



## Self-constructing

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### ABSTRACT

In our societies, where jobs are unstable and employment uncertain, and where the traditional social bearings tend to lose their hold, individuals must deal with a major issue: designing their lives. To help them do this, counselors need to develop certain appropriate procedures. This development supposes that knowledge is available about the main factors and processes of self-construction. This article puts forth a general theoretical model that describes self-construction as a system of (past, present and anticipated) subjective identity forms the dynamic of which originates in the tension between two kinds of reflexivity. Furthermore a counseling interview that builds on this self-construction model is outlined. It aims to help clients develop some expectations regarding their future, to consider their system of subjective identity forms from a future perspective and to commit themselves to the advancement of this design and its redesigning.

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## 1. Introduction

When about a century ago in industrialized societies, vocational guidance became a fully independent profession, its core topic dealt with “choosing a vocation” (Parsons, 1909). In today’s societies, where occupations and professions are unstable and employment uncertain, and where the traditional social bearings also tend to lose their hold, individuals must address a broader problem: that of designing their lives. To help them do this, counselors need to develop appropriate procedures. This development presupposes that knowledge about self-construction is available. The purpose of this article therefore is to introduce a general theoretical model that describes the main factors and processes of self-construction and to outline a counseling interview that implements this self-construction model.

## 2. From vocational choices to self-construction

Personal and career development interventions aim to help people find answers to personal and career development issues that arise from the societal context in which they live. Two broad categories of factors play a significant role in the definition of these issues at any given moment and in a particular societal context: the first category being the collective beliefs and representations, and the second, the concrete ways in which work and education (and training) are organized and employment distributed.

As the sociologist Elias wrote in 1991, our societies are “societies of individuals”. We conceive individuals essentially as autonomous subjects responsible for their choices and believe that it is up to them to decide the path their lives should take.

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Therefore, the fundamental issue of personal and career development today is that of individuals trying to determine what to make of their lives. In terms of the choices that individuals must make, we consider as fundamental those related to their work and hold that pursuing a career is a privileged occasion to realize one's potential.

In industrialized societies, the 20th century has been marked by important changes in the organization of work and job distribution as well as by the setting up of complex school systems. These changes resulted in a transformation and, strikingly, a diversification of the school and career development and counseling issues (Guichard & Huteau, 2005, 2006). For example, in recent decades, automation and computers have enabled new forms of work organization. In these work organizations – such as the “Toyotist” one – small teams of workers organize themselves and carry out production. They must control quality and collectively develop competencies related to job demands and technical changes.

At the same time, because of the increasing competitiveness due to economic globalization, most firms are organized around a stable “core” of qualified employees completed by an adjustable number of “peripheral workers” whose jobs are uncertain. According to most labor-market specialists (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Loveridge & Mok, 1979) these two kinds of workers do not belong to the same segment of the labor-market and it is not easy for a peripheral worker to become a core employee. Such an evolution has a considerable impact on personal and career development issues. For the core employee, the main question is: “How can I capitalize on my diverse experiences and define career projects?” whereas for the peripheral worker, the question is more often: “How do I cope with the multiple transitions I face during the course of my life?”

Hence, individuals in the industrialized societies of the beginning of the 21st century must face different personal and career development issues. Nevertheless, these problems have one point in common: they are much broader than the issue of career development as they always involve different spheres of existence and their interconnection (Baubion-Broye & Hajjar, 1998; Curie & Hajjar, 1987). Therefore, we cannot speak today merely of “school and career development” and of “school and career guidance and counseling” since what is at stake is the individual's “life trajectory”: i.e. the designing of his or her own life (Savickas et al., 2009).

The sociologist Giddens stressed that this demand on the individual to construct oneself had become a major social fact characteristic of our societies. He wrote: “The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choices as filtered through abstract systems” (Giddens, 1991, p. 5). In our societies, where tradition tends to lose its hold, individuals are increasingly forced to make lifestyle choices from a cafeteria of options. In such a societal context, the core issue of personal and career development and counseling becomes that of life-designing. As a consequence, the core topic of vocational psychology becomes that of studying self-construction: that is to delineate those factors and processes that influence self-construction. Without such knowledge, counseling interventions run the risk of being either ineffective or worse, to lead to results very different from those intended. The self-construction model outlined below intends to provide today's counselors with a general frame of references for the development of interventions aimed at helping clients in their self-construction. This model (Guichard, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005; Guichard & Dumora, 2008) combines three different approaches: sociological, cognitive, and dynamic.

### 3. The self-construction model

#### 3.1. Sociological perspective

From the sociological perspective, this synthesis assumes that self-construction occurs within structured social contexts. We are born into a certain society that (1) is more or less complex and (2) has a higher or lower degree of “Prägnanz” (social structures are more or less present in the minds of people depending on the society in which they live). Thus, the individuals act, interact and discuss within the social and linguistic contexts (family, school, neighborhood, relationship systems, life accounts) which they found there organized in a certain way when they were born.

As regards self-construction, one point is of importance namely that each society determines a specific identity offer. In this identity offer, two elements are fundamental:

- Social categorizations of any type: these categorizations lead individuals to think of themselves as being this or that (Catholic, White, depressed, of the star-sign “Aquarius”, engineer, heterosexual, etc.).
- Modes of relating to oneself (Foucault, 1983/1994) (self-schemata, biographical forms, etc.) closely linked to these categorizations: in a certain context (for example: at work), an individual can see him/herself as having certain competencies (self-efficacy beliefs) and in another context (for example: at church), this same individual can think of him/herself as a sinner. In addition, in the society within which this individual lives, some biographical forms prevail, guiding him/her in his/her life representations and designing (Delory-Momberger, 2004).

This offer is given – as such – when the individual is born. But it evolves: through the mediation of their actions, interactions or language games, the individuals contribute to the evolution of these societal contexts. Thus new categories appear. Some get a higher “Prägnanz” (for example: currently, in Europe, a rise in the religious categorizations can be observed). Others become obsolete: for example, nowadays, in France, no-one thinks anymore of him/herself as being a “zazou” (during and after World War II this category designated an eccentric young jazz lover. It was a very salient way for some anti-authoritarian young people to think of themselves in the immediate post-war France, just as two decades later, some young Americans thought of themselves and constructed themselves as “beatniks”).

### 3.2. Cognitive perspectives

Individuals are not passively impregnated by this identity offer. The offer gives place to a certain cognitive elaboration within the mind of each member of society. The social world thus exists both as an external and internal world (as fields and as habitus, to use Bourdieu's terms, 1977). The individuals come to know the social world in their own way because knowledge of it depends on the particular positions they occupy in the different social fields in which they interact and communicate. In particular, individuals adapt some elements from this identity offer to themselves. More than simply being impregnated, the elements are seized upon.

The following concepts aim at giving an account of this cognitive elaboration: identity frame, identity form, subjective identity form and subjective identity form system.

*Cognitive identity frames*, as other cognitive frames, are mental structures of attributes having default values (for example: in the cognitive frame "room", the default value for the attribute "wall" is four; Barsalou, 1992, pp. 157–163). As "identity" frames, they refer to different groups or social categories. Identity frames are the cognitive constructions, in each person's mind, of the different categories that constitute the evolving identity offer of the society he or she belongs to, as he or she construes them in connection with his or her specific experiences (activities, interactions, dialogues, etc.). The default values of their attributes are mainly social stereotypes (for example: in the cognitive identity frame "engineer", the default value for the attribute "gender" is male). These cognitive identity frames are organized and form a multidimensional system of relationships, in particular, of opposition and hierarchy.

This system of cognitive identity frames constitutes the cognitive basis of the representation of oneself and of others, as well as of self-construction, in some *identity forms*. Indeed, identity frames are inferred cognitive structures which individuals are not immediately aware of. Nevertheless, individuals are fully aware of the identity forms they perceive in relation to these cognitive structures.

An identity form, in general, can be defined as a given way to see oneself and others in a certain context. For example, in a high-school context, an individual may consider her/himself as a (= in the identity form of a) "high-school student" (and interacts and communicates as such), and perceives another person as a (= in the identity form of a) "teacher" (and interacts with him/her in an appropriate way).

Among these identity forms, there are some that are of particular importance as regards self-construction: the ones in which individuals see and construct themselves. These subjective identity forms (SIF) can be defined as sets of ways of being, acting and interacting in relation to a certain view of oneself in a given context. Indeed, when individuals construct themselves within a particular identity form, they appropriate it to themselves, they "*identize*" themselves (Tap, 1980), i.e. they give specific values to the attributes of the underlying cognitive frame.

This means, for example, that the above mentioned "high-school student" does not consider her/himself just in the social role of "high-school student" but as "I-high-school student": s/he acts and interacts in her/his ways, s/he relates in her/his ways to objects (for example: the different school subjects), to others (school-mates, teachers, etc.) and to her/himself (in building for example some self-efficacy beliefs or generalizations of self-observations, etc.). One can say that this student constructs her/his own high-school student form within the identity frame of high-school student. In other words, she or he enacts the social role of student, as he or she has construed it in her or his mind, with her or his own style (Clot, 1999) and strategies.

Observations made by Jellab (2001) in French vocational high-schools illustrate this phenomenon. Jellab observed that students in these schools, which are not highly regarded within the French education system, may develop four different kinds of attitudes towards knowledge. One of them is called "reflexive". Vocational high-school students who constructed themselves this way valued abstract knowledge (e.g. they paid attention during the math class and did their homework), developed congruent self-efficacy beliefs, interacted in specific ways with other students and teachers (e.g. they tended to become friends with students who had developed a similar view of their high-school experience), were expecting to enter technical university colleges after high-school, etc. Each of these attitudes towards knowledge is obviously a major component of a specific high-school subjective identity form.

According to the contexts in which individuals interact and communicate, they build themselves in distinctive subjective identity forms. Thus the same high-school student may build her/himself in the SIF of a forward who runs fast and has the ability to pass balls when s/he plays soccer and, in this context, may also consider another person – who s/he sees as a teacher in the school context – in the identity form of a loyal supporter of her/his club. In this approach, individuals' subjectivity or identity thus seems to be constituted by the evolving system of forms in which they construct themselves. In this system, some forms refer to different current experiences of the person (in the previous example: high-school student and soccer player). Other identity forms refer to either the past or the future. Some past subjective identity forms may remain important in the current life of an individual (for example: the previous occupation individual held may be an important perspective from which he/she considers and interprets his/her current work activity). Some of these past identity forms may even be so important that they form the thread of continuity that Savickas (1995, p. 367) named a life theme. Other subjective identity forms are anticipated ones. For example, Piriou and Gadéa (1999) have shown that the French university students who succeeded in studying sociology were those who anticipated themselves in the occupational identity form of a sociologist. And this anticipation referred to an identity frame built upon the image given in the French media of the sociologist Bourdieu. Such anticipated identity forms are obviously of major importance as regards the investment of adolescents or emerging adults in their own future.

During any given period of an individual's life, one (or several) subjective identity form(s) may be central to their subjective identity form system (SIFS). These salient forms then play a major role in structuring the whole system. Often, they are linked to major expectations: to the construction of a major anticipated identity form. For example, from the descriptions given by Jellab (2001) of the reflexive attitude to knowledge developed by some students in vocational high-schools, it follows that their high-school identity forms were core ones and that they were linked to a strong wish to become college students, a rare expectation in French vocational high-school students.

### 3.3. *Dynamic perspectives*

Two psychological processes intervene in the individual's self-construction of a subjective identity forms system. One process corresponds to those identity anticipations that allow the individual to unify his/her current experience from the viewpoint of a given prospect (This is the "wanting to become like this person or persona" in "seeing oneself already as this person or persona" described by Bernadette Dumora, 1990.). The second process corresponds to decentering from one's own experience by analyzing it from the point of view of another person, or a "generalized other". This reflexivity allows the person to make sense of his/her own life, its meaning always being in the process of being made (see: Malrieu, 2003). These processes correspond to two types of reflexivity that, under tension, constitute the self.

The reflexivity "I – me", is based on the pre-linguistic processes of self-anticipation, in which what will become the "I" appears as a completed whole, informs the present and structures it according to this anticipated unity (Lacan, 1977). This form of reflexivity is a constitutive element of the prototype of identification links to others, i.e. of the self-anticipation in some characteristics of the other which fascinate the individual and in which s/he dreams of becoming her/himself. A boy for example may say: "I can imagine 'myself' as a footballer like Zidane", in other words: 'I' can imagine 'myself' becoming this image which 'I' have built 'myself' of Zidane and which informs and structures my present: I play football like him, I wear the same clothes, etc". This identification process seems to have as a corollary and complement, the rejection of the representations of certain others, considered as being the opposite. This first form of reflexivity leads towards self-crystallization. It can also lead to a sort of pathology when individuals alienate themselves within a persona who becomes the ultimate point of interpretation of all their deeds in all their life domains (as was the case for a Nazi general studied by Malrieu, 2003, pp. 177–200).

The second form of reflexivity – that of the "I – you – s/he" – originates in interactions with others and in language games in which the child relates to someone who nurtures her/him during a psychological symbiosis (Harré, 1984, pp. 104–106). In these *complementation* activities (during which both individuals function as one person), the child discovers her/himself as a point of view amongst others (that is as a member of a society of persons), as being able to survive only if relating to these other people and as being able to articulate in her/his inner self – as the others do (that is what defines each of them as a person) – the three possible reference points of human discourse: I, you, s/he (Jacques, 1991). This form of reflexivity is an indefinite process of interpretation (or of symbolization) as each 'interpretant' of a situation can always be re-interpreted from another perspective (Atkin, 2008). This can lead to a sort of pathology when individuals cannot commit themselves to any definite direction (because of the never completed process of sense-making).

## 4. **Counseling intervention**

Within such a (both psychological constructivist and social constructionist) framework, vocational interventions (counseling and education) fundamentally aim at helping individuals in their self-construction and focus on the system of subjective identity forms within which they construct themselves. Of course, the determined objectives of each intervention vary as a function of the issue a person faces. For example, the concrete objectives cannot be the same when the purpose is to a) support adult employees who have been made redundant as their occupational identity forms were core ones and b) when the aim is to help emerging adults (Arnett, 2000) construct a view of their future in which they sufficiently invest themselves. Nevertheless, beyond these important differences, all these interventions pursue a common goal: that of helping individuals develop expectations regarding their future that permit them to integrate their subjective identity forms system from a certain future perspective and to commit themselves to the advancement of this design (and often, it's redesigning).

Various interventions have been built to that purpose: different workshop methods (Guichard, 1987, 1989, 2008b) as well as a counseling interview method more specifically intended for adolescents and emerging adults (Guichard, 2008a). This interview method aims at helping them:

- To map out the different SIF in which they currently construct themselves.
- To become aware of what actually constitutes each of these SIF: actions, interactions, modes and dimensions of relating to oneself, etc.
- To describe the current organization of their SIFS (to delineate those that are central and those that are more peripheral).
- To become aware of the relationships between these SIFS (support, obstacle, independence, etc.). Concretely: Is what occurs in one of them an obstacle or a resource (or has it no effect) to what happens in another?
- To elicit some expected SIF (notably: occupational or educational ones) the actualization of which they wish to be committed to.

- To find ways (activities, interactions, resources, etc.) to increase their chances of achieving this design (and to subsequently modify – if necessary – their SIFS) and to commit themselves to its advancement.

Such a counseling interaction does not differ – in its general principles and in its structure – from those in use in the domain of career counseling (for example: Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2009). In particular, it begins with the building-up of a working alliance. It continues with an analysis and a reflection by the clients on their experiences. It ends with a personal synthesis, a plan of action (and notably an engagement in some activities in connection with expectations about oneself in the future) and a closure phase.

Five main phases can be differentiated:

- Building up of the working alliance.
- Becoming aware of the main domains of one's current life.
- Mapping out the subjective identity forms system (SIFS) corresponding to one's main current spheres of activities, past life experiences and expectations.
- Elicitation of some expected subjective identity forms the actualization of which one considers it important to be committed to. Definition of ways (activities, interactions, resources) to increase one's chances to achieve this actualization.
- Conclusion and closure.

As the first phase in this process (building up of the working alliance) is similar to that generally used in career counseling interviews (Gysbers et al., 2009, pp. 151–157), only the main features of the last four phases are outlined below.

#### 4.1. *Becoming aware of the main domains of one's current life*

The first step is to help clients identify their major subjective identity forms in their current identity forms system. One way of achieving this goal is to ask them first to describe their daily activities and find with them which life domains they match (school, family, friends, sport, etc.). Some past activities or life experiences (for example, in the high-school they attended) can also have an impact on their current lives. As it is the same with certain expectations, clients are asked to review past experiences and expectations that could have an impact on their current lives.

#### 4.2. *Mapping out one's subjective identity forms system (SIFS)*

Clients are then asked to explore each of their life domains (present, past and expected) that they think to be of importance to them. The purpose here is to help them elicit their subjective identity form in each domain. As we have seen, a SIF corresponds to a set of:

- Actions, interactions, scripts of action, knowledge, know-how, attitudes. For example, for a given student who refers to himself as “vocational high-school student”, this identity form can include: listening and taking notes during the technology class, daydreaming during the history lessons, systematically doing his math homework and being active during class, etc.
- Mode of relating to the “objects” of this domain. For example, for this same SIF: a certain general attitude towards knowledge and a particular attitude towards some specific disciplines, diverse task approach skills, etc.
- Modes of relating to oneself: self-generalization observations, self-efficacy beliefs, etc. For example: to feel “good at math”, serious, etc.
- Modes of relating to others and interactions with them. For example: to become close friends with some students, whilst remaining distant towards others, etc.
- And sometimes: an anticipated SIF linked to the current one. For example, a “vocational high-school student” SIF may be strongly related to the expectation of becoming a college-student in a specific domain.

In this phase, the dialogue between counselor and client plays an important part. The objective of the former is that, through this dialogue, clients stand back to analyze their own experience in order to shape it and describe it as a function of some of the above-mentioned dimensions (competencies, self-efficacy beliefs, self-schemata, etc.).

As noted by different authors (for example: Bourdieu, 2000; Clot & Prot, 2003; Diallo & Clot, 2003; Kelly, 1955; Rogers, 1951) this becoming aware by individuals, of the ways they structure (or construct) their experiences constitutes in itself a certain emancipation. Through this “objectification” (via a dialogue) of what remains usually implicit, individuals distance themselves from the “obviousness” of their daily experience and routines. In doing so, they give themselves the possibility to see their own world differently and to develop new experiences and activities.

Another important goal of this phase is to help clients define the importance of each SIF to them (which are central and which peripheral) as well as the way they view the relationships between their major SIF (resources, obstacles or independence). This standing back and shaping through a putting into words of one's own experiences requires a lot of time and this phase may be carried out over several meetings. This phase ends when the client has a clear image of the current structure of his Subjective Identity Forms System.

#### 4.3. Elicitation of some expected SIF and commitment

During this phase, counselors play a major role: their intervention can stimulate (or not) counselees to adopt a more or less emancipatory attitude as regards their past experiences. Counselors can indeed stop the counselees' exploration and reflection processes as soon as they have found an anticipated SIF. In this case, according to Pierre Bourdieu's (and many others') observations, the counselees' propensity will be to immediately indicate an anticipated SIF linked to their current – and past – school and social positioning (this social positioning includes the gender dimension): an anticipated SIF that, because of their positions in the diverse social fields in which they interacted/interact and dialogued/dialogue (Guichard, 1993), reverts back to what their experiences were (and often still are). In other words, via such immediate anticipations, the adolescents' or emerging adults' tendency will be to adopt a conservative attitude as regards the reproduction of the social structure. To caricature: a young middle class girl could “spontaneously” see herself in the future as an interior designer or a gynecologist and her brother could imagine himself as an international lawyer; whereas a girl from a more modest background would more readily see herself as a school teacher or a nurse and her brother as a IT technician.

But counselors should encourage counselees to take a more liberating direction. Indeed, as Subich (2001, p. 240) wrote: “we can no longer afford to avoid some of the thorny but important vocational issues related to social class and other status variables, the greater socio-political context, or societal changes (e.g. differences in opportunity structures and structural influences on vocational behavior)”. One way for the counselors to take such a stance during the counseling intervention described here is to propose that their clients search for their “foreclosed options” (see for example: Blustein, 2006; Fouad & Bingham, 1995; Leong, Hardin, & Gupta, 2007; Oyserman & Markus, 1993). In this case, counselors take time to explicitly ask their clients to think carefully about possible options that were of interest to them but which they have given up or certain alternatives that they did not allow themselves to consider. What are these options? What were their reasons for abandoning these prospects? What do they now think of these reasons?

During the following step, clients are asked to “re-read” and “re-interpret” their present situation with regards to this expectation and to imagine possible transformations. They start from one of the anticipated SIF they have mentioned and, in interaction with the counselor, they:

- Identify in each of their present SIF the different elements that could constitute a support or a barrier to the achievement of such a goal;
- Determine what they could do to develop this support and to neutralize those barriers. (For example: to be more involved in a particular school subject, to ask an acquaintance for help, information or support, etc.);
- Define new experiences (activities, interactions, settings and resources) to get involved in order to increase their chances of achieving their goal.

At the end of this phase, an action plan is worked out, which precisely defines the terms of the counselees' commitment to specific activities or settings and that relates this commitment to all of their other life experiences.

#### 4.4. Conclusion and closure

The life construction counseling interview comes to an end with a closure phase that first reviews everything which has taken place during the counseling process and evaluates it: Does it answer the clients' major expectations? Have these expectations changed during the process? Are the clients satisfied with the current outcomes? During this phase, stock is also taken of what has been decided in terms of new experiences (activities, interactions, etc.). The importance of the clients' rapid commitment to these new experiences and activities (which need to be very precisely defined) is stressed. The limitations of such a counseling session are also highlighted: its purpose cannot be to draw up once and for all a perfectly determined life plan but rather to help clients analyze their present situation from a desired future perspective. It is likely that the actual undertaking of this project (for example, the beginning of a new activity) will modify the initial plan (increasing or decreasing the incitement to achieve it, leading to the discovery of new aspects of the initial goal or even new goals, etc.). In a word, the reflexive process at work during this counseling interview is actually more important than its current outcomes.

### 5. Conclusion

This counseling interview procedure must clearly be tailored and adapted to the diversity of the clients' issues and attitudes. For example, some young people already seem to have built a very structured anticipated subjective identity form while others tend to produce multiple anticipations but are unable to commit themselves to any of them. The case of Igor (Pouyaud, 2008; Pouyaud, 2009) illustrates the first attitude: Igor, 16 years old, anticipated himself in the subjective identity form of a fireman and all his life experiences were interpreted from this single future perspective (e.g. to do sports because sports are an excellent preparation for this future job). On the other hand, Thomas, 17 years old, who met a counselor on seven occasions in a year, presented almost every time a new view of himself in the future (sport coach, physical therapist, youth worker, counselor, dietician) but appeared to be unable to commit himself in any activity that would test these views.

These two opposite positions can be understood, in Igor's case as a clear preference for the first kind of reflexivity (that leads towards some self-crystallization from a unique perspective) and, in Thomas' case, as just as clear a preference for the second kind of reflexivity (that constitutes an indefinite process of interpretation and reinterpretation of all one's life experiences).

It seems that in our complex, unstable and uncertain societies, a more adapted approach could be found between these two extreme attitudes: a "balanced" combination of the first and second kinds of reflexivity. The second one permits the development of these subjective multiple identity forms and their tentative integrations from diverse perspectives, a development that gives individuals the psychological flexibility needed to adapt in our changing current contexts. The first kind allows the commitment that Super, Savickas, and Super (1996) described as one of the major mechanisms "that mediate successful transactional adaptation" (Savickas, 2001, p. 315).

The issues developed in this article appear consistent with other constructivist, constructionist or systemic approaches, for example those designed by Baubion-Broye and Hajjar (1998), Blustein (2006), Patton and McMahon (2006), Richardson (2004), Richardson (2007), Savickas (1995, 2005), Young, Valach, and Collin (2002), Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986), etc. Nevertheless, the self-constructing approach has a few singular features. Firstly, it focuses, more than other models, on the self-construction process rather than on career development: present and anticipated occupational identity forms are considered only as elements (although in many cases: major ones) in a complex and evolving system of identity forms. Secondly, it puts a special emphasis on the links that exist between the society's macro-structure and the individuals' identity system: in our complex and changing societies, individual identities appear more differentiated, plural, evolving etc. than in less differentiated and more stable social organizations. Therefore, here and now, self-direction becomes a major challenge. Thirdly, it aims to integrate different kinds of analyses. For example, it establishes connections between Foucault's analyses in the field of political philosophy – with his concept of "modes of relating to oneself" – and some cognitive approaches (with the concepts of self-schemata and cognitive frames). This integration was however only made possible through the coining of a few new concepts like "subjective identity forms system" and "identity frame".

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