previous month on a 5-point Likert scale. The response categories were: 1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often, and 5 = Always. Respondents were asked to rate how often they felt different feelings and emotions during the "last month". Example affects measured are "*upset*" and "*inspired*". The reliability for Negative Affect was found to be .60 and for positive Affect it was found to be .62.

(iv) Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale - 21 Items (DASS-21). A 21 item inventory measuring Depression, Anxiety and Stress (DASS-21, Henry & Crawford, 2005) was used to measure the dimensions of negative psychological well-being. DASS comprises three self-reporting scales designed to measure the emotional states of depression, anxiety and stress. Each scale comprised 7 items, using a 4-point scale, where 0 (did not apply to me at all), 1 (Applied to me to some degree, or some of the times), 2 (Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time) , and 3 (Applied to me very much or most of the time). The characteristics of depression include being pessimistic about the future, and being unable to experience enjoyment or satisfaction (for example "*I felt down-hearted and sad*"). The characteristics of anxiety include apprehensiveness, panicky, trembling, and pounding of the heart (with an example item being "*I was aware of dryness of my mouth*"). The characteristics of stress include over-aroused, tense, and unable to relax (for example "*I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy*"). The alpha coefficients found are Anxiety ($\alpha = .70$), Stress ($\alpha = .72$), Depression ($\alpha = .75$) respectively.

5.3.2.2 Identity Styles. In order to measure the identity styles of the participants, we created a new Pakistan Normative Orientation Inventory. The scale construction and

description have been summarised earlier (Section 5.3.1).[4]The fifth and the latest version of the Identity Styles Inventory-5 (Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez & Soenens, 2013) was used in parallel to this newly established scale. Items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Not at all like me) to 5 (Very much like me). ISI-5 comprises three identity styles including: informational style (9 items, such as "*When making important decisions, I like to spend time thinking about my options"*), normative style (9 items, such as *"I never question what I want to do with my life because I tend to follow what important people expect me to do*"); and diffuse-avoidance style (9 items, such as "*I try to avoid personal situations that require me to think a lot and deal with them on my own*"). The alpha coefficients found are information style (α = .78), normative style (α = .68), diffuse-avoidance (α = .69) respectively.

5.3.2.3 Identity Commitment. The 9-item commitment scale of the ISI-4 (Berzonsky, Soenens, Smits, Luyckx, & Goossens, 2010) was administered alongside the other measures. Items (such as "*I know basically what I believe and don't believe*") were scored on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Not at all like me) to 5 (Very much like me) (α = .67).

5.3.2.4. Self-Determination Scale. Self-determination was measured through Sheldon and Deci's (1996) 10 item Self-Determination Scale (SDS). This scale assesses individual differences in the extent to which people act in self-determined ways. This scale measures two ways in which individuals act in self-determined ways and comprises two 5-item subscales (a) Awareness of Self (i.e., the extent to which they are aware of their feelings and their sense of self), and (b) Perceived choice (i.e. feeling of choice made by

[4] The CFA of ISI-5 suggested poorly performing items on this sample, especially for normative orientation, but these were not necessarily the same items that performed poorly in Paper 1. Since the aim of this study is validation of our newly established measures therefore we used all the items from ISI-5 instead using the reduced version.

self with respect to one's behaviour and actions). For each item, participants were asked to choose which of two statements is truer for them. For example, Awareness of self-items "A - *I feel that I am rarely myself"* and "B - *I feel like I am always completely myself*" requires participants to respond on a scale of 1 (only A feels true) to 5 (only B feels true). Likewise perceived choice items "A. *I am free to do whatever I decide to do"* and "B. *What I do is often not what I'd choose to do.*" requires participants to respond in a similar way.

5.3.3 Participants and Procedure

The sample for the present study comprised 435 postgraduate and undergraduate students from different universities in the cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad in Pakistan. A sample comprising of 205 study participants completed the paper pencil version of survey, and a sample comprising of 230 participants completed identical online version of survey through Bristol online surveys. We pooled both samples to achieve an adequate sample size for analysis. There were 231 male and 202 female students in total with ages ranging between 18-25 years (M = 20.00, SD = 2.27). Participation was voluntary, and no compensation or incentive was provided for participation. The data were collected in a large group setting through paper and pencil administration. Informed consent was taken prior to the data collection; participants were briefly told about the study objectives and informed that they could leave at any point during the administration. Confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed. The research received approval from the research ethics committee of our home university in the United Kingdom. Approvals from Vice Chancellors/Directors at the respective Pakistani universities were obtained prior to data collection.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Developing Factorial Structure of the two Measures

5.4.1.1. EFA: Normative Orientations Scale. The data were subjected to Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) to determine the factorial structure and dimensionality of the items generated and to refine the final selection of items for the inventory. Possible effects of acquiescent responding on each item were removed through ipsatising that transforms each participant's ratings relative to that person's average response, thereby resulting in adjusted item scores whose values represent deviations from that person's average score across all items within the measure (Wiggins, Steiger, & Gaelick, 1981). Because ipsative data violates assumptions of the common factor model, we used Principal Components Analysis (PCA) rather than Exploratory Factor Analysis.

Initially, a PCA with direct oblimin (non-orthogonal/oblique) rotation was performed on the 44 items generated, because we assumed that our factors might correlate to each other. The scree plot suggested four factors, and this was also the most interpretable solution, with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy being .76, above the recommended value of .6 (Kaiser, 1974), and Bartlett's test of sphericity also being significant ($\chi 2$ (946) = 4646.71, $p < .05$). Items having loadings less than .30 on their relevant factor and those that cross-loaded greater than .30 across factors were deleted. The rotated solution is shown in Table 5.1, all the items retained after factor analysis are bold and underlined in the Table. The final four factors solution, which accounted for 32% of the variance, consisted of 37 items in total, and is summarised below:

***Factor I*:** The first factor comprises 11 items. Items with high positive loadings on this factor include "*I never question my parent's decisions for me, as they are always right for me*"; an example of a negatively loading item is "*I want to have the freedom to make my own choices"*. The content of items on this factor suggests complete congruence between norms and self that is maintained as a result of complete identification with norms. Therefore, we labelled this factor as "Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence)" where a higher score on this subscale indicates greater identification.

***Factor II*:** The second factor has 10 items. Positively loading items include "*If I want to do something, I try to convince my family before doing it*". These items reflect an active response to the normative influence, as their personal exploration involves seeking an active approval from an external source, for example, the parents to formulate the decisions. And an example of a negatively item was "*I don't have set plans for my future as I have complete belief in my destiny*". These items suggest a complete lack of self-exploration and passive acceptance that goals are set by something external to the self, which can be God or fate. These items reflect a passive response to the normative influence. We therefore labelled this factor as "Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence". A higher score on this factor suggests greater active normative influence.

***Factor III*:** The third factor comprises 9 items. The items having highest positive loadings on this factor include "*I would feel very guilty if I am not able to meet my family's expectations*", and an example of a negatively loading item on this component is "*I don't consider other's expectations, I like to do what I feel like doing*". Considering the content of these items the self perceives norms as a pressure against personal preferences and interests. Therefore, we labelled this

factor as “Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation)”. Higher scores on this factor suggest greater perceived pressure of norms over personal interest.

Factor IV: The fourth factor consists of 7 items. Positively loading items include “*My parents support me to make my own decisions*.”, and an example of negative item includes “*My parents like to interfere in each and every decision I make*”. These items suggest that norms and personal preferences are distinct to each other: on one hand, family norms are perceived as providing support to personal autonomy, whereas, on the other hand, family norms are perceived as an intrusion to personal interest. We labelled this factor as “Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference)” ($\alpha = .68$), with a higher score on this factor suggesting that norms are perceived as support for personal autonomy, rather than interference.

Composite scores were created for each of the four factors based on the mean of the items which had their primary loadings on each factor. Higher scores indicated greater use of that pertinent normative orientation. For a complete description of item loadings and cross loadings see Table 5.1.

Table 5.1*: Exploratory Factor Analysis: Factor Loadings of Normative Orientations Scale*

	Items	***Factor Loadings***			
F1.	**Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence) (α = .72)**	FI	FII	FIII	FIV
1	I never question my parent's decisions for me, as they are always right for me.	**.65**	-.09	-.22	.09
2	My family's decisions and choices for me are far better than my own.	**.55**	.06	-.06	.07
3	I like to have complete independence and autonomy in my decisions.	**-.53**	-.04	-.00	-.02
4	I trust my family to make decisions for me.	**.52**	.16	-.08	-.35
5	I can't say 'no' to my parents when they have already decided something for me.	**.49**	-.05	-.08	.17
6	I follow wholeheartedly what my family expects me to do.	**.48**	-.09	.10	-.07
7	I want to have the freedom to make my own choices.	**-.48**	-.01	-.08	.00
8	My parents decide what is best for me.	**.45**	.19	.05	-.04
9	I want to make decisions on my own, without my family's involvement.	**-.43**	.00	-.15	.23
10	I often find it difficult to follow my family's expectations.	**-.41**	.03	-.02	.15
11	I don't like my family interfering in my decisions.	**-.41**	-.09	-.27	.27
12	I usually explore all options by myself before making a final decision.	-.27	.07	.21	-.20
13	I always ask for my family's opinion while making any decision.	.25	.13	.20	-.22
FII.	**Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence (α = .57)**				
14	I don't have set plans for my future as I have complete belief in my destiny.	-.02	**-.64**	.04	-.04
15	I don't believe in planning for myself, as I believe that God has already set some plans for me.	.10	**-.56**	.12	-.16

Table 5.1: … *continued*…

16	I feel it is safer to follow what people expect of me.	.13	**-.54**	.20	.25
17	If I want to do something, I try to convince my family before doing it.	.05	**.47**	.09	-.01
18	I try to make decisions that would make my parents happy.	.13	**.44**	.16	-.17
19	I would feel stressed if I do not follow what people expect of me.	.00	**-.43**	.13	.30
20	I don't plan on my own, as I have a complete belief in fate.	.12	**-.39**	-.00	-.04
21	I always discuss with my family before making an important decision.	.16	**.39**	.11	-.14
22	I try to make decisions that my family would approve of.	.17	**.36**	.20	.05
23	I would not act on a major life decision against my parents' will.	.15	**.32**	.04	.07
24	I take direction from God through prayer while making any decision.	.07	.26	.21	-.21
FIII.	**Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) (α = .66)**				
25	I would feel very guilty if I am not able to meet my family's expectations.	-.11	-.07	**.66**	.00
26	It would bring a lot of distress to me if I am not able to meet my family's expectations.	-.23	-.08	**.59**	.06
27	I make decisions independently of my parents.	-.26	-.10	**-.52**	-.01
28	I don't consider other's expectations, I like to do what I feel like doing.	-.33	.10	**-.52**	-.06
29	I do not consider other people's expectations while making my decisions.	-.14	.28	**-.51**	-.09
30	I feel protected if I follow my family's expectations.	.00	.03	**.46**	-.07
31	I don't want to make any decision against my family's will.	-.00	.12	**.45**	-.15
32	I want my family to agree with my decisions before I act on them.	-.25	.23	**.44**	-.00
33	If I develop an interest, I can go for it even against my family's will.	**-.40**	-.07	**-.42**	.06

Table 5.1: … *continued*…

34	I prefer to make decisions on my own and only let my family know afterwards.	-.20	-.22	**-.40**	-.15
35	I avoid discussing with my family until I have already made my decisions.	**-.33**	-.20	**-.38**	.14
FIV. Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference)(α = .57)					
36	My parents support me to make my own decisions.	-.07	.04	-.03	**.64**
37	My parents don't want me to make decisions on my own.	-.13	.02	-.06	**-.55**
38	My parents like to interfere in each and every decision I make.	-.07	.13	-.04	**-.51**
39	My family has a great impact on all the decisions that I make.	.08	.37	.11	**-.44**
40	I would feel shy if I have to make an independent decision of my own	.19	-.07	.16	**-.43**
41	My parents are a motivating force behind every decision I make.	.17	.06	.10	**.39**
42	My family's expectations are most important to me.	**.32**	.12	.02	**-.38**
43	I decide for myself what I would like to do, but I need my family's approval before acting on it.	-.11	.03	**.33**	**-.37**
44	I don't like to have directions coming from my parents.	-.28	-.23	-.20	**-.30**

Note: The factor loadings of items above .30 are bold and underlined in the table

5.4.1.2. EFA: Sources of Normative Influence on Identity Formation Scale.

The data were subjected to Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) to determine the factorial structure and dimensionality of the items generated, and also to refine the final selection of items in this scale. For this scale we used Principal Components Analysis (PCA) with direct oblimin (non-orthogonal/oblique) rotation on the 39 items generated. Consistent with the previous scale, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .83, which is above the recommended value of .6 (Kaiser, 1974), and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (χ^2 (741) = 9477.138, $p < .05$). The scree plot suggested a three-factor solution. Consistent with the previous scale developed, the items having loadings greater than .30 on their relevant factor were retained, and no cross loading greater than .30 across factors was identified. The final three factors solution which accounted for 45% of the total variance consisted of all 39 items sampled. The rotated solution is shown in Table 5.2.

Factor I: The first factor consists of 20 items. This factor comprises all of the items where participants are most likely to employ their personal preferences in their decision making for their career, values and interpersonal relationships. A higher score on this factor suggests greater personal preference into one's decision making. All items are positively worded and we labelled this factor as "Personal Preferences."

Factor II: The second factor comprises 13 items. Participants described parental and religious norms as being of most importance. A higher score on this factor suggests greater endorsement for norms coming from parents or religion. This factor also has positively worded items only and we labelled it as "Expectations of Parents/Religion."

Factor III: The third factor consists of 6 items, reflecting that the third major source of normative expectations includes expectations coming from referent group other than parents such as siblings, uncles, aunts and spiritual mentors or guides. A greater score suggests greater acceptance of significant others' expectations and we labelled it as "Expectations of referent group". For complete factor loadings and cross loadings for Sources of Influence on Identity Formation Scale see Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: ***Exploratory Factor Analysis: Factor Loadings of Sources of Normative Influence on Identity Formation Scale***

Factor I: Personal Preference (α=.94)		**FI**	**FII**	**FIII**
1	V. values that fit with your personality	**.78**	.12	.00
2	R. someone you find interesting to be with	**.77**	.07	.05
3	V. values that fit with your abilities	**.77**	.02	-.07
4	V. valuing what you find interesting	**.75**	.06	-.04
5	C. something that you have decided on your own	**.75**	.02	.19
6	R. someone who appreciates your personal qualities	**.72**	.12	.04
7	R. someone that you have chosen on your own	**.71**	-.00	.09
8	V. valuing what you enjoy doing	**.70**	.02	-.05
9	R. expressing who you are	**.70**	.05	-.01
10	C. something that you enjoy doing	**.70**	-.01	.01
11	R. someone who fits with your personality	**.69**	-.04	-.07
12	R. someone that you enjoy being with	**.69**	-.01	-.06
13	C. something that you find interesting	**.68**	-.06	-.01
14	V. expressing who you are	**.67**	.06	-.02
15	C. something that you are good at	**.66**	.00	-.05
16	V. your personal preferences	**.65**	-.05	-.19
17	R. your personal preferences	**.65**	-.11	-.12
18	C. your personal preferences	**.63**	-.13	-.09
19	C. something that fits with your personality	**.61**	-.10	-.10
20	C. expressing who you are	**.61**	-.10	-.07
Factor II: Expectations of God and Parents (α=.92)				
27	R. your mother's expectations	-.05	-.05	**-.82**
28	R. God's expectations for you	.09	-.15	**-.79**
29	V. God's expectations for you	.11	-.09	**-.76**
30	V. guidance from religious scriptures	.05	-.02	**-.74**
31	C. God's expectations for you	.11	-.09	**-.73**
32	R. your father's expectations	-.02	.08	**-.71**
33	C. guidance from religious scriptures	-.10	.07	**-.70**
34	V. your father's expectations	.11	.10	**-.68**
35	V. your mother's expectations	.16	.01	**-.67**

Table 5.2: … *continued*…				
36	R. guidance from religious scriptures	-.00	.06	**-.66**
37	C. your mother's expectations	.03	.06	**-.62**
38	C. your father's expectations	.04	.13	**-.61**
39	V. guidance from spiritual mentors	.23	.26	**-.36**
Factor III : Expectations of Referent Group (α=.83)				
21	V. expectations of other family members (e.g. uncles, aunts, grandparents)	.04	**.79**	.04
22	C. expectations of other family members (e.g. uncles, aunts, grandparents)	.04	**.77**	.11
23	R. expectations of other family members (e.g. uncles, aunts, grandparents)	-.03	**.76**	.11
24	R. expectations of your brother(s) or sister(s)	-.05	**.67**	-.26
25	V. expectations of your brother(s) or sister(s)	.02	**.66**	-.29
26	C. expectations of your brother(s) or sister(s)	-.02	**.59**	-.32

Note: The factor loadings of items above .30 are bold and underlined in the table.

* In the above Table "C" indicates items measuring sources of normative influence while deciding for career, "R" reflects items measuring sources of normative influence while deciding for interpersonal relationships and "V" indicates items measuring sources of normative influence while deciding for values and beliefs.

5.4.2. Predictive Validity of Measures

Other than devising new measures we also aimed to examine how these new measures differ from Berzonsky's normative orientation in their relations with psychological well-being, commitment, and self-determination. Other than correlations (see Table 5.3) we also aimed to test the extent to which they improve on Berzonsky's model in their ability to predict indicators of well-being, commitment and self-determination. We carried out a series of linear regressions using Mplus version 6, with four possible models in our data while predicting these psychological outcomes. Several indices were used to assess model fit, including the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and Standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Recommended cutoffs for these indices are as follows: for RMSEA, acceptable values are < .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999); values of SRMR < .05 indicate a good fit, and values < .10 may be interpreted as acceptable (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1995; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006); for CFI values ≥ .90 reflect acceptable fit (Bentler, 1990). Model 1 (M1) consists of Berzonsky's identity styles as a predictor of positive well-being, Model 2 (M2) comprises four normative orientations from our normative orientations scale, Model 3 (M3) consists of sources of normative influence for predicting well-being, and Model 4 (M4) is a consolidated model where all predictors are used in combination to predict well-being.

Table 5.3: ***Correlations among identity styles, normative orientations, sources of influence on norms, identity commitment, self-determination, positive well-being and negative well-being***

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	Information Style	-																			
2	Normative Style	.59**	-																		
3	Diffuse-Avoidance	.29**	.49**	-																	
4	Identification (vs. Independence)	.07	.11*	-.07	-																
5	Active (vs. Passive)	.00	.12**	.06	.20**	-															
6	Pressure (vs. Confrontation)	.20**	.20**	.00	.39**	.26**	-														
7	Autonomy (vs. Interference)	.24**	.20**	-.09*	.28**	.07	.23**	-													
8	Self-Preferences	.37**	.25**	.05	.09*	-.10*	.05	.26**	-												
9	Expectations of Parents and God	.30**	.33**	.07	.27**	.00	.28**	.26**	.61**	-											
10	Expectations of Referent Group	.07	.27**	.17**	.20**	.13**	.12**	.02	.15**	.40**	-										
11	Commitment	.47**	.30**	-.24**	.24**	-.10*	.17**	.35**	.35**	.33**	.01	-									
12	Life satisfaction	.08	.07	.06	.11*	.02	.01	.13**	.05	.17**	.11*	.16**	-								
13	Positive affect	.27**	.18**	.02	.08	-.07	.00	.21**	.35**	.39**	.16**	.27**	.23**	-							
14	Subjective Vitality	.29**	.23**	.02	.10*	-.01	-.02	.21**	.30**	.31**	.13**	.34**	.38**	.50**	-						
15	Negative affect	-.06	-.00	.09	.00	.09*	.15**	-.07	-.16**	-.13**	.02	-.21**	-.21**	-.21**	-.27**	-					
16	Anxiety	.09	.12*	.21**	-.14**	-.10*	.00	.02	.08	.06	.08	-.06	-.11*	-.03	-.10*	.26**	-				
17	Stress	.07	.09*	.16**	-.12**	-.14**	-.00	-.01	.07	.02	.04	-.11*	-.19**	-.03	-.09*	.24**	.69**	-			
18	Depression	-.07	-.01	.18**	-.13**	-.10*	-.04	-.11*	-.04	-.07	.06	-.25**	-.22**	-.14**	-.22**	.30**	.57**	.65**	-		
19	Perceive Choice	.11*	-.02	-.14**	.03	-.04	-.06	.24**	.18**	.04	-.14**	.23**	.07	.14**	.15**	-.16**	-.06	-.06	-.10*	-	
20	Awareness of Self	.18**	.15**	-.15**	-.02	-.00	.07	.16**	.14**	.09	.08	.33**	.08	.13**	.13**	-.07	-.11*	-.21**	-.23**	.04	-

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05*

Note: Read Identification (vs. Independence) as *Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence),* Active (vs. Passive) as *Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence, Pressure* (vs. Confrontation) as *Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation), and* Autonomy (vs. Interference) as *Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference).*

5.4.2.1. Psychological Well-being. Berzonsky's identity styles (M1) explained 14% of the total variation in psychological well-being (PWB) (χ^2 = 125.09, *df* = 43, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .05), with information and normative orientation positively predicting PWB, and disuse-avoidance predicting NWB (For beta values see Table 5.4).

M2 comprising of four normative orientations explained 10% of the total variance in PWB (χ^2 = 131.05, *df* = 48, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .05), with Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence), and Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference) as positive predictors of PWB, and Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) negatively predicting PWB in this model. It might therefore be that the process of identification with norms occurs in a way that is beneficial for both self and norms, and normative support for personal autonomy reaffirms the decisions taken by self, hence positively related to PWB. The negative relationship of Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) with PWB suggests that a normative influence that is not congruence with the self, is perceived as pressure, hence leads to lesser PWB among Pakistani youth. In comparison to M1 and M2, M3 comprising sources of influence on identity formation explained a much higher 24% of the total variance (χ^2 = 135.01, *df* = 43, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .06). In this model, self-preferences and expectations of God and parents are a positive predictor of PWB suggesting that abiding to such normative sources is more likely to bring better adjustment and positive self-regard. Besides, decisions taken by oneself also contribute towards better psychological well-being even in a normative culture. Whereas, listening to referent groups that includes their extended family uncle, aunts and siblings has no significant effect on PWB. Model 4 as described earlier combines all of the predictors in a single model and

explained 35% of the total variance (χ^2 = 186.34, *df* = 78, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .04).

Information orientation, Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference), and expectations of God and parents are the positive predictors of PWB in this model, whereas Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) predicts lesser PWB. It is interesting to note that the normative orientations measured through Berzonsky's measure stayed as a non-significant predictor of PWB in Model 4, whereas the aspects of normative orientations and normative influences performed better in predicting PWB (For beta values see Table 5.4).

Along with PWB we also predicted Negative Well-being (NWB) through potential predictors in our research. M1, being Berzonsky's identity styles, explained only 5% of the total variation in the NWB, and showed that only diffuse-avoidance predicts NWB. Model 2, comprising four normative orientations, explained 5% of the total variance in NWB; Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence) and Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence are negative predictors of NWB in this model. Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) positively predict NWB. M3 consisting of sources of influence on identity formation explained only around 1% of the total variance, the sources of influence on identity formation did not predict NWB. Model 4 combining all predictors in a single model altogether explained 10% of the total variance which is double the variance from Model 1. Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence) and Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence are negatively related to NWB; and diffuse-avoidance and Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) positively predict NWB (For beta values see Table 5.4).

It is worth noting that, Berzonsky's normative style subscale did not contribute any variation at all in predicting PWB and NWB in M4, suggesting that our new scales

are adding something into predicting well-being that Berzonsky's measure of normative orientation could not contribute in our study.

Table 5.4: ***Regression analysis of identity styles, normative orientations, sources of influence on norms, predicting positive well-being and negative well-being***

		PWB				NWB			
		M1	***M2***	***M3***	***M4***	***M1***	***M2***	***M3***	***M4***
		β	*β*	*β*		*β*	*β*	*β*	
1	Information Style	.30***			.24***	-.00			-.03
2	Normative Style	.16*			.03	-.02			-.01
3	Diffuse-Avoidance Style	-.12*			-.06	.24***			.23***
4	Identification (vs. Independence)		.11*		.05		-.16**		-.16**
5	Active (vs. Passive)		-.04		-.01		-.13*		-.16**
6	Pressure (vs. Confrontation)		-.11*		-.23**		.09†		.10†
7	Autonomy (vs. Interference)		.28***		.15**		-.00		.02
8	Self-Preferences			.20**	.06			.08	.06
9	Expectations of Parents and God			.32***	.32***			-.08	-.06
10	Expectations of Referent Group			.04	.06			.09	.09
	R^2	.14	.10	.24	.35	.05	.05	.01	.10

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10*

Note: Read Identification (vs. Independence) as *Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence),* Active (vs. Passive) as *Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence, Pressure* (vs. Confrontation) as *Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation), and* Autonomy (vs. Interference) as *Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference).*

5.4.2.2. Commitment.

The relationship between identity styles and commitment is well established in previous research (Berzonsky, 2003). For our present research we found it interesting to explore how adding breadth to normative orientations through new variables can explain greater variance in commitment. For Berzonsky's identity styles, M1 explained 40% of the total variance in predicting commitment, with information and normative style predicting greater commitment and diffuse-avoidance predicting lesser commitment. M2 having sources of normative orientation in the model explained 18% of the total variance in commitment. Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence), Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) and Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference) are all significant positive predictors for commitment. Suggesting that people adopting such normative orientations in their decision making feel more committed. Whereas, Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence negatively predict commitment suggesting that active recipient of norms makes people having weaker or no commitments. Looking at the active response to normative influence items for example *"I try to make decisions that would make my parents happy*", suggests that the core of decision making is to make *parents* happy rather than commitment formulation therefore such a dimension of normative orientation is negatively related to commitment. M3 explained 16% of the total variance, showing that expectations from parents and God, and self-preferences are positive predictors of commitment and expectations of a referent group is a negative predictor. M4, including all predictors in a single model, accounted for 50% of the total variance in commitment. Information and normative styles, Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence), Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference), and expectations of God and parents contribute towards greater commitment, whilst diffuse-avoidance,

Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence, and expectations of referent group are negatively related to commitment. In short, our new factor solutions giving breadth to normative orientations, as expressed in M4, account for 10% more variance in commitment than identity styles alone.

5.4.2.3. Self-Determination. We further validated our newly established measure through measuring its relationships with self-determination. We tested the effects of using identity styles, normative orientations, sources of influence on identity as predictors of dimensions of self-determination i.e., perceived choice and awareness of self.

(a) ***Perceived Choice***. M1 explained 5% of the total variance in predicting perceived choice. In this model, information style positively predicts perceived choice and diffuse-avoidance negatively predicts perceived choice, however normative style did not contribute in predicting perceived choice in this model. Model 2 showed 7% of the total variance for perceived choice. Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation) act in opposition to one's perceived choice and Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference) is a significant positive predictor of perceived choice. Suggesting that the norms that are acquired as a personal choice are congruent with perceived choices by oneself, and incongruent norms are perceived as pressure. Model 3 explained 6% of the total variance, while accounting for perceived choice; self-preferences indicated greater self-choice whereas expectations of a referent group was a significant negative predictor in this model. Model 4 including all predictors in a single model, accounted for 13% of the total variance in perceived choice which is more than double compared to M1. Information style, Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference) and self-preferences positively predict perceived choice. Whereas, diffuse-avoidance, Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation), and expectations of referent group are negative

predictors for perceived choice. In short, once again, our new factor solutions have accounted for more variance in perceived choice compared to M1 (For beta values see Table 5.5).

(b) ***Awareness of Self.*** For the awareness of self-dimension, M1 explained 10% of the total variation; information, and normative style positively predict awareness of self, and diffuse-avoidance negatively predicts awareness of self. Model 2 only explained 4% of the total variance for awareness of self. Only Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference) positively predict Awareness of self. Model 3 comprising normative expectations explained only 2% of the total variance. Self-Preferences is an only significant positive predictor in this model, suggesting that abiding to self-preferences is likely to contribute towards greater awareness of self. Finally Model 4 having all predictors in a single explained 13% of the total variance, which is not a particularly high level of variance explained, but relatively better than M1. In summary, information and normative style positively predict awareness of self, and diffuse-avoidance predicts lesser self-awareness. Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference) and expectations of referent group predict greater self-awareness and Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence) is seen as being in opposition to self-awareness (For beta values see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: ***Regression analysis of identity styles, normative orientations, sources of influence on norms, predicting commitment and self-determination***

	Commitment				Perceived Choice				Awareness of Self			
	M1	***M2***	***M3***	***M4***	***M1***	***M2***	***M3***	***M4***	***M1***	***M2***	***M3***	***M4***
	β	β	β		β	β	β		β	β	β	
Information Style	.45***			.36***	.20***			.12*	.14*			.12*
Normative Style	.29**			.26***	-.06			-.06	.21**			.18**
Diffuse-Avoidance	-.51***			-.44***	-.17**			-.11*	-.29***			-.29***
Identification (vs. Independence)		.15**		.14***		.00		.02		-.09		-.12*
Active (vs. Passive)		-.19***		-.13***		-.03		.01		-.01		-.00
Pressure (vs. Confrontation)		.09*		-.01		-.12*		-.11*		.07		.04
Autonomy (vs. Interference)		.30***		.09*		.27***		.21***		.17***		.09†
Self-Preferences			.21***	.07			.23***	.16**			.16**	.09
Expectations of Parents and God			.25***	.09†			-.03	-.04			-.03	-.09
Expectations of Referent Group			-.12*	-.07†			-.16**	-.12*			.07	.11*
R^2	.40	.18	.16	.50	.05	.07	.06	.13	.10	.04	.02	.13

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05,†p<.10*

Note: Read Identification (vs. Independence) as *Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence),* Active (vs. Passive) as *Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence, Pressure* (vs. Confrontation) as *Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation), and* Autonomy (vs. Interference) as *Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference).*

5.5 Discussion

A substantial amount of empirical evidence has previously been adduced to suggest that identity formation is an essential aspect of adolescent development. Based upon the earlier writings of Erikson (1950, 1968), Berzonsky's (1989-2013) social cognitive model of identity formation and its measurement through identity styles inventories has formed the basis of more than 25 years of research. This social-cognitive model distinguishes how individuals process self-relevant information. However, it appears from our research that some of the findings previously reported by Berzonsky, based largely on data from "Western" cultures, might not be replicable across a broader range of cultures (see Paper1; see also Schwartz et al, 2013). Therefore, in this paper we devised two new measures to examine aspects of normative orientations for youths in Pakistan. At a broad level, our findings suggest that our two new scales have added a substantially broader perspective to normative orientation, whilst also unpacking its processes in the cultural context of Pakistan. The findings of our research provide support for our views that studying and measuring normative orientations needs to focus on multiple processes instead of a single automatic function.

5.5.1 Dimensionality of Normative Orientations as an Alternative Explanation

We began this study by suggesting that adding greater "breadth" would be beneficial in the process of understanding identity formation through normative orientations in Pakistani culture. Our data suggested that normative orientation is a multidimensional process rather than a unitary process of identity formation as seen in much previous research. Berzonsky's (1989-2013) operationalisation of normative orientation suggests that it is an automatic process, or blind obedience to authority, where the self and others' opinions do not have any difference. However, our qualitative data in Paper 3 revealed alternative processes through which adolescents and young

adults actively use norms to form their identity. These processes suggest that norms should be seen as being distinct from self. Based upon such a process approach towards norms, the present study generated two scales to measure this breadth in normative expectations. We further tested whether our new measures add value to Berzonsky's (1989-2013) existing model of identity formation in terms of how well they can predict psychological well-being and positive functioning in the case of Pakistani youth.

5.5.2 Norms as Processes

The first scale construction aimed to measure these processes through a final selection of 37 items, and the second scale aimed to measure the sources of normative and other influences on identity construction. With the help of a series of linear regressions, we showed that these normative orientation processes have explained a substantially greater variance in predicting well-being, commitment and self-determination; then was explained using Berzonksy et al.'s (2013) measure of identity styles. This suggests that these broader processes have considerable importance when seeking to understand how young people in Pakistan take normative influences into account when forming their identities, forming commitments and in their self-determination.

Our results support the contention that normative orientation is a multidimensional construct. Prominent among the processes involved are when individuals develop greater identification with norms, where norms are weighed against personal interests; and when greater congruence is maintained between the two. As such, a negotiation between norms and personal interest is more congruent, and hence greater identification with norms develops. This is evident from the example items from our first proposed factor, that is Identification with Norms (vs. Desire for Independence), "*My family's decisions and choices for me are far better than my own".*

This factor is quite close to Berzonsky's view of normative style, whereas our later factors are more different. Nonetheless, it also hints at individuals' desires for independent decision making. For example, support for the statement that "*I want to have the freedom to make my own choices"*, does indicate that identification with norms does not occur in an automatic manner. People in a tight normative culture do not necessarily identify with all of the norms, but rather their independence also operates and provides them with an active cognitive mechanism to exert their own independence in their decision making.

Furthermore, other than mere identification, the normative orientations can be adopted as a matter of choice that provides support to personal autonomy. Support for the statement that "*My parents support me to make my own decisions"*, an example item from Factor 4 'Normative Support for Autonomy (vs. Interference)', entails this process. Such decision making is done by the self but parental support increases the strength of the decision. In addition to this, normative support can also be perceived as interference into one's personal decision making. For example, "*My parents like to interfere in each and every decision I make*" suggests a more negative perspective. The perception of normative orientations as an interference suggests that adhering to the norms is not a dogmatic process. It can be perceived as an interference in personal exploration and hence can cause frustration to self-interests.

Our evidence also supports the view that the incongruence, or a conflict between norms and personal interest, can also result in a feeling of "pressure", and such normative pressure has a negative effect on well-being, and perceived choices. An example item from the third factor 'Normative Pressure (vs. Confrontation)' elicits such an incongruence between norms and self: "*I would feel very guilty if I am not able to meet my family's expectations*". Such normative pressure supresses personal interest and

brings about negative consequences for one's well-being. It is however, interesting to see that this factor predicts greater commitment, but also lesser choice. This suggests that due to normative pressure young people might formulate firm commitments, but that such commitments are not internalised as self-choices. This further affirms our assertions that normative orientations are active processes, based upon personal choices rather than just conformity.

A further interesting finding is that factor 2 'Active (vs. Passive) Response to Normative Influence' is found negatively relating to negative well-being. It suggests that 'going with the flow', rather than actively seeking to satisfy normative expectations, is protective against negative well-being, even though this factor did not foster positive well-being.

The content of passive items is particularly interesting, since these items reveal that the control is seen as coming from God or fate, as in the example of support for the assertion that "*I don't believe in planning for myself, as I believe that God has already set some plans for me*". Pakistan is a very religious society (Castells, 2011), and therefore such norms coming from religion, God or fate are accepted as being a control over self. Such processing occurs at a passive level as being something coming from God or religion and is seen as being unquestioned. This necessitates the importance for future research to probe further the influence of religious norms and to explore how perception of them are perceived as being unquestioned and different to other norms operating in a similar context. In the context of Islam, such an exploration of religious norms and their perception might help to increase understanding of the challenges concerning radical interpretations of the religion and consequent extremism.

These normative processes provide strong support for the view that a normative orientation is not merely a blind and an automatic process. Instead, the norms operate in combination with personal choices and personal exploration. On the one hand, such a reconciliation can bring congruence in norms and personal interests that manifest themselves in the process of identification with norms, active response to normative influence and as norms as support for autonomy, whereas, on the other hand, the incongruence between norms and personal interest are perceived as normative pressure, a passive response to normative influence and a desire for independent decision making. Thus our new dimensions of normative orientations provide much greater insight about active processing between norms and self, and adds breadth to illustrate that normative orientation is an active process rather than merely being an automatic response.

5.5.3 Sources of Normative Expectations

The second scale we have developed aims to measure the sources of normative expectations, based on the assumption that all norms do not have a uniform impact on decisions making, and that people choose among those norms those that they are more likely to follow. Factor 1 sought to measure personal preferences, while making decisions related to career, interpersonal relationship and values. Although the construct itself suggests a process of self-preference that is opposite to norms, this factor provides a worthy comparison of how people choose between personal preference and norms. Personal preference is positively related to positive well-being, commitment, self-awareness and perceived choice. Norms can manifest themselves in a variety of ways and contexts. However, our data from Pakistan suggests that normative sources are not all likely to be followed to an equal extent. Norms coming from parents and religion are most likely to be adhered to and predict better well-being and commitment, and are distinguished from those coming from referent groups. These dimensions of normative

influence are particularly interesting because such parental influence is close to Western conceptualisation of authoritarian parenting. According to Dwairy et al., (2006), authoritarian parenting has a cultural bound meaning, and they further contend that authoritarian parenting has only minor negative influence on children's well-being in collective cultures such as Asian and Arab societies. It seems that what is authoritarian for individuals living in USA is not necessarily negative or authoritarian for individuals living in normative cultures such as Pakistan. Therefore, parental expectations contribute towards better well-being and commitment for individuals in Pakistan.

Likewise, as discussed above, religion plays a more central part in the identity formation of people in Pakistan than in does in more secular societies. Religion in Pakistan is a dominant cultural force, and was fundamental in the original creation of the state (Islam, 1981). It is not merely something of personal, individual choice. Individuals who adhere to religious expectations therefore gain social approval and thus better adjustment in society.

5.5.4 Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

We are among the first to propose an alternative model for normative identity orientations that suggests and explicates norms not as a standalone entity but rather as complex processes. Our theoretical framework for norms suggests that individuals formulate their decisions based upon existing norms within their pertinent culture. By constructing representative new and broad measures of normative orientations, we have proposed measuring normative influences on identity formation as processes that are sought through personal exploration and commitment. Establishing linkages between these new measures and well-being, commitment and self-determination has further strengthened our claim that norms work as a multidimensional active process rather

than an automatic unified process. Thus, our new measures are both a valid and reliable way of measuring the multifaceted nature of orientations in a normative culture.

This is, however, only an initial study based upon a sample from two urbanised cities of Pakistan. We do not yet claim wider generalisability of these processes across a complete range of Pakistani culture, but our research does highlight the multiplicity associated with such norms. We foresee that the use of norms in identity formation may be still more complex in a more rural setting. These scales in combination aim to measure an alternative model of normative style and provide a way to extend and expand previous Western conceptualisations of normative orientations better to represent identity formation within Pakistani culture. This alternative identity model of normative orientations can help future researchers to address processes that have not been studied or tested previously. Our model has also helped to cover aspects of normative orientation that Berzonsky et al. (2013) did not address, and thus helps in increasing the breadth and utility of normative orientations in the cultural context of Pakistan.

The present model provides directions for future research, not only in Pakistan but also in other cultures less influenced by the dominant Western model of society. Particularly promising directions for identity research might be the analysis of these processes in combination with other variables such as gender, family environment, a relatively different cultural and social context, and a broader sample with varying characteristics other than the student cohort we used. As this study is one of the first to offer such an expansion in the construct of normative orientations, we suggest that future research should refine and establish convergent validity of the measures developed. The continued development, revision and refinement of the measures will further enhance the strength of the measures in both theory and practice.

5.6 Conclusions

The central aim of this paper has been to examine the appropriateness of new dimensions of normative orientation, and sources of influences on norms in the cultural context of Pakistan. We have shown convincingly that whilst existing models, based largely on the pioneering work of Berzonsky (1989, 2011), can effectively use identity styles to describe identity formation in cultures that are largely individualistic, they are much less robust in collectivist cultures, where social norms play a more significant role in shaping adolescent identity formation. It is clear from our findings that the influences of parents and religion, for example, still play a very strong role in shaping the identities of Pakistani students, in ways that these students consider to be beneficial.

The models that we have developed show the value of broadening the set of variables previously used by Berzonsky and others, so as to include a more nuanced understanding of the role of normative influences in identity formation. The widely accepted existing arguments, drawing on Berzonsky's research, are that people with normative orientation are passive conformists, and this is often perceived in a somewhat negative fashion. However, our research from Pakistan has highlighted the importance of positive aspects of conformity. In particular, our models show that self-reporting of personal well-being among Pakistani students is positively predicted by the influence of parents and religion. Moreover, our research also suggests that norms are not merely automatic things that are followed blindly, but are rather processes that need to be negotiated. This is an important finding that opens up the possibility of much further research on the ways through which individuals negotiate the construction of their identities in a wider variety of cultural contexts.

6. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The establishment of a sense of identity is central to human behaviour, cognition and emotion as social beings. Interactions with others shape, change and mould these characteristics. Such interactions, in turn, operate at different levels, from the self, to closer in-groups, to wider culture and even within a global context. It seems logical to suggest that different cultures provide the context within which different modalities of identity formation may take place. Nonetheless, existing research on identity formation has primarily drawn on Western theories and models (Berzonsky, 1989, Marcia, 1966). However, it seems reasonable to postulate that given the dearth of previous research in non-Western cultures, these contemporary Western theories, methods and findings might not be applicable to other cultures (Kim, Park, & Park, 1999). Schwartz et al. (2006) have commented that previous cross-cultural work on identity suggests that the *structure* of identity development is universal across countries, but that identity *processes* comprising the amount of commitment and exploration are unique to each cultural context. This is the basic premise underlying the research presented in this thesis, and the results, both indirectly and directly, support this notion.

The primary focus of this thesis has been to understand and extend the boundaries of the ways that this formation of a sense of self operates in a non-Western cultural context. It therefore examined the established "content" (i.e., theories and measures of identity formation) and evaluated the applicability of such content in a different "context", namely that of Pakistan. My research has empirically investigated, explored and verified some existing ideas about identity formation, and has also identified some alternative aspects of identity formation processes in this new context, rather than relying on *a priori* theoretical assumptions.

In an attempt to explore the identity formation processes among young people from Pakistan, three fundamental arguments and levels where cultural differences seem to be important have been identified from existing literature on the subject:

- Identity formation processes are universal across cultures (Berzonsky, 2011);
- There are cross-cultural differences in identity formation, and particularly that individualistic cultures appreciate independence whilst collectivist cultures appreciate relational identity formation (Smith, 2011); and
- Indigenous perspectives on identity formation are important. To date, most theories in this area have been developed by Western researchers in a Western context. However, such processes might take a different form in non-Western contexts, and thus there is a need to explore such phenomena in a wide variety of cultural contexts beyond the "West", of which Pakistan is just one such context.

Such an articulation of identity formation in the existing literature leads to four fundamental questions that the four papers included in this thesis aimed to answer:

- First, is the Western measure of identity formation indeed appropriate to capture important aspects of identity formation of young people from Pakistan?
- Second, is the relationship between Western conceptions of identity styles and other relevant psychological variables replicable in the Pakistani context?

- Third, in case of discrepant findings in which the Western model did not appear sufficiently to capture the unique aspects of identity formation, what are the alternative processes of identity formation from the perspective of young people from Pakistan?
- A fourth inevitable question thus arises that addresses how these unique indigenous processes of identity formation can be measured and tested in relation to other psychological variables.

Each of these questions has been addressed in one of the four specific papers, and the following section provides a summary of the findings from each paper.

6. 1. Summary of Objectives and Findings

In Paper 1, I tested the measurement equivalence of ISI-5 (Berzonsky et al, 2013). The results supported the widely accepted three-factor structure of informational, normative, and diffuse-avoidant styles, and largely replicated the relationships between identity styles and value orientations that have previously been found in other countries (Berzonsky et al. 2011; Berzonsky & Papini, 2014). However, the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) highlighted numerous poorly performing items in the context of Pakistan, especially from the normative and diffuse-avoidance scales; only the information style items remained relatively intact. It can be concluded that Berzonsky's (1989, 2011) three identity styles are distinguishable in a non-Western culture such as Pakistan, but that the ISI itself may not fully capture the breadth and complexity of identity formation processes among Pakistani youth. The loss of numerous items from this scale suggests a need to develop indigenous understandings of identity formation in Pakistan, as well as in other countries that do not fit the "Western" model, and thus generate measures that are more culturally relevant.

In Paper 2, in order to answer the second question outlined above, I created and tested structural models to examine the relationships between identity styles, identity commitment, identity motives, gender and psychological well-being. These relationships were tested through three models. Model 1 tested a relationship between identity styles and psychological well-being. Across the whole sample, information orientation style predicted better well-being, whereas diffuse-avoidant style predicted poorer well-being. However normative identity style remained as a non-significant predictor of well-being. In Model 2, commitment partially mediated the relationship between identity styles and well-being for both genders. Although information orientation predicted higher commitment in both genders and diffuse-avoidance predicted lower commitment, normative orientation only predicted commitment among males.

Beyond testing these well-established theoretical links, a novel contribution of Paper 2 is that Model 3 tested the mediating impact of satisfaction of identity motives on well-being. Identity motive satisfaction partially mediated the associations between identity styles and well-being. For males, the motives of meaning, continuity and belonging served as partial mediators, and for females, motives of meaning, self-esteem, continuity and belonging partially mediated the relationship between identity styles and well-being. These mediation effects were particularly marked for information and diffuse-avoidance style and well-being. These findings contribute towards a greater understanding of the generally previously less explored role of gender in the literature on identity formation. It is also particularly interesting to note that overall the normative identity style did not appear to contribute much to well-being either directly or indirectly. This finding is especially surprising in a culture that has a relatively strict normative structure, and I conclude that, therefore, there needs to be greater emphasis in

future research on indigenous aspects of the normative identity style. In particular, I found it worth exploring how the role of norms in identity formation may differ between Western and non-Western contexts. Building on these findings, together with those of the first paper on CFA, the next paper adopted a qualitative approach to explore further this specific issue.

Paper 3 highlights the importance of exploring identity formation, and in particular normative identity formation, from the perspectives of young people from Pakistan. This was undertaken through in-depth qualitative research that explored the processes that Pakistani young people employ while negotiating with identity related issues and formulating their life decisions. It was very much focused on understanding and interpretation, whereas the previous quantitative papers concentrated more on explanation. Unlike most Western theories of identity formation, which provide a relatively negative view of normative orientation as "an automatic process" or a "mindless process" without exploring alternative choices, the thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews with Pakistani young adults revealed a much more complex relationship between normative influences and personal interests on identity formation. Participants described a variety of ways in which they sought to reconcile parental, religious, and cultural normative expectations with their personal interests and preferences, when deciding about their careers, relationships, and values. In Pakistani culture, normative influences seemingly play a more positive and flexible role in identity formation than has been suggested in previous Western research. In Pakistan, there appears to be an active process between self and norms that can be sought through personal exploration, demonstrating that there is breadth in the construct of normative orientation in this cultural context. These processes include negotiation between norms and self, congruence between norms and self, and a conflict that often occurs when

norms come to clash with personal interest. The importance of exploration in normative orientations suggests that attending to norms is a more meaningful and constructive strategy than merely the automatic processing that has been suggested in previous research. The findings from this qualitative study suggest that these different aspects of normative orientation, which were identified as congruence, negotiation and conflict between self and norms, should be incorporated into measures of identity formation.

In Paper 4, I therefore sought to measure the processes identified in the previous qualitative work presented in Paper 3. Two scales were developed in this regard: the first aimed to measure different forms of normative orientation; and the second scale aimed to measure the sources of normative influence on identity formation in the cultural context of Pakistan. An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) of these items suggested the existence of four factors measuring "normative orientations" and three factors measuring "sources of normative influence on identity formation". These newly generated scales added breadth to the aspects of normative orientation and add value to predictions of psychological well-being, commitment and self-determination in comparison with the identity styles proposed by Berzonsky (2011). The scales developed in my research show the value of broadening the spectrum of normative orientations, so as to include a more nuanced understanding of the complex role that normative identity style plays in the Pakistani cultural context.

The widely accepted existing argument, drawing on Berzonsky's research, is that people with normative orientation are generally seen as being highly conformist, and this is often perceived in a somewhat negative fashion. In contrast, my newly developed scales reflect the positive aspects of normative orientation that require exploration by the self. Moreover, these scales also suggested that norms are not merely automatic processes that are followed blindly, but are, rather *active processes*

that need to be negotiated. This is an important finding that opens up the possibility of much further research on the ways through which individuals negotiate the construction of their identities during the critical period of adolescence and young adulthood. This is a significant contribution to the emerging field of cross-cultural research and provides clear empirical evidence from an Asian and Islamic perspective that suggests that these processes are much more complex than has usually been argued. Instead of importing Western theories and measures and drawing conclusions from such theories, this thesis has relied on a deductive approach at both the micro- and macro-levels to identify the unique processes operative in identity formation of adolescent and young adults in Pakistan.

6. 2. Implications

To sum up, the central aim of this thesis was to examine the appropriateness of existing models of identity formation, based mainly on the analysis of Western data, in non-Western cultural contexts, and in particular Pakistan. The four papers presented here have shown convincingly that whilst existing models, based largely on the pioneering work of Berzonsky (1989, 2011), can effectively use identity styles to describe identity formation in cultures that are largely Western, they are much less robust in non-Western cultures, where social norms play a more significant and complex role in shaping adolescent identity formation. This research therefore challenges and contributes to the existing literature on identity formation in four main ways.

The first main contribution of the thesis has been to emphasise the importance of testing the adequacy and suitability of the psychological measures used in any analysis actually in the context where they are being studied. The structural models for Paper 1 and Paper 2, were therefore only tested after empirically selecting items that performed

well in the sample from Pakistan. My findings thus present reliable results of the relationships tested. This suggests that psychological measures that are established in one cultural context need to be *tested* first for their adequacy prior to their use in a different cultural context. This is very important for the practical action resulting from such research in terms of supporting young people who may be identified as having dysfunctional personal or social well-being according to, for example, a US model, but who would actually be seen as normal and well-adjusted based on an Asian model.

Second, previous psychological research, such as that by Berzonsky (2011), has suggested that identity styles are universally representative of identity formation, and that culture and gender have no role in the way that people formulate their identities. Paper 3 provides evidence that this is too simplistic an approach, and that there are unique processes operating in Pakistan that diverge from the normally accepted cross-cultural generalisability of identity styles based on Western models.

Third, although this research has identified dimensions of normative orientations that seem valid and useful for the cultural context of Pakistan, Paper 4 shows that they are not yet definitive. This research proposed and tested the indigenous processes of identity formation in Pakistan, but it does not claim that these processes are only applicable within this cultural setting. These processes have been discovered in, and are developed, for Pakistani young people, but they might have broader applicability beyond this specific cultural context. My research therefore offers an opportunity for the wider testing of the applicability of such processes in similar non-Western cultural contexts as well as in Western contexts. Thus it opens up important avenues for the development of a cross-indigenous perspective. Such future research will help to evaluate the wider applicability of such processes to see if they are unique to individuals or to their cultural contexts.

Fourth, the starting point for this research was to identify dimensions of identity formation and investigate how these apply to a sample from a non-Western cultural context. Hence, from the outset I aimed to investigate cultural variation, differences, and unique aspects of identity formation in Pakistani culture. In psychology, such an approach has in many ways been a worthwhile endeavour, as focusing on cultural variation has highlighted the problems with simply importing Western theories to non-Western contexts and it has also brought attention to the value of indigenous research. This quest for difference has given a non-Western researcher a voice and a way to reconsider the hegemony of Western research traditions. Western researchers often propose a global understanding of identity formation (S.J Schwartz et al., 2012). Earlier in this thesis, I have described in detail how identity formation has been extensively studied in such Western contexts over a period of many years. However, I suggest that global understanding of such processes does require a similar amount of theorising and research from a non-Western perspective. I have also described the dearth of such models and theories in non-Western culture that created an atmosphere of power imbalance in studying how identity formation is operating in a non-Western context. My study is a pioneering attempt to bridge this gap between the two contexts and will hopefully help in better understanding the global processes of identity formation. Research on the role of 'personal agency/exploration in normative orientations' is in its infancy and my research has sought to bring rigour to this emerging field.

6. 3. Limitations

Berzonsky et al.'s (2013) Identity Styles Inventory was used as the starting point for this thesis, based largely on Berzonsky's (1989) original descriptions of identity styles. This starting point largely reflected Berzonsky's theoretical approach and the input for identity formation was limited only to his theory. There may therefore be

further aspects of identity formation that are salient in other parts of the world, but which have not yet been explored. Hence, more indigenous research from South Asian, African, Middle Eastern, Latin American and Arab cultures may identify additional important dimensions of identity formation. The new dimensions that I suggest should be included in the normative orientations model and should not yet be considered final, but instead be thought of as a step towards a more culturally decentralised model of identity formation.

As noted above, the aim of the research was not specifically to produce a widely generalizable theory, but rather to examine the extent to which previous Western models really do account for the complexities of Pakistani culture. To this extent, it suggests that the indigenous processes of identity formation from a Pakistani perspective do indeed differ from Western models. It is not necessarily possible, though, to generalise these findings as being representative of all Pakistani culture. The sample used for the present study focused on young urban people, and although it was quite large in number, it lacked diversity in terms of education, age, and ethnicity, and more research will be necessary before it is possible to generalise these findings for the wider population. More representative data might elicit further information on the salience of culture in general, and gender specifically, on the study variables, especially in a patriarchal society such as Pakistan. Nonetheless, the study certainly sheds light on the indigenous conceptualisation of identity and provides a notable contrast to previous Western research and models.

Consistent with this, there has been much criticism that research in the social sciences that using students as participants presents a biased view of the wider population (Druckman & Kam, 2009). While this is undoubtedly the case, the present research is

explicitly focused on this age group so as to provide a valid comparison with previous research, and the ease of working with university students has enabled a substantial sample to be gained. Most previous research by Berzonsky and others has also tended to focus on students, and therefore by also choosing university students from Pakistan, this research is more directly comparable with such previous work. In interpreting the results, though, it must be recognised that only some, roughly 5.1 per cent of young people aged 17-23 in Pakistan attend university (Aaj News report, 2011), and the findings therefore only reflect the situation with respect to this privileged group. A more representative sample could have shown a broader picture of how identity styles are constructed more widely in Pakistan. Specifically, the salience of culture and gender could be explored in more rigour while having a sample from rural areas. For example, the findings from Paper 2, reflect that gender does not moderate the relationship between identity styles and well-being. However, the sample was drawn from generally privileged urban men and women, and needs to be interpreted as being related specifically to people who are educated and possess a better socio-economic status than people in rural areas of Pakistan. In particular, the literacy rate among women and girls is only 35% in Pakistan, and 67% of Pakistan's population resides in rural areas. The role of identity formation is yet to be explored among these rural people, especially women, who do not have access to education and more widely to a sample that resides in rural areas. This would be exciting research for the future, although it will not be easy to undertake. It seems likely, though, that such research would show even greater differences between the identity processes operating in Western and non-Western culture.

All of the papers in this thesis apart from my qualitative study relied on self-reported measures, and all such survey measures are vulnerable to social desirability, false or invalid responding, or an otherwise adversely affected response set (see, e.g., Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). However, this limitation also applies to most previous

research undertaken in this way, and does mean that my results can be compared directly with such existing research. As Berzonsky et al. (2013) have also pointed out, ISI measures perceived styles rather than actual processing of identity related information. It is nevertheless crucial that careful attention is paid to these potential biasing effects that are quite likely to occur as a result of measurement techniques. One such strategy to deal with the problems associated with the response set has been adopted here in establishing a new measure of normative orientations, where possible effects of acquiescent responding on each item were removed through ipsatising. However, further qualitative research could also be undertaken to seek to ensure that individual responses were indeed valid by checking their survey responses through subsequent follow up interviews. Indeed, an overall interview based approach, rather than using self-reporting surveys might offer deeper insights into these processes, although actually undertaking and transcribing the interviews would be very expensive and time consuming.

Overall, the findings of this thesis are based upon cross-sectional research, and therefore provided only an overview of the correlations among the variables studied. Future longitudinal research might provide a better means of showing how the relationships tested here evolve over time. Causal processes underlying the current findings may in fact be bi-directional: In particular, a fascinating avenue for future research would be testing the opposite relationship of how the well-being of a person might have an effect on the identity styles that can be adopted in particular cultural contexts.

6. 4. Future Research Directions

My research aimed to explore new ways of examining identity formation in the cultural context of Pakistan, particularly by exploring and developing new dimensions of normative orientations. Having developed and validated these constructs of normative orientations, and conducted some initial analyses into how they can be useful for better psychological adjustment than previous model of identity formation, there is much scope for developing this research further.

A fascinating avenue for future research would be to explore the applicability of similar processes of identity formation in Western cultures. For example, my research has suggested that more breadth needs to be added into the traditional models of normative identity orientation, and this has led to better prediction of well-being in the Pakistani sample. Notably, "normative orientations" in Berzonsky's (1989) model have been shown to be an ambivalent predictor of well-being in a Western cultural context (Berzonsky, 1992a, 2003). It will be worth exploring how my new conceptions of normative orientation might also apply in Western cultural contexts. It may be possible, therefore, to alter the previous operationalisation of normative orientations as a cognitive social category that requires further exploration and is more flexible and adaptive than assumed previously. It is a well-established notion that personal exploration leads to better well-being, and so identifying normative processes that do not conflict with personal agency can help in increasing a person's well-being in both Western as well as non-Western contexts.

Another avenue for future research would be further to explore gender differences in terms of how men and women negotiate through normative orientations and accept influences of norms on their decision making. This would be particularly interesting in rural areas of patriarchal cultures such as Pakistan. Paper 2 suggested a

partial moderation by gender in predicting well-being, through identity motives in my sample. Likewise, Paper 3 seems to suggest some difference in the ways in which men and women explore within a normative boundary. Men in Pakistan seem to have more room to "negotiate" between self and norms, whereas women seem more "controlled" while choosing between self and norms. However due to the limited scope of this study and its central focus on identifying wider processes of identity formation, not specifically gender, such differences in how gender contribute towards approaching norms could not be investigated in further detail. Future research could therefore focus primarily on possible gender differences in approaching identity formation in patriarchal contexts.

Consistent with this, the role of gender is also often considered as being politicised in the name of religion in Pakistan (Moghadam, 1992). A further interesting area of research would thus be to disentangle the influences of patriarchy and religion, which have been conflated in the present study of Pakistan. Moreover, separating out the influences of patriarchy and religion elsewhere in the world would also be a fascinating, if challenging, research agenda.

Likewise, future studies could usefully explore the role of religion and its impact on identity formation more widely. This could further explore the consequences of holding either radical or moderate religious beliefs, in terms of their differential impact on identity formation. It could be that such religious beliefs make one more or less likely to explore some alternative explanations other than those provided by religion. For example, as outlined above, the sample for the present study was selected only from university students. There are other educational institutions in Pakistan specifically dedicated to religious education, known as "*Madaris*" (Singer, 2001). At least some of

these institutions are often suspected to foster religious extremism and terrorism (Cockcroft et al., 2009; Khokhar, 2007; Stern, 2000), and it would be interesting to explore how young people who gain their education in such religious institutions formulate their particular sense of identity. Such research would possibly contribute valuably towards better understanding of radical Islam and its relation to an extremist mind set, although again it would not be easy to undertake such research in the politically and religiously volatile context of Pakistan. Another important implication of this research has been its relevance for both academic and for practical settings. It hints at the potential value of a new arena for future research ventures where identity formation variables would be studied in relation to such variables as different cultures, age, gender, social contexts, ethnicity, parenting, learning, and personality. Additionally, in a practical sense, the current study also has direct relevance for counsellors, teachers and researchers to encourage them to pay more attention to the issues of psychological health, self-search and the motivations of young people.

Finally, this thesis has shown that identity formation processes are influenced by personal, social, and cultural contexts. As previous literature suggests, culture determines how an individual describes their identity, and explains general motivations including how to orient towards the world or one's psychological well-being. In a similar vein, culturally specific interventions can be proposed that can change the perspective of an individual's thinking, from very personal decisions to general attitudes and motivations to overall unity and well-being. Further research on such topics would help to design effective intervention strategies for young people that would in turn help in better social adjustment, better commitment and more adaptive identity styles. A good example of such intervention programmes can be found in the work of Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak and Hawkins (2004) and Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund,

Pollard, and Arthur (2002). The understanding of identity styles as adopted by Pakistani adolescents will provide a baseline to formulate constructive ideological grounds for a coherent sense of identity and young adults could be redirected towards positive youth development. This coherent sense of identity coupled with processes such as commitment and motivation may provide the grounds for the emergence of healthier psychological adjustment in Pakistani society. As outlined in the Introduction chapter, one of the original starting points of this research was the work I had begun to do in Pakistan on the practical implications of existing identity theories for intervention projects. Most of these were based on the existing Western models that focused particularly on positive aspects of individualistic informational approaches, and tended to see normative styles in a rather negative way. My research has clearly showed that in cultures such as Pakistan, there are indeed positive aspects of a normative style. Hence, intervention projects that focus on the informational style for better well-being may not entirely be appropriate for well-being in Pakistan, where normative styles appear to contribute to better well-being. My research has therefore shown both the need for greater academic understanding of these processes in non-Western cultures and also the potential value of such research in developing culturally nuanced intervention programmes for psychological well-being in countries such as Pakistan.

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Appendix I

(Resource Material Paper 1 & Paper 2)

i. Sample letter to seek permission from respective University authorities in Pakistan

The President
International Islamic University (IIUI)
Islamabad

Dear Sir,

I am a Commonwealth Scholar and doing my Ph.D. under the supervision of Dr. Vivian L.Vignoles, from the University of Sussex, United Kingdom. The topic of my study is **"Identity processes among Adolescents: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being".** The study intends to explore and measure the constructs of personal and social identity in the indigenous context of collectivist culture of Pakistan. The sample of present study shall include graduates and post graduates. By exploring the identity styles of youth. we hope to redirect the energies of young people towards more coherent positive identity development and productive styles of living by fostering personal wellbeing motivation for constructive identities. This study has been approved by the Science and Technology Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) of the University of Sussex, UK (email: crecscitec@sussex.ac.uk).

It is therefore requested to grant permission to collect data from students of your prestigious university. All the ethical considerations and student's consent shall be taken before collecting data. My collaborator for this part of research project will collect data from Pakistan. I shall be thankful for your kind permission and cooperation in this regard.

Thanking you in anticipation

Bushra Hassan, Dr. Vivian L.Vignoles
School of Psychology, University of Sussex
Brighton, United Kingdom.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

ii. Participant Information Sheet

PhD Research Project on "Identity processes among Adolescents: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being".

Information Sheet

Dear Participant,

I am doing my PhD at University of Sussex, and I would like to invite you to take part in my present study on Identity processes among Adolescents in Pakistan: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being.

I will appreciate your kind participation in first phase of the study. I would like to ask you to complete a set of questionnaires, measuring different aspects of individual's personal and social identity.

I would like to thank you in advance for your time and help.

The present project examines your personal views about topics of personal identity and wellbeing : personal aspirations and motivations for identity, emotional, social and cultural , aspects of self and identity. This is an important research area: We need a better understanding of factors that can have an impact on our identity and well-being. **In order to achieve this aim, it is vital that we track your views** to be able to study the links between different factors that influence your identity and well-being. The questionnaires take about 40 minutes to complete.

For further information on this topic and/or if you wish to obtain the results of the study, you can contact me, the researcher, at B.Hassan@sussex.ac.uk.

Your participation is invaluable. Thank you in advance for completing the questionnaire.

With best wishes,

Bushra Hassan and Dr. Vivian L. Vignoles.
School of Psychology
University of Sussex
Brighton, United Kingdom

iii. Participant Consent Form

PhD Research Project on "Identity processes among Adolescents: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being".

Name of Investigator: Bushra Hassan
Project Title: Identity processes among Adolescents in Pakistan: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being

1. I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex Research Project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may print for my records.

2. I authorise the investigator to use the questionnaires for research purposes.

3. I acknowledge that:

a. I understand that my participation is voluntary, I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied, before or after the close of the project;

b. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without giving reason or incurring any subsequent penalties;

c. The project is for the purpose of research and/or teaching;

d. I have been informed that my participation will be anonymous and confidential. No information that identifies me will be recorded in the data to prevent my identity from being made public.

Please tick on "Yes" if you agree with all the above points to start the study.

***[Yes]*_____ *[No]* _____**

In this section we are interested in different aspects of your personal identity and well-being. Kindly tick which expression suits you most

iv. List of Questionnaires Used In Study 1 & Study 2

a. Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985)

		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
		Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
1	In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	The conditions of my life are excellent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	I am satisfied with my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	So far I have gotten the important things in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	1	2	3	4	5	6

b. Positive and Negative Affect Schedule ((I-PANAS-SF, Thompson, 2007)

Instructions: We would like to know how often you have felt different feelings and emotions during the last month. Using the scale below, please indicate how frequently you have felt each

		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
		Never	**Seldom**	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Always**
1	Upset					
2	Hostile					
3	Alert					
4	Ashamed					
5	Inspired					
6	Nervous					
7	Determined					
8	Attentive					
9	Afraid					
10	Active					

c. Subjective Vitality Scale (Ryan, & Frederick, 1997)

		Disagree strongly	**Disagree somewhat**	**Disagree a little**	**Don't know**	**Agree a little**	**Agree somewhat**	**Agree strongly**
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1	I feel alive and vital.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	I don't feel very energetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Sometimes I feel so alive I just want to burst	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
4	I have energy and spirit.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I look forward to each new day	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I nearly always feel alert and awake.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	I feel energised.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

d. Identity Styles Inventory-5 (Berzonsky et al., 2013)

Instructions: You will find a number of statements about beliefs, attitudes, and/or ways of dealing with issues. Read each carefully and use it to describe yourself. On the answer sheet, bubble in the number which indicates the extent to which you think the statement represents you. There are no right or wrong answers. For instance, if the statement is very much like you, mark a 5, if it is not like you at all, mark a 1. Use the 1 to 5 point scale to indicate the degree to which you think each statement is uncharacteristic (1) or characteristic (5) of yourself.

		Not at all like me				**Very much like me**
1	I know basically what I believe and don't believe	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
2	I automatically adopt and follow the values I was brought up with.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
3	I'm not sure where I'm heading in my life; I guess things will work themselves out.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
4	I know what I want to do with my future	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
5	Talking to others helps me explore my personal beliefs.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
6	I strive to achieve the goals that my family and friends hold for me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
7	It doesn't pay to worry about values in advance; I decide things as they happen.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
8	I am not really sure what I believe.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
9	When facing a life decision, I take into account different points of view before making a choice.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
10	I have always known what I believe and don't believe; I never really have doubts about my beliefs.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
11	I am not sure which values I really hold	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
12	I spend a lot of time reading or talking to others trying to develop a set of values that makes sense to me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
13	I never question what I want to do with my life because I tend to follow what important people expect me to do.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
14	I am not really thinking about my future now; it is still a long way off.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
15	I am not sure what I want to do in the future	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
16	When facing a life decision, I try to analyze the situation in order to understand it.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
17	I think it is better to adopt a firm set of beliefs than to be open-minded	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
18	When I have to make an important life decision, I try to wait as long as possible in order to see what will happen.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
19	I have clear and definite life goals.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
20	I am not sure what I want out of life.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
21	When making important life decisions, I like to think about my options	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
22	I think it's better to hold on to fixed values rather than to consider alternative value systems.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
23	I try not to think about or deal with personal problems as long as I can.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

		Not at all like me				**Very much like me**
24	I have a definite set of values that I use to make personal decisions	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
25	I handle problems in my life by actively reflecting on them.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
26	I prefer to deal with situations in which I can rely on social norms and standards.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
27	I try to avoid personal situations that require me to think a lot and deal with them on my own.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
28	I am emotionally involved and committed to specific values and ideals.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
29	When making important life decisions, I like to have as much information as possible.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
30	When I make a decision about my future, I automatically follow what close friends or relatives expect from me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
31	I periodically think about and examine the logical consistency between my life goals.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
32	When others say something that challenges my personal values or beliefs, I automatically disregard what they have to say.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
33	My life plans tend to change whenever I talk to different people.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
34	Who I am changes from situation to situation.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
35	It is important for me to obtain and evaluate information from variety of sources before I make important life decisions.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
36	When personal problems arise, I try to delay acting as long as possible	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

e. DASS Depression, Stress, Anxiety Schedule (Henry & Crawford, 2005)

Instructions: Please read each statement and circle a number 0, 1, 2 or 3 which indicates how much the statement applied to you *over the past week*. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

The rating scale is as follows:

0 Did not apply to me at all
1 Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time
2 Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time
3 Applied to me very much, or most of the time

1	I found it hard to wind down (slow down/wind up)	0	1	2	3
2	I was aware of dryness of my mouth	0	1	2	3
3	I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all	0	1	2	3
4	I experienced breathing difficulty (e.g., excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)	0	1	2	3
5	I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things	0	1	2	3
6	I tended to over-react to situations	0	1	2	3
7	I experienced trembling (e.g., in the hands)	0	1	2	3
8	I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy	0	1	2	3
9	I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself	0	1	2	3
10	I felt that I had nothing to look forward to	0	1	2	3
11	I found myself getting agitated	0	1	2	3
12	I found it difficult to relax	0	1	2	3
13	I felt down-hearted and sad.	0	1	2	3
14	I was intolerant of anything that kept me from getting on with what I was doing	0	1	2	3
15	I felt I was close to panic/losing control over myself.	0	1	2	3
16	I was unable to become enthusiastic about anything	0	1	2	3
17	I felt I wasn't worth much as a person	0	1	2	3
18	I felt that I was rather touchy	0	1	2	3
19	I was aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (eg, sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)	0	1	2	3
20	I felt scared without any good reason	0	1	2	3
21	I felt that life was meaningless	0	1	2	3

f. Identity Motives Inventory (Vignoles, Hassan, and colleagues, in preparation)

	A						
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
		Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
1	I understand my life's meaning	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	My life has a clear sense of purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	I have discovered a satisfying life purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	My life has no clear purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	I feel uncertain about who I am	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	I feel unsure about the meaning of my life	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	I am confused about what is the real meaning of my life	1	2	3	4	5	6
	B						
1	I tend to devalue my self	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	I am highly effective at the things I do	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	I am very comfortable with my self	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	I am always able to accomplish what I try for	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	I am secure in my sense of self-worth	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	It is sometimes unpleasant for me to think about myself	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	I have a negative attitude toward my self	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	At times, I find it difficult to achieve the things that are important to me	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	I feel great about who I am	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	I sometimes deal poorly with challenges	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	I never doubt my personal worth	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	I perform very well at many things	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	I sometimes fail to fulfil my goals	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	I am very talented	1	2	3	4	5	6

15	I do not have enough respect for myself	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	I wish I were more skilful in my activities	1	2	3	4	5	6
	C						
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
		Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
1	I often feel like I am just one of many.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	I find it easy to say what distinguishes me from others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	I don't feel I'm really very different from anyone else I know.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	I often think of myself as a unique person.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	There isn't much that distinguishes me from other people I know.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	I feel very much like an individual.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	I sometimes feel rather anonymous in relation to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	I usually have a clear sense of 'where I stand' in relation to others	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	I don't really feel distinguished from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	I feel I am different and separate from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	D						
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
		Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
1	In general, I feel that there is continuity in my life	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	I feel a sense of continuity between past, present and future in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	There is not much continuity in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	It is hard to see any continuity between different periods of my life history.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	Typically I feel like fundamental aspects of myself remain the same across time	1	2	3	4	5	6

6	Whatever happens to me, I am always the same person	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	I am the same person I have always been.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	Although my circumstances may change, my personal identity will always be the same.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	In the course of my life, I have changed beyond recognition.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	Sometimes I feel as if I'm no longer the person I used to be.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	The events of my life have radically changed who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	I may be a very different person in the future to who I am now.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	I can easily think of my life as a story, connecting past, present and future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	I feel a sense of progression in my life story.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	I tend to live in the present, without thinking about my life story.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	I'm not sure if my life really has a 'story'.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	In general I feel connected with my past	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	Relatively speaking, I feel connected with who I was in the past	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	I find it easy to imagine myself in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	I find it hard to imagine who I was in the past, or who I will be in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	When I think about myself in the future, it seems distant and unreal.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22	I find it difficult to connect to my 'past self'.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23	Relatively speaking, I feel disconnected with who I was in the past	1	2	3	4	5	6
	E						
1	I often wonder if there is any place on earth where I really fit in.	1	2	3	4	5	6

2	I am just not sure if I fit in with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	I would describe myself as a misfit in most social situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	I generally feel that people accept me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	I feel like a piece of a jig-saw pussle that doesn't fit into the pussle.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	I would like to make a difference to people or things around me, but I don't feel that what I have to offer is valued.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	I feel like an outsider in most situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	I am troubled by feeling like I have no place in this world.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	I could disappear for days and it wouldn't matter to my family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	In general, I don't feel a part of the mainstream of society.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	I feel like I observe life rather than participate in it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	If I died tomorrow, very few people would come to my funeral.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	I feel like a square peg trying to fit into a round hole.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	I don't feel that there is any place where I really fit in this world.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	I am uncomfortable that my background and experiences are so different from those who are usually around me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	I could not see or call my friends for days and it wouldn't matter to them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	I feel left out of things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	I am not valued by or important to my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6

g. Self-Construal Scale Version 1 (CIRN-SCS-1: Vignoles, Owe, et al.2012)

Instructions: Below are some statements of what you might be like. Probably some will describe you well and others will not describe you well. Please circle a number below each statement showing how well it describes you. For example, if the statement describes you a little, then circle 3. If the statement describes you very well, then circle 7.

How well does each of these statements describe you?

Not at all		A little		Moderately		Very well		Exactly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1	You prefer to do what you want without letting your family influence you. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
2	You try to act appropriately for the situation, even if it means hiding your inner thoughts. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
3	You see yourself as unique and different from others. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
4	You like to depend on others, and not rely only on yourself. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5	You prefer to hide your feelings to avoid disturbing the harmony in your family. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
6	You prefer situations where you have clear instructions from others rather than having to decide by yourself what to do. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
7	Your family is more important to you than your personal goals. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
8	You try to act consistently across different social situations. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
9	You prefer to tell people what you think, even if it disturbs the harmony in your relationships. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10	You follow your personal goals even if they are very different from the goals of your family. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
11	Being distinctive is important to you. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
12	You prefer to express your thoughts and feelings, rather than adapting to people around you. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
13	If someone insults a member of your family, you feel as if you have been insulted personally. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
14	You would rather be similar than be different from others. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
15	You always put the interests of your family above your personal interests. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
16	You see yourself the same way even in different social environments. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
17	You prefer to accept help from others rather than relying only on yourself. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
18	You only rarely share family members' happiness or sadness. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

How well does each of these statements describe you?

Not at all		A little		Moderately		Very well		Exactly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

19	You like to make your own plans without seeking advice from others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20	You see yourself differently in different social environments.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
21	You prefer to say what you are thinking, even if it is inappropriate for the situation.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
22	You try to avoid being reliant on others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
23	You would always help a friend in need, even if it disrupted your personal goals.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
24	You try to avoid being noticeably different from others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
25	You like to do things in your own way, rather than follow the wishes of others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
26	If someone in your family is sad, you feel the sadness as if it were your own.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
27	You see yourself differently when you are with different groups of people.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
28	Your own success is very important to you, even if it disrupts your friendships.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
29	You prefer to get support from others rather than rely only on yourself.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
30	You always ask your family for advice before making a decision.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
31	You show your inner feelings even if it disturbs the harmony in your family.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
32	You tend to behave differently when you are with different groups of people.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
33	You value personal achievements more than good relations with the people close to you.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
34	You prefer to rely completely on yourself rather than depend on others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
35	If a close friend of yours is happy, you feel the happiness as if it were your own.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
36	You usually behave differently when you are in different situations.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
37	Fitting in among others is more important to you than being distinctive from others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
38	You value good relations with the people close you to more than your personal achievements.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
39	When you have to make a choice, you always prefer to know what other people think.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

How well does each of these statements describe you?

Not at all		A little		Moderately		Very well		Exactly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

40	You prefer to preserve harmony in your relationships, rather than expressing your feelings.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
41	Your well-being depends very strongly on the well-being of your close friends and family.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
42	You prefer to fit in rather than being different from other people.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
43	You always seek guidance from people close to you when making important choices.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
44	You prefer to rely on yourself rather than accepting help from others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
45	You behave in the same way even when you are with different groups of people.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
46	When someone in your family achieves something, you feel proud as if you had achieved something yourself.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
47	You protect your own interests, even if it might sometimes disrupt your family relationships.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
48	Your happiness is unrelated to the happiness of your family.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
49	You tend to rely on yourself rather than seeking support from others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
50	You try to adapt to people around you, even if it means hiding your inner feelings.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
51	You like being different from other people.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
52	Your feelings are generally unrelated to the feelings of people around you.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
53	You sometimes put your personal needs above the interests and needs of your family								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
54	You prefer to follow your family's advice on important matters.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
55	You always see yourself in the same way even when you are with different people.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
56	You prefer to ask other people for help rather than rely only on yourself.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
57	You tend to think of yourself as separate from others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
58	You would rather be different than be similar to others.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

h. Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction Scale (Sheldon & Gunz, 2009)

Please rate your (disagreement with each of the following statements, thinking about **the last month**. Please use the scale below.

		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
		Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
1	I was successfully completing difficult tasks and projects.						
2	I had disagreements or conflicts with people I usually get along with.						
3	I felt close and connected with other people who are important to me.						
4	I felt a strong sense of intimacy with the people I spent time with.						
5	I took on and mastered hard challenges						
6	I was lonely						
7	I felt a sense of contact with people who care for me, and whom I care for.						
8	I experienced some kind of failure, or was unable to do well at something						
9	I felt unappreciated by one or more important people						
10	I was free to do things my own way.						
11	I did well even at the hard things.						
12	I struggled doing something I should be good at.						
13	I did something stupid, that made me feel incompetent.						
14	I had a lot of pressures I could do without						
15	My choices expressed my “true self.”						
16	I had to do things against my will.						
17	I was really doing what interests me						
18	There were people telling me what I had to do.						

i. Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-21) (S.H. Schwartz, 2007)

Instructions: Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and circle a number on each line that shows how much each person is or is not like you.

Very much like me	Like me	Some-what like me	A little like me	Not like me	Not like me at all
01	02	03	04	05	06

1	Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	Having a good time is important to him. He likes to “spoil” himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Very much like me	Like me	Some-what like me	A little like me	Not like me	Not like me at all
01	02	03	04	05	06

17	It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.	1	2	3	4	5	6

v. Participant Demographic Information Sheet

Thank you so much for your participation in the present study. All we need now is some general information about you. This is simple to ensure that we are getting responses from a wide range of different people. All details given are completely confidential.

1. **Gender (please circle) Male ---------- Female ----------**
2. **Age (in years) ----------**
3. **Occupation _____**
4. **Education _____**
5. **Relationship status (please circle)**
   a) Single
   b) In a committed relationship but not married
   c) Married
   d) Divorced/separated
   e) Widow/widower
   f) Other (please specify): _____

6. **Family's monthly income _____**
7. **Religion**
   a. Muslim
   b. Christian
   c. Non Believer
   d. Any Other_____

8. **Do you belong to a particular sect? If yes, which one? (please tick)**

   do not belong to a any sect |__|
   Shia |__|
   Sunni |__|
   Khawarij |__|
   Other |__| please specify:

9. **How many older siblings do you have? _____**

   How many younger siblings do you have? _____

   Are you a twin? (please circle) Yes No

Thank you again for your time and help!

Your participation is invaluable for us.

Appendix II

(Resource Material used for Paper 3)

i. Participant Consent Form

PhD Research Project on "Identity processes among Adolescents: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being".

Participant Consent Form

Name of Investigator: Bushra Hassan
Project Title: Identity processes among Adolescents in Pakistan: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being

10. I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex Research Project. I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for my records.

11. I authorise the investigator to use my responses to the questionnaire for research purposes.

12. I acknowledge that:

    e. The project is for the purpose of research;

    f. I have been informed that my participation will be anonymous and confidential. No information that identifies me will be recorded in the data to prevent my identity from being made public;

    g. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time up to submission of my questionnaire without giving a reason or incurring any subsequent penalties;

    h. I understand that it will no longer be possible for me to withdraw from the study after returning my responses, because it will not be possible to identify my anonymous responses;

    i. I understand that completing the questionnaire implies that I consent to participate.

13. I am above 18 years of age.

Please tick on "Yes" if you agree with all the above points to start the study.

***[Yes]*_____** ***[No]* _____**

ii. Semi-Structured Interview Guideline

Interview Guideline

1. What are your ideas or plans about your future occupation?
    a. Do you know yet *what* you will do?
        i. How do you feel about this? (sure/unsure, happy/anxious, etc.)
    b. *Who* was/is/will be involved in making the decision?
        i. In what ways is this person involved? Then probe for other people: What about anyone else?
    c. *How* was/is/will the decision be made?
        i. Exploring alternatives? Which alternatives? How do you explore?
        ii. What kinds of information did you look at/are you looking at/do you think you will look at? Where did/does/will the information come from?
        iii. Were/are other people's expectations important? (If so, then which people? What sort of expectations do they have for you?)
        iv. What else might be important? Or what else might affect the decision?
2. Are you in a committed relationship? (Engaged/betrothed? Married?)
    a. What are your important considerations while indulging into this committed relationship?
        i. How do you feel about your relationship? (happy/satisfied/frustrated/ dissatisfied)
        ii. In your opinion what are the important aspects to strengthen a relationship?
        iii. Is your relationship a matter of your own choice/fortune or parent's decision?
        iv. If they are not into relationship, what factors, if any, restrain you from being in an intimate relationship?
    b. What qualities you want to see in your partner?
        i. How do you perceive yourself as an intimate partner?
        ii. What expectations do you hold for your partner in this relationship?
        iii. How far are your partner's expectations important to you?
        iv. Are you assertive in your intimate relationship?
        v. How far your partner influences your decisions?
    c. how do you anticipate your relationship in future?
3. Are you in a committed relationship? (Engaged/betrothed? Married?)

a. How do you feel about this relationship? (happy/satisfied/frustrated/ dissatisfied)
b. *Who* was/is/will be involved in making the decision?
    i. In what ways is this person involved? What about anyone else?
c. *How* was/is/will the decision be made?
    i. Exploring alternatives? Which alternatives? How do you explore?
    ii. What kinds of information did you look at/are you looking at/do you think you will look at while being into a relationship? Where did/does/will the information comes from?
    iii. Were/are other people's expectations important for your relationship? (If so, then which people? What sort of expectations do they have for you?)
d. If they are not into relationship, what factors, if any, restrain you from being in an intimate relationship?
    i. How do you feel about not being into a relationship?

e. What qualities you want to see in your partner?
    i. What expectations do you hold for your partner in this relationship?
    ii. From where these expectations come?
    iii. Which partner plays a more influential role into your relationship?
    iv. How do you anticipate your relationship in future?

4. What do you see as your most important beliefs or values?

a. How important is religion to you?
    i. What role religion can perform in life of a person?
    ii. From where do you get knowledge about religion? (e.g., books, society, family, scriptures)?
    iii. Why this source is important for you?
    iv. How do you feel about belonging to a particular sect?
    v. To what extent religious practices should be followed?

b. How much impact does religion have on your life?
    i. In what ways religion helps you?
    ii. Would you aspire to be from a different cultural, social, or religious background?

iii. Participant Information Sheet

Thank you so much for your participation in the present study. All we need now is some general information about you. This is simple to ensure that we are getting responses from a wide range of different people. All details given are completely confidential.

14. **Gender (please circle)** **Male ----------** **Female ----------**
15. **Age (in years) ----------**
16. **Occupation _____**
17. **Education _____**
18. **Relationship status (please circle)**
    g) Single
    h) In a committed relationship but not married
    i) Married
    j) Divorced/separated
    k) Widow/widower
    l) Other (please specify): _____

19. **Family's monthly income _____**
20. **Religion**
    e. Muslim
    f. Christian
    g. Non Believer
    h. Any Other_____

21. **Do you belong to a particular sect? If yes, which one? (please tick)**

do not belong to a any sect	|__|	
Shia	|__|	
Sunni	|__|	
Khawarij	|__|	
Other	|__|	please specify:

Thank you again for your time and help!

Your participation is invaluable for us.

Appendix III

(Item pool, Questionnaire and other resource material used for paper 4)

i. Item Pool Normative Orientations Scale

Instructions: Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements while making important decisions in your life, using the following scale

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree a little	Agree a little	Agree	Strongly agree
1	My parents don't want me to make decisions on my own.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	My family has a great impact on all the decisions that I make.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	I want to make decisions on my own, without my family's involvement.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	My family's decisions and choices for me are far better than my own.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	I never question my parent's decisions for me, as they are always right for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	I can't say 'no' to my parents when they have already decided something for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	I always discuss with my family before making an important decision.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	If I want to do something, I try to convince my family before doing it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	I would not act on a major life decision against my parents' will.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	I would feel shy if I have to make an independent decision of my own	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	My parents like to interfere in each and every decision I make.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	I do not consider other people's expectations while making my decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	I don't like my family interfering in my decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	I make decisions independently of my parents.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	My family's expectations are most important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	I trust my family to make decisions for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	I try to make decisions that my family would approve of.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	I try to make decisions that would make my parents happy.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	I take direction from God through prayer while making any decision.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	I don't plan on my own, as I have a complete belief in fate.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	I follow wholeheartedly what my family expects me to do.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22	My parents decide what is best for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23	I always ask for my family's opinion while making any decision.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24	My parents are a motivating force behind every decision I take.	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree a little	Agree a little	Agree	Strongly agree
25	I prefer to make decisions on my own and only let my family know afterwards.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26	I avoid discussing with my family until I have already made my decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27	I don't consider other's expectations, I like to do what I feel like doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28	If I develop an interest, I can go for it even against my family's will.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29	My parents support me to make my own decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30	I decide for myself what I would like to do, but I need my family's approval before acting on it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31	I don't have set plans for my future as I have complete belief in my destiny.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32	It would bring a lot of distress to me if I am not able to meet my family's expectations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33	I feel it is safer to follow what people expect of me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34	I feel protected if I follow my family's expectations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35	I would feel stressed if I do not follow what people expect of me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36	I don't like to have directions coming from my parents.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37	I don't believe in planning for myself, as I believe that God has already set some plans for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38	I want my family to agree with my decisions before I act on them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
39	I would feel very guilty if I am not able to meet my family's expectations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40	I like to have complete independence and autonomy in my decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41	I usually explore all options by myself before making a final decision.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42	I don't want to make any decision against my family's will.	1	2	3	4	5	6
43	I often find it difficult to follow my family's expectations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
44	I want to have the freedom to make my own choices.	1	2	3	4	5	6

ii. Item Pool Sources of Influence on Identity Formation Scale

Instruction: The following questions are about how you make the most important decisions in your life—decisions that define "who you are" such as which education/career path to follow, when and with whom to start a relationship, or which values should guide your life.

	Not at all Important				Moderately Important					Extremely Important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

1. When making decisions about which education or career path to follow, how important is it for you to take account of each of the following?

a. your mother's expectations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
b. your father's expectations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
c. expectations of your brother(s) or sister(s)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
d. expectations of other family members (e.g. uncles, aunts, grandparents)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
e. God's expectations for you	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
f. guidance from religious scriptures	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
g. your personal preferences	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
h. expressing who you are	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
i. something that fits with your personality	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
j. something that you are good at	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
k. something that you find interesting	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
l. something that you enjoy doing	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
m. something that you have decided on your own	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. When making decisions about personal relationships (such as when, or with whom, to start a relationship or get married), how important is it for you to take account of each of the following?

a. your mother's expectations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
b. your father's expectations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
c. expectations of your brother(s) or sister(s)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
d. expectations of other family members (e.g. uncles, aunts, grandparents)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
e. God's expectations for you	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
f. guidance from religious scriptures	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
g. your personal preferences	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
h. expressing who you are	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
i. someone who fits with your personality	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
j. someone who appreciates your personal qualities	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
k. someone you find interesting to be with	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
l. someone that you enjoy being with	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
m. someone that you have chosen on your own	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. When deciding which values should be guiding principles in your life, how important is it for you to consider each of the following?

a. your mother's expectations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
b. your father's expectations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
c. expectations of your brother(s) or sister(s)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
d. expectations of other family members (e.g. uncles, aunts, grandparents)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
e. God's expectations for you	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
f. guidance from religious scriptures	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
g. guidance from spiritual mentors	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
h. your personal preferences	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
i. expressing who you are	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
j. values that fit with your personality	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
k. values that fit with your abilities	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
l. valuing what you find interesting	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
m. valuing what you enjoy doing	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

iv. List of Questionnaires used in Study 3

a. Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985)

Instructions: Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1 to 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each statement by circling the appropriate number.

		strongly disagree	disagree	slightly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly agree	agree	strongly agree
1	In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	The conditions of my life are excellent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	I am satisfied with my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	So far I have gotten the important things in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b. Positive and Negative Affect Schedule ((I-PANAS-SF, Thompson, 2007)

Instructions: We would like to know how often you have felt different feelings and emotions during the last month. Using the scale below, please indicate how frequently you have felt:

		Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	Upset	1	2	3	4	5
2	Hostile	1	2	3	4	5
3	Alert	1	2	3	4	5
4	Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
5	Inspired	1	2	3	4	5
6	Nervous	1	2	3	4	5
7	Determined	1	2	3	4	5
8	Attentive	1	2	3	4	5
9	Afraid	1	2	3	4	5
10	Active	1	2	3	4	5

c. Subjective Vitality Scale (Ryan, & Frederick, 1997)

Instructions: Please respond to each of the following statements by indicating the degree to which the statement is true for you in general in your life. Use the following scale:

		Not at all true			Somewhat true			Very true
1	I feel alive and vital.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	I don't feel very energetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Sometimes I feel so alive I just want to burst	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I have energy and spirit.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I look forward to each new day	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I nearly always feel alert and awake.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	I feel energized.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

d. DASS Depression, Stress, Anxiety Schedule (Henry & Crawford, 2005)

Please read each statement and circle a number 0, 1, 2 or 3 which indicates how much the statement applied to you *over the past week*. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

The rating scale is as follows:

0 Did not apply to me at all
1 Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time
2 Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time
3 Applied to me very much, or most of the time

1	I found it hard to wind down (slow down/wind up)	0 1 2 3
2	I was aware of dryness of my mouth	0 1 2 3
3	I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all	0 1 2 3
4	I experienced breathing difficulty (eg, excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)	0 1 2 3
5	I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things	0 1 2 3
6	I tended to over-react to situations	0 1 2 3
7	I experienced trembling (eg, in the hands)	0 1 2 3
8	I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy	0 1 2 3
9	I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself	0 1 2 3
10	I felt that I had nothing to look forward to	0 1 2 3
11	I found myself getting agitated	0 1 2 3
12	I found it difficult to relax	0 1 2 3
13	I felt down-hearted and sad.	0 1 2 3
14	I was intolerant of anything that kept me from getting on with what I was doing	0 1 2 3
15	I felt I was close to panic/losing control over myself.	0 1 2 3
16	I was unable to become enthusiastic about anything	0 1 2 3
17	I felt I wasn't worth much as a person	0 1 2 3
18	I felt that I was rather touchy	0 1 2 3
19	I was aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (eg, sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)	0 1 2 3
20	I felt scared without any good reason	0 1 2 3
21	I felt that life was meaningless	0 1 2 3

e. Identity Styles Inventory-5 (Berzonsky et al., 2013)

Instructions: Below, you will find a number of statements about beliefs, attitudes, and/or ways of dealing with issues. Read each carefully and use it to describe yourself. Please circle the number which indicates the extent to which you think the statement represents you. There are no right or wrong answers. For instance, if the statement is very much like you, mark a 5, if it is not like you at all, mark a 1. Use the 1 to 5 point scale to indicate the degree to which you think each statement is uncharacteristic (1) or characteristic (5) of yourself.

		Not at all like me				**Very much like me**
1	I know basically what I believe and don't believe	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
2	I automatically adopt and follow the values I was brought up with.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
3	I'm not sure where I'm heading in my life; I guess things will work themselves out.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
4	I know what I want to do with my future	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
5	Talking to others helps me explore my personal beliefs.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
6	I strive to achieve the goals that my family and friends hold for me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
7	It doesn't pay to worry about values in advance; I decide things as they happen.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
8	I am not really sure what I believe.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
9	When facing a life decision, I take into account different points of view before making a choice.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
10	I have always known what I believe and don't believe; I never really have doubts about my beliefs.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
11	I am not sure which values I really hold	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
12	I spend a lot of time reading or talking to others trying to develop a set of values that makes sense to me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
13	I never question what I want to do with my life because I tend to follow what important people expect me to do.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
14	I am not really thinking about my future now; it is still a long way off.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
15	I am not sure what I want to do in the future	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
16	When facing a life decision, I try to analyze the situation in order to understand it.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
17	I think it is better to adopt a firm set of beliefs than to be open-minded	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
18	When I have to make an important life decision, I try to wait as long as possible in order to see what will happen.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
19	I have clear and definite life goals.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
20	I am not sure what I want out of life.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
21	When making important life decisions, I like to think about my options	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
22	I think it's better to hold on to fixed values rather than to consider alternative value systems.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
23	I try not to think about or deal with personal problems as long as I can.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

		Not at all like me				**Very much like me**
24	I have a definite set of values that I use to make personal decisions	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
25	I handle problems in my life by actively reflecting on them.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
26	I prefer to deal with situations in which I can rely on social norms and standards.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
27	I try to avoid personal situations that require me to think a lot and deal with them on my own.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
28	I am emotionally involved and committed to specific values and ideals.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
29	When making important life decisions, I like to have as much information as possible.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
30	When I make a decision about my future, I automatically follow what close friends or relatives expect from me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
31	I periodically think about and examine the logical consistency between my life goals.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
32	When others say something that challenges my personal values or beliefs, I automatically disregard what they have to say.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
33	My life plans tend to change whenever I talk to different people.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
34	Who I am changes from situation to situation.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
35	It is important for me to obtain and evaluate information from variety of sources before I make important life decisions.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
36	When personal problems arise, I try to delay acting as long as possible	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

f. Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-21) (S.H. Schwartz, 2007)

Instructions: Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and circle a number on each line that shows how much each person is or is not like you.

Very much like me	Like me	Some-what like me	A little like me	Not like me	Not like me at all
01	02	03	04	05	06

1	Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	Having a good time is important to him. He likes to “spoil” himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Very much like me	Like me	Some-what like me	A little like me	Not like me	Not like me at all
01	02	03	04	05	06

17	It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.	1	2	3	4	5	6

g. Self-Construal Scale (Vignoles, 2013)

Instructions: Below are some statements of what you might be like. Probably some will describe you well and others will not describe you well. Please circle a number beside each statement showing how well it describes you. For example, if the statement describes you a little, then circle 3. If the statement describes you very well, then circle 7.

How well does each of these statements describe you?

Not at all		A little		Moderately		Very well		Exactly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1	You like being different from other people.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
2	You behave the same way at home and in public.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
3	If someone in your family is sad, you feel the sadness as if it were your own.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
4	You try to avoid being reliant on others.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5	You behave differently when you are with different groups of people.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
6	Your own success is very important to you, even if it disrupts your friendships.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
7	You try to avoid being noticeably different from others.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
8	You value good relations with the people close to you more than your personal achievements.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
9	You feel uncomfortable in situations where you have to rely only on yourself.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10	You see yourself differently in different social environments.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
11	You always ask your family for advice before making a decision.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
12	You see yourself as unique and different from others.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
13	You prefer to rely completely on yourself rather than depend on others.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
14	You always see yourself in the same way even when you are with different people.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
15	You try to adapt to people around you, even if it means hiding your inner feelings.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
16	You follow your personal goals even if they are very different from the goals of your family.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

How well does each of these statements describe you?

Not at all		A little		Moderately		Very well		Exactly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

17	Your happiness is unrelated to the happiness of your family.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
18	You show your inner feelings even if it disturbs the harmony in your family.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
19	You behave in the same way even when you are with different groups of people.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
20	You prefer to say what you are thinking, even if it is inappropriate for the situation.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
21	Being different from others makes you feel uncomfortable.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
22	You prefer to do what you want without letting your family influence you.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
23	You value personal achievements more than good relations with the people close to you.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
24	You prefer to ask other people for help rather than rely only on yourself.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
25	You act very differently at home compared to how you act in public.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
26	When someone in your family achieves something, you feel proud as if you had achieved something yourself.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

h. Identity Motives Inventory (Vignoles, Hassan, and colleagues, in preparation)

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using the following scale:

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree a little	Agree a little	Agree	Strongly agree
1	I understand my life's meaning.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	It is sometimes unpleasant for me to think about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	There isn't much that distinguishes me from other people I know.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	I feel a sense of continuity between past, present and future in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	I perform very well at many things	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	I don't feel that there is any place where I really fit in this world.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	My life has no clear purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	I am very comfortable with my self	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	I often think of myself as a unique person.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	There is not much continuity in my life	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	I sometimes deal poorly with challenges.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	I generally feel that people accept me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	My life has a clear sense of purpose .	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	I have a negative attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	I don't know what distinguishes me from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	Whatever happens to me, I am always the same person.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	I am very talented.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	I feel left out of things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	I feel unsure about the meaning of my life	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	I feel great about who I am	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	I feel I am different from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree a little	Agree a little	Agree	Strongly agree
22	I'm not sure if my life really has a 'story'.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23	I sometimes fail to fulfil my goals	1	2	3	4	5	6
24	I have a strong sense of ‘belonging’	1	2	3	4	5	6
25	I have discovered a satisfying life purpose.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26	I do not have enough respect for myself	1	2	3	4	5	6
27	I am confused about what is the real meaning of my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27	I don't really feel distinguished from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28	I feel a sense of progression in my life story	1	2	3	4	5	6
29	I am able to do most things I try to do.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30	I am not valued by or important to my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32	I have high self-esteem	1	2	3	4	5	6
33	I have a clear sense of what distinguishes me from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34	I find it hard to imagine who I was in the past, or who I will be in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35	I often feel that I am not very capable	1	2	3	4	5	6
36	I feel that I am valued by the people who matter to me	1	2	3	4	5	6

i. Self-Determination Scale (Sheldon & Deci, 1996)

Instructions: Please read the pairs of statements, one pair at a time, and think about which statement within the pair seems more true to you at this point in your life. Indicate the degree to which statement A feels true, relative to the degree that Statement B feels true, on the 5 point scale shown after each pair of statements. If statement A feels completely true and statement B feels completely untrue, the appropriate response would be 1. If the two statements are equally true, the appropriate response would be a 3.

1	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. I always feel like I choose the things I do. B. I sometimes feel that it's not really me choosing the things I do.						
2	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. My emotions sometimes seem alien to me. B. My emotions always seem to belong to me.						
3	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. I choose to do what I have to do. B. I do what I have to, but I don't feel like it is really my choice.						
4	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. I feel that I am rarely myself. B. I feel like I am always completely myself.						
5	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. I do what I do because it interests me. B. I do what I do because I have to.						
6	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. When I accomplish something, I often feel it wasn't really me who did it. B. When I accomplish something, I always feel it's me who did it.						
7	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. I am free to do whatever I decide to do. B. What I do is often not what I'd choose to do.						
8	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. My body sometimes feels like a stranger to me. B. My body always feels like me.						
9	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. I feel pretty free to do whatever I choose to. B. I often do things that I don't choose to do.						
10	**Only A feels true**	1	2	3	4	5	**Only B feels true**
	A. Sometimes I look into the mirror and see a stranger. B. When I look into the mirror I see myself.						

v. Demographic Information Sheet Paper

Demographic Information Sheet

Thank you so much for your participation in the present study. All we need now is some general information about you. This is simple to ensure that we are getting responses from a wide range of different people. All details given are completely confidential.

22. **Gender (please circle)** **Male ----------** **Female ----------**

23. **Age (in years) ----------**

24. **Occupation _____**

25. **Education _____**

26. **Relationship status (please circle)**
    m) Single
    n) In a committed relationship but not married
    o) Married
    p) Divorced/separated
    q) Widow/widower
    r) Other (please specify): _____

27. **Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination?**

If yes, which one? (please tick)

	No: do not belong to a denomination
	Yes: Christian
	Yes: Jew
	Yes: Muslim
	Yes: Hindu
	Yes: Buddhist
	Yes: Other

Please specify:

28. Compared to other people around you, how would you describe your family's level of financial wealth? (please tick)

Very poor |__|
Moderately poor |__|
Below average wealth |__|
Average wealth |__|
Above average wealth |__|
Moderately rich |__|
Very rich |__|

8. Country of birth: …….

9. For how many years have you lived in the UK/Pakistan?……

10. What is your nationality? ……

(If dual or mixed, please describe as accurately as possible)

Thank you again for your time and help!

Your participation is invaluable for us.

vi. Consent Form Paper

PhD Research Project on "Identity processes among Adolescents: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being".

Participant Consent Form

Name of Investigator: Bushra Hassan
Project Title: Identity processes among Adolescents in Pakistan: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being

29. I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex Research Project. I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may keep for my records.

30. I authorise the investigator to use my responses to the questionnaire for research purposes.

31. I acknowledge that:

j. The project is for the purpose of research;

k. I have been informed that my participation will be anonymous and confidential. No information that identifies me will be recorded in the data to prevent my identity from being made public;

l. I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time up to submission of my questionnaire without giving a reason or incurring any subsequent penalties;

m. I understand that it will no longer be possible for me to withdraw from the study after returning my responses, because it will not be possible to identify my anonymous responses;

n. I understand that completing the questionnaire implies that I consent to participate.

32. I am above 18 years of age.

Please tick on "Yes" if you agree with all the above points to start the study.

***[Yes]*_____ *[No]* _____**

vii. Sample letter to seek permission from respective University authorities in Pakistan

The Vice Chancellor
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad

Dear Sir,

I am a Commonwealth Scholar and doing my Ph.D. under the supervision of Dr. Vivian L.Vignoles, from the University of Sussex, United Kingdom. The topic of my study is **"Identity processes among Adolescents: Implications for Personal and Social Well-Being".** The study intends to explore and measure the constructs of personal and social identity in the indigenous context of collectivist culture of Pakistan. The sample of present study shall include graduates and post graduates. By exploring the identity styles of youth. we hope to redirect the energies of young people towards more coherent positive identity development and productive styles of living by fostering personal wellbeing motivation for constructive identities. This study has been approved by the Science and Technology Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) of the University of Sussex, UK (email: crecscitec@sussex.ac.uk).

It is therefore requested to grant permission to collect data from students of your prestigious university. All the ethical considerations and student's consent shall be taken before collecting data. My collaborator for this part of research project will collect data from Pakistan. I shall be thankful for your kind permission and cooperation in this regard.

Thanking you in anticipation

Bushra Hassan, Dr. Vivian L.Vignoles
School of Psychology, University of Sussex
Brighton, United Kingdom.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix IV

(Tables showing indirect paths from Identity styles, commitment, and identity motives to well-being)

Table 3.6: Indirect effects from information identity style to well-being

	Males		Female	
Indirect paths Model 3	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
A-E Paths				
Information → Commitment→ PWB	.04	[-.04, .12]	.09**	[.02, .16]
Information → Commitment→ NWB	-.03	[-.09, .02]	-.03	[-.07, .00]
D-C Paths				
Information → Meaning→ PWB	.11**	[.02, .21]	.01	[-.01, .04]
Information → Esteem→ PWB	.00	[-.02, .03]	.02	[-.01, .06]
Information → Efficacy→ PWB	.02	[-.02, .07]	.01	[-.03, .05]
Information → Distinctiveness→ PWB	-.02	[-.07, .02]	-.00	[-.01, .01]
Information → Continuity→ PWB	.00	[-.05, .06]	.01	[-.02, .05]
Information → Belonging→ PWB	-.01	[-.05, .01]	.00	[-.01, .01]
Information → Meaning→ NWB	-.00	[-.07, .05]	-.00	[-.02, .01]
Information → Esteem→ NWB	.00	[.02, .02]	-.01	[-.04, .01]
Information → Efficacy→ NWB	-.01	[-.04, .02]	-.02	[-.06, .01]
Information → Distinctiveness→ NWB	-.01	[-.03, .01]	.00	[-.01, .03]
Information → Continuity→ NWB	-.03	[-.07, .01]	-.03*	[-.06, .00]
Information → Belonging→ NWB	-.05	[-.10, .00]	.00	[-.02, .04]
A-B-C Paths				
Information→ Commitment →Meaning →PWB	.02*	[-.00, .06]	.02†	[-.00, .05]
Information→ Commitment →Esteem→ PWB	.00	[-.01, .03]	.03**	[.00, .05]
Information→ Commitment →Efficacy→ PWB	.02	[-.00, .04]	.00	[-.00, .01]
Information→ Commitment →Distinctive→ PWB	-.00	[-.02, .01]	-.00	[-.01, .00]
Information→ Commitment →Continuity→ PWB	.00	[-.01, .02]	.00	[-.00, .01]
Information→ Commitment →Belonging→ PWB	-.00	[-.02, .00]	-.00	[-.02, .01]
Information→ Commitment →Meaning →NWB	-.00	[-.01, .01]	-.00	[-.02, .01]
Information→ Commitment →Esteem→ NWB	.00	[-.01, .02]	-.02**	[-.04, -.00]
Information→ Commitment →Efficacy→ NWB	-.01	[-.02, .01]	-.00	[-.01, .00]
Information→ Commitment →Distinctive→ NWB	-.00	[-.01, .00]	.00	[-.00, .01]
Information→ Commitment →Continuity→ NWB	-.01	[-.02, .00]	-.01*	[-.02, .00]
Information→ Commitment →Belonging→ NWB	-.02	[-.04, .00]	-.02**	[-.04, -.00]

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10*

Table 3.7: Indirect effects from normative identity style to well-being

	Male			Female		
A-E Paths	Estimate	95% CI		Estimate	95% CI	
Normative → Commitment→ PWB	.01	[-.01,	.04]	.01	[-.01,	.04]
Normative → Commitment→ NWB	-.01	[-.03,	.01]	-.00	[.03,	.01]
D-C Paths						
Normative → Meaning→ PWB	.05*	[-.00,	.11]	.00	[-.02,	.02]
Normative → Esteem→ PWB	.01	[-.02,	.05]	-.01	[-.05,	.02]
Normative → Efficacy→ PWB	.00	[-.02,	.03]	-.00	[-.02,	.01]
Normative → Distinctiveness→ PWB	.01	[-.02,	.04]	.00	[-.02,	.04]
Normative → Continuity→ PWB	.00	[-.03,	.04]	-.00	[-.02,	.01]
Normative → Belonging→ PWB	-.01	[-.05,	.02]	.00	[-.01,	.01]
Normative → Meaning→ NWB	-.00	[-.03,	.02]	.00	[-.01,	.01]
Normative → Esteem→ NWB	.00	[-.02,	.03]	.01	[-.01,	.04]
Normative → Efficacy→ NWB	-.00	[-.02,	.01]	.00	[-.01,	.02]
Normative → Distinctiveness→ NWB	.00	[-.01,	.02]	-.03*	[-.06,	.00]
Normative → Continuity→ NWB	-.01	[-.05,	.01]	.01	[-.01,	.04]
Normative → Belonging→ NWB	-.04	[-.11,	.01]	.00	[-.03,	.03]
A-B-C Paths						
Normative → Commitment →Meaning → PWB	.00	[-.00,	.02]	.00	[-.00,	.01]
Normative → Commitment →Esteem→ PWB	.00	[-.00,	.01]	.00	[-.00,	.01]
Normative → Commitment →Efficacy→ PWB	.00	[-.00,	.01]	.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Distinctiveness→ PWB	-.00	[-.00,	.00]	.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Continuity→ PWB	.00	[-.00,	.00]	.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Belonging→ PWB	-.00	[-.00,	.00]	-.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Meaning→ NWB	-.00	[-.00,	.00]	-.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Esteem→ NWB	.00	[-.00,	.00]	-.00	[-.01,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Efficacy→ NWB	-.00	[-.00,	.00]	-.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Distinctiveness→ NWB	-.00	[-.00,	.00]	.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Continuity→ NWB	-.00	[-.00,	.00]	-.00	[-.00,	.00]
Normative → Commitment →Belonging→ NWB	-.00	[-.01,	.00]	-.00	[-.01,	.00]

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p*<.10

Table 3.8: Indirect effects from diffuse-avoidance to well-being

	Male		Female	
A-E Paths	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment→ PWB	-.04	[-.11, .04]	-.11**	[-.20, -.03]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment→ NWB	.03	[-.02, .09]	.04	[-.00, .09]
D-C Paths				
Diffuse-Avoidance → Meaning→ PWB	-.08*	[-.16, -.00]	-.04†	[-.09, .00]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Esteem→ PWB	-.01	[-.04, .02]	.02	[-.01, .06]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Efficacy→ PWB	-.02	[-.07, .01]	-.00	[-.02, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Distinctiveness→ PWB	.00	[-.02, .04]	.00	[-.01, .02]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Continuity→ PWB	-.01	[-.12, .09]	-.01	[-.06, .02]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Belonging→ PWB	.04	[-.03, .11]	.00	[-.03, .04]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Meaning→ NWB	.00	[-.04, .05]	.01	[-.02, .04]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Esteem→ NWB	-.00	[-.03, .02]	-.02	[-.05, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Efficacy→ NWB	.01	[-.01, .04]	.01	[-.01, .03]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Distinctiveness→ NWB	.00	[-.01, .01]	-.01	[-.04, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Continuity→ NWB	.05†	[-.00, .11]	.04*	[.00 .08]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Belonging→ NWB	.12**	[.04, .19]	.04*	[-.00 , .08]
A-B-C Paths				
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment → Meaning→ PWB	-.02*	[-.05, .00]	-.03*	[-.07, .00]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment → Esteem→ PWB	-.00	[-.03, .01]	-.04**	[-.07, -.00]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment → Efficacy→ PWB	-.01	[-.04, .00]	-.00	[-.01, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment→ Distinctive→ PWB	.00	[-.00, .02]	.00	[-.00, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Continuity→ PWB	-.00	[-.02, .01]	-.00	[-.02, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Belonging→ PWB	.00	[-.00, .02]	.00	[-.02, .03]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Meaning → NWB	.00	[-.01, .01]	.00	[-.01, .03]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Esteem→ NWB	-.00	[-.02, .01]	.03**	[.00, .05]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Efficacy→ NWB	.00	[-.00, .02]	.00	[-.00, .01]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment→Distinctive→ NWB	.00	[-.00, .01]	-.00	[-.02, .00]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Continuity→ NWB	.01	[-.00, .02]	.01*	[.00, .03]
Diffuse-Avoidance → Commitment →Belonging→ NWB	.02	[-.00, .04]	.03**	[.01, .06]

****p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p*<.10