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FUTURE SELVES: A COGNITIVE CONSTRUCTION WITHIN AN OVER-ARCHING

KNOWLEDGE STRUCTURE

by

Gira Bhatt

M.A., University of Bombay, 1976

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

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Future Selves: A Cognitive Construction Within an Over-Arching
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ABSTRACT

Within a cognitive perspective, a well-formulated ideological system can be conceived as an interpretational framework, organizing information about one's self and the world into a well-knit global cognitive structure. The consequence of this is a sense of certainty as to 'what might be'. In the present study, "Future Selves", an aspect of self-knowledge pertaining to how individuals think about themselves with reference to the future (Markus and Nurius, in press), was proposed to be related to one's commitment to an ideological system. To investigate the nature of this relationship, Evangelicalism was selected as an ideological system. Future Selves of 60 university students were studied. Thirty of these students were strongly committed to Evangelicalism, while 30 were not committed to any ideological system. It was hypothesized that, compared to the non-committed, the Evangelicals would view i) a larger proportion of their Future Selves as desirable, ii) their desirable Future Selves as more likely to be realized than their undesirable Future Selves, iii) their desirable Future Selves as very desirable and their undesirable Future Selves as very undesirable, iv) their Future Selves within a range of limited possibilities. The data lent credibility to the second and the third hypotheses, whereas the first and the fourth hypotheses were only partially supported. The implications of the findings are discussed in the light of the theory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To,

My Precious Ian Elliot,

For

sharing *Knowledge*.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Considering the sheer vastness of the universe on one hand, and the limitations of the human cognitive capacity on the other, Lecky (1945) proposed that, immersed in an environment that cannot be understood in its entirety, human beings are forced to create a substitute world which they can understand. This view has achieved sophistication within the contemporary cognitive paradigm in psychology, which conceives of human mind, not as a passive recipient of information, but as a 'knowing system' which actively constructs views of the world and the individual's place in it by making cognitive generalizations of experiences. Thus, knowledge is not a matter of discovering the nature of reality which is "out there" so to speak, but rather it is a matter of constructing a cognitive representation of it (Neisser, 1967).

This is not to imply that there is no 'objective reality'. There certainly is a real world of trees, people and cars. But whatever we know of reality has been mediated not only by the senses, but by complex systems which interpret and reinterpret information. For example, the cognitive construction of an ocean will be quite different for a marine biologist, a captain of a ship, a poet, and a boy who had almost drowned in it (Kelly, 1955). To quote W.I. Thomas's famous dictum, "A thing defined as

real is real' only in its consequences" (In Merton, 1968, p.175).

The nature of Knowledge Structures

Imposing an 'order' on discrete pieces of information is a key property of the human mind. This creative act results in the construction of cognitive models which are called **Knowledge Structures!** Properly defined, *Knowledge Structures are richly interconnected networks of information relevant to various concepts* (Fiske and Linville, 1980). Knowledge Structures can be viewed as something akin to cognitive scaffolds within the mind that provide structure for incoming information. They are explanatory frameworks built through experience, which serve as heuristic devices to catalogue the world of experience, to explain, interpret and cope with the continual influx of information.

Once constructed, Knowledge Structures selectively 'filter' new relevant information and every attempt is made to 'fit' new information into the existing cognitive pattern. This enhances cognitive efficiency, but often it also results in altering the form of the information altogether, a phenomenon known as 'cognitive biases and errors' (Nisbett and Ross, 1980). This does not imply that Knowledge Structures are static. In the light of new information, some reconstruction becomes necessary. However, a major reconstruction can be quite traumatic, a 'conversion' experience, for example.

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One of the earliest theories to emphasize that the self structure was of major importance in organizing one's interpretation of the world was proposed by Combs and Snygg (1949). The following example illustrates Combs and Snygg's model vividly.

A busy executive is absorbed in his work in his office on sixth floor. Suddenly he hears a loud bang from down the street. He looks up and muttering to himself, "...there goes some fool's car ..." continues with his work. Five minutes later, his secretary rushes into his office saying, "Sir, it was ... your... car..." Lo and behold the executive's cognitive and affective processes...'

Though theoretically a goldmine of a concept, the self has remained one of the most controversial issues in psychology. Recently however it has received a strong empirical footing within the cognitive paradigm. In this perspective, self is viewed, not as some mysterious entity, but instead as a Knowledge Structure that lends coherence to one's self-relevant experiences. (For a full discussion of these ideas, see Markus, 1977; Epstein, 1973; Greenwald and Pratkanis, in press; Kihlstrom and Cantor, 1984; Markus and Sentis, 1982; Rogers et al. 1977, 1981). In simple terms, the Self connotes an individual's subjective understanding of what kind of a person he or she is. In the present study, the terms "the Self" and "Self-structure" are used interchangeably and they are to be

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interpreted as 'Self-as-a-Knowledge Structure'. Conceiving the
self in this perspective is partly a matter of theoretical
convenience and partly an 'act of faith'. The leap of faith is
to believe in the cognitive content of the "Black Box" (Linville
and Fiske, 1980).

Though the human mind constructs many knowledge structures,
the Self has been considered the most fundamental Knowledge
Structure due to its pervasive role in selecting, encoding and
processing the incoming information (Rogers et al., 1977;
Greenwald, 1980). In fact, Greenwald (1980) has conceptualized
the Self structure as a "Totalitarian Ego" to imply its towering
influence in directing all the other cognitive and affective
processes. There is growing empirical evidence (Swann Jr, 1984)
supporting Combs and Snygg's theory that the Self structure is
indeed the fundamental frame of reference, our anchor to
"reality". The world seems to pivot around it.

Possible Selves

By introducing an empirically testable concept of "Possible
Selves", Markus and Nurius (in press) have added a dimension of
temporal continuity to the Self. Possible Selves represent
individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would
like to become and what they are afraid of becoming. There are
three categories of Possible Selves : i) The Past Selves, which
represent an individual's ideas of what he or she could have
possibly become in the past, ii) the Present Selves, which

represent the ideas of what he or she is at present, and iii) the Future Selves, which represent the ideas of what he or she could possibly become in the future.

Of particular interest for the present study is the category of the Future Selves which is defined as **the cognitive representation of what might be, both what is hoped for and what is feared in relation to one's self.** The 'hoped for' Future Selves are the Positive Future Selves implying what one would like to become, and the 'feared' Future Selves are the Negative Future Selves implying what one would rather not become. For example, I am now a psychology graduate, and I could become a renowned psychologist, or I could become a miserable academic failure.

Markus and Nurius have proposed their model of Possible Selves as a motivational-behavioral link, emphasizing that a majority of one's daily activities are regulated not by one's current view of one's Self, but instead to views of what might be possible for the Self in the distant future. Indeed, a large cognitive component of the Self is future oriented. It reflects the human mind's cognitive capacity to journey back and forth on a temporal dimension.

Views of the World

Besides the Self, there are many other Knowledge Structures representing an individual's understanding of the various aspects of the physical and the social world, which in the

present study have been subsumed under the label, 'Views of the World'.

However, a question arises as to the possible relationship between the Self and the Views of the World. There is growing empirical evidence that the cognitive constuction of the Self and the World are dialectically related (Snyder, 1984; Swann Jr., 1984; Gergan, 1977; Cantor and Kihlstrom, 1983; Carver and Schier, 1981; 1982; Swann and Read, 1981). Views of the World are the context in which the Self structure operates. Accordingly, how we conceptualize the Self and how we conceptualize our Views of the World are not totally independent processes. The Self emerges from the total field of experiences through its interactions with the Views of the World (Rogers, et al., 1977; Lovlie, 1982). Indeed "we live in a world of our own creation - like a moth in its own cocoon" (An ancient Indian metaphor, in Paranjpe, 1984). The following diagram illustrates this.

Figure 1

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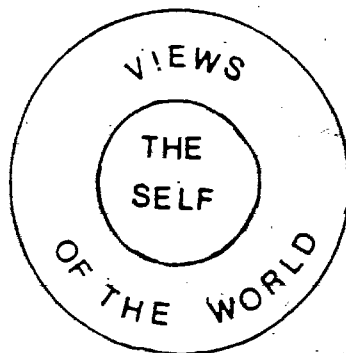
Although there is some idiosyncracy in each individual's understanding of what the world is like and what is one's place in it, some components of these cognitive constructions are always shared with others, resulting in what is known as the 'social construction of reality' (Berger and Luckman, 1966). For example, some components of a woman's Self-structure will be shared by other women in her social-cultural setting, some will be shared by her colleagues at work, some by her family members and so on. This is necessary for an effective functioning of the social system in which we all must live.

However, when a large component of one's understanding of the Self and the World is concretized at a group level, these 'shared constructions' often result in a skewed model of the Views of the World and the Self (Conor, 1975). It is considered 'skewed', since it cognizes people, events, objects and the individual Self in a characteristic fashion which may be totally in contrast to the views of some other groups of individuals who may not share the same cognitive model. Since no one group can claim to have 'perfectly' modeled the nature of the world and the individual's status in it, different and competing Views of the World and the Self emerge. What is important is that to the groups, their own views shared by the fellow members seem wholly convincing. Cognitive heuristics then operate to 'confirm' the views of each group. In Snyder's (1984) words, *"belief creates reality"* (p. 262).

This phenomenon is most salient among the organized religions and among some of the political systems of the world. The rejection of contradictory propositions is a product of the 'conservative bias' (Greenwald, 1980) of the organization of knowledge at all levels.

Construction of an Overarching Knowledge Structure

One of the most complex cognitive activities of human beings seems to be their continual striving to comprehend the totality of their experiences. It is a 'striving' since the totality of the universe is simply too vast to be comprehended by any one individual, or even by a group of individuals. Fragments of it may be understood, but the whole pattern is not.

Though Knowledge Structures succeed as heuristic devices and have an indispensible functional value, they are nevertheless like geographical maps which do not have every informational detail. Allport (1950) pointed out that every individual is aware of this void and searches for "...a complete knowledge, an unfissured truth" (p.18). Bakan (1966) considers it a search to make manifest what is unmanifest.

A mature mind demands a comprehensive conception of nature of the world and one's life that is reasonable, intelligible and acceptable. This is reflected in the common human expressions : " Who I *really* am ?" Or, "Where do I *really* come from ?" Or, " *Why* the world is as it is?" and the like. These are the "Ultimate Concerns" of human beings and can be safely assumed to

be universal (Yinger, 1976).

Presumably, people deal with this void by making various assumptions and presuppositions about some 'larger' forces that govern life in a global context, i.e., by constructing an Overarching Knowledge Structure (OKS). An OKS may be in the form of philosophical notions, or in the form of religious or political ideologies, or in the form of mere 'hunches' about life. It may be explicit or implicit, clear or unclear, complex or simple, shared with a group of people or idiosyncratic. Whatever may be its form, it exerts considerable influence on one's conduct. In fact, years ago, the German school of *Verstehende psychologie* insisted that the major characterstic of any individual personality was the individual's philosophy of life, that is to say , his *Lebensverfassung*. In simple terms, it consists of an individual's coping strategies which deal with his or her Ultimate Concerns by arriving at some global understanding of what the world and human life are all about.

Philosophy of science too acknowledges that in the final analysis, the 'order' in the world is not 'given' so to speak, but is rather imposed by the scientific logico-deductive enterprise of the human mind. This is well reflected in Einstein's famous dictum,"That the world is an ordered and comprehensive unity is a religious sentiment" (1931, p. 35). Whether we are atheists or theists, we are prone to stereotype the world in which we live. In this respect an OKS is akin to the concept of Weltanschauung, which was explained by Freud

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(1933) as '...an intellectual construction which solves all the problems of our existence uniformly on the basis of an overriding hypothesis, which accordingy leaves no question unanswered and in which everything that interests us finds its fixed place... Believing in it, one can feel secure in life, one can know what to strive for and how one can deal most expediently with one's emotions and interests" (p.192).

'Tailored' v/s 'Privatized' Ideology

An ideology refers to a highly structured set of ideas providing a global explanation about the nature of the world and human life. It may be considered as a cognitive strategy to resolve some of the Ultimate Concerns. Historical/ archaelogical evidence (e.g., Marchak, 1976) points out that human beings' struggle to cope with their Ultimate Concerns is indeed very ancient, and from time to time there have "...emerged the many worlds of myths, rituals and religions that provide traditional answers to questions of what it means to be human" (Smith, 1978, p.1055). These traditional answers may be conceived as 'Tailored Ideologies' which represent a 'package deal' so to speak, offering a cognitive framework covering most of the Ultimate Concerns of individuals. The most salient feature of a Tailored Ideology is that it tends to be **institutionalized**, I.e., it has a group of followers who are committed to it to various degrees. Buddhism and Hinduism, two of the world's religions, as well as some 'spiritual' groups like the Rajnishis and the Moonies, are some of the examples of the various 'package deals' available to

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individuals. These Tailored ideologies are generally well-defined and individuals strongly committed to it often form an _organized_ _social_ _unit_, sharing many common beliefs and behavioral practices within the group.

On the other hand, some individuals' Ultimate Concerns may lead them to construct their own ideology. This individually constructed ideology may be conceived as the **'Privatized'** ideology, to borrow the term from Luckman (1967). He speculated that there possibly exist many 'invisible privatized religions', which may combine various political, religious and philosophical thoughts. Constructing one's own well-defined ideology precludes the need to join any group following a particular Tailored ideology.

Religion: A Tailored Ideology

Religion is a multidimensional phenomenon and needs multiple approaches to study it (Wuthnow, 1979). One major dimension of it is its cognitive dimension which is the focus of the present study. Accordingly, religion may be conceived of as a global interpretational framework. The theological premises of a religious ideology provide a metaphysical foundation for a cognitive construction of how and why the world is as it is and what is one's place in it. Acceptance of these premises results in a well-structured OKS. As a consequence, not only does every discrete experience find a meaningful interpretation, but individuals experience a sense of "meaningful existence in the

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universe".

However, at this point it must be acknowledged that,

1. Religion does not have monopoly in defining the World and the Self. (Machalek and Martin, 1976), let alone any particular religion. Yinger (1969) has provided empirical evidence supporting the conclusion that people may employ a much greater array of beliefs and behaviors to cope with their Ultimate Concerns.

2. Individuals can function quite adequately without following any ideological framework. (Bibby, 1983).

3. Not all individuals reach a conclusive and meaningful understanding of themselves (Marcia, 1976).

4. Individuals are not always clear whether they legitimately 'belong' to any group that follows a Tailored ideology.

5. The degree of 'commitment' to any well-defined ideology, whether Tailored or Privatized, varies from individual to individual.

With these considerations, the distribution of individuals in terms of the degree of their commitment to an ideology can be divided roughly into 3 broad categories.

I)The Committed (to a Tailored or Privatized ideology).

II)The Partially-Committed.

III)The Non-Committed.

The following diagram illustrates this.

Figure 2
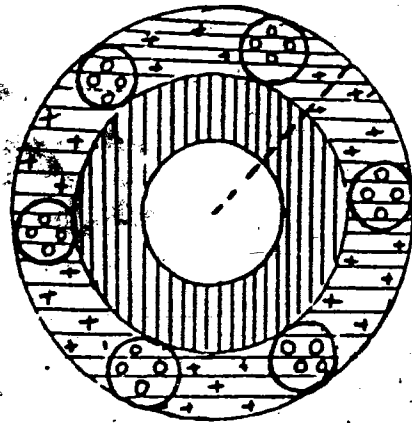
----- Continuum of Commitment

◯ The Non-Committed

◍ The Partially Committed

⊖ The Committed

⬭ Tailored Ideologies

$+_{+}^{+}$ Privatized Ideologies

I)The Committed: (The Outer ring)

These individuals are at the upper extreme on the continuum of commitment. Their OKS is highly structured, reflecting their definitive understanding of the world and themselves. These individuals may have made their commitment to either i) a Tailored ideology or ii) to their own Privatized ideology.

i)Individuals commited to a Tailored ideology are the ones who have accepted the 'package deal' of a well-defined ideology and are likely to have joined a group of individuals who share this ideology. They are also likely to accept a label designated by the group to describe themselves; e.g., The ISKCON,[1] popularly known as the Hare Krishna group.

ii)Individuals committed to their own Privatized ideology are the ones whose well-defined ideology may have combined some

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[1] The International Society for Krishna Consciousness.

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political, some religious and some philosophical thoughts into a highly structured personal philosophy of life.

II) The Partially-Committed: (The Middle ring)

These individuals are at the middle range on the continuum of commitment. The structure of their OKS is only partially defined, reflecting that their commitment to a Tailored or Personalized ideology is only partial. E.g., an individual may accept some tenets of Christian ideology, and may attend church services once in a while, but may not accept a label such as "Christian" to describe himself or herself, indicating that his or her commitment to the Christian ideology is only partial. Most ideological organizations may be expected to have a continuum of committed individuals, i.e. a group of strongly committed followers as well as the moderately committed individuals.

III) The Non-Committed: (The Inner ring)

These individuals are at the lower extreme on the continuum of commitment. Their OKS is very loosely structured. They have made no commitment to any ideological framework, whether Tailored or Privatized. As Bibby (1983) pointed out, individuals can function quite adequately without having any ideological framework. It may be speculated that the questions on "Meaning of life" and "Real Self" etc., either do not concern them, or if they do concern them, they consider them to be irrelevant. In any case, they have refrained from making any commitment to any ideology. Whether these individuals will remain Non-Committed

all their lives is another issue.

The Scope of the present study

Reviews of the empirical literature, from both the psychological and sociological perspective (Suls, 1982; Zurcher, 1977; Epstein, in press) reveal that except for the "ideal self", dimensions other than the current self have not been emphasized. There have been a variety of efforts to empirically explore individuals' understanding of the future in terms of "Time Orientation" (Goldrich, 1967), "Delayed Gratification" (e.g., Davids and Sidman, 1962), and "Future Time Perspective" (Lessing, 1968; Teahan, 1958; DeVolder and Lens, 1982; Wallace, 1956), but *this work has rarely been concerned with how the future is represented in the Self-structure*. The few empirical findings (McGuire and Padawer-Singer, 1976; Rosenberg, 1979) on what people believe to be possible for them, suggest that individuals do have access to this type of self-knowledge and are willing to report it. However, these studies have focussed exclusively on "positive" possibilities only. Markus and Nurius's model of Possible Selves is novel, in that it not only deals with the self-knowledge pertaining to future, but also deals with the "negative" possibilities.

Based on the Markus and Nurius's conceptualization of Possible Selves, the present study aims to investigate the relevance of Future Selves (FSs) to other Knowledge Structures representing individuals' global understanding about the nature

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of the world in terms of a religious ideology. Studies on the various aspects of religion (Allport, 1950; Batson and Ventis, 1943; Lensky, 1963; Pruyser, 1960; 1970; Sadler, Jr., 1970; Wuthnow, 1979) have generally observed that religion affects the central perception about oneself and life itself. It is likely to change the notion of who you are and whether your life has any meaning and purpose. It would be interesting then to investigate the nature of FSs of individuals who make a strong commitment to the Tailored ideology of a religion which provides a hypothetical but definitive understanding about 'life'.

The reason to turn to religious ideology in relation to FSs is that religion tends to offer perspectives on what is in store for humanity in the future. Consider for example, the Christian notions of *The Day of Judgement, Heaven and Hell*, the Islamic notions of *Kayamat, Zannat and Zahannum*, 2 and Hinduism's notions of *Swarga and Naraka*. 3 Psychologically, the purpose of these grand perspectives may be to help individuals cope with their Ultimate Concern about their uncertain future.

The major issue addressed in the present study is: What is the relationship between FSs and a well-structured OKS modeled after a Tailored ideology? The following aspects of FSs are proposed as related to commitment to a Tailored Ideology.

The Range of FSs: The sheer number of FSs, representing various

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2These three terms refer to the Islamic parallels of the three Christian notions.

3These two terms are the Hindu parallels of the notions of Heaven and Hell.

"possibilities" for one to become in the future, is likely to be limited as a consequence of arriving at a definitive understanding about the Self. Sharing this global conception with fellow members of the group may not only clarify what may be expected of the Self, but may also lend credibility to these ideas. This is especially more likely where the group meets frequently to discuss *the* goal of human life within the framework of their Tailored OKS. The alternative goals being de-emphasized, various diverse and conflicting FSs are likely to be rejected from the cognitive framework of the Self. This would also avoid any confusion that is likely to arise from costructing too many alternative scenarios for the future.

In contrast, by remaining non-committed to any ideology, one may feel free to conceptualize a wider range of "possibilities", since there is no cognitive boundary to limit this vision. **Bias towards Positive FSs:** One of the major features (rather the "attraction") of most of the Tailored ideologies is their promise of a "Positive outcome" for the followers. The non-acknowledgement of the negative future possibilities is accomplished by providing a frame of reference such that the views of life-events are 'filtered' through hope and optimism. Consequently, whatever be the state of the Present Self, the vision of the FSs is indeed very positive for the followers of the Tailored ideology. As mentioned earlier, often the view of the future is extended to the 'other worldly' domain; e.g., heaven. It is likely then that these individuals would

conceptualize more of the Positive FSs and less of the Negative FSs.

In contrast, the non-committed individuals are more likely to consider a relatively greater number of the Negative FSs since they may not have a positively biased frame of reference. **Attainability of FSs:** The positive bias of the Tailored ideology may also operate on how attainable one may consider one's FSs. The Positive bias coupled with the other-worldly orientation which characterizes most of the Tailored ideologies is likely to render the Positive FSs far more attainable and the Negative FSs less attainable. This attainability aspect may also be related to the 'kinds' of FSs which are constructed within the frame of the Tailored OKS. For example, when other-worldly FSs are constructed, they are almost 'guaranteed' within the Tailored ideology, and hence they are viewed as more attainable.

In contrast, for the non-committed individuals who have neither any "Tailored" propositions as to the kinds of the FSs, nor any "guaranteed" attainability of their FSs, no such pattern may be expected.

Shared construction of FSs: Individuals who share a Tailored ideology as a group are likely to share a large number of their FSs as well. Therefore, within such a group, uniformity in the kinds and in the various dimensions of the FSs may be expected. For each group which shares a particular Tailored ideology, there may be greater similarity in FSs within the group, but these FSs may be quite distinct across the groups which may be

following different Tailored ideologies.

In contrast, the non-committed individuals are likely to conceptualize more diverse FSs, since they do not follow any definitive ideology, nor do they form any distinct homogenous group.

Evangelicalism

One example of a Tailored ideology is Evangelicalism which is the focus of the present study. As a religion, Evangelicalism has many social and psychological dimensions. However, its cognitive dimension is of special interest for the present study. The theological system of Evangelicalism is based on certain propositions and assumptions about the nature of human life and the world, resulting in a comprehensive explanatory framework. Within this framework, the world is perceived as a universe of typical things, events, relations, and above all, the Self as a central part of this coherent pattern. It indeed serves as a global context of meaning for an individual's phenomenal world by forming an internalized matrix of interpretation, i.e., as an OKS. Being institutionalized, individuals committed to it form a well-structured social unit. Members meet regularly, participate in their church-related activities and share their 'spiritual' experiences. The group labels, 'the New-born Christian' and 'the Evangelical' by which the members describe themselves has a special significance for them. (For a summary of the major premises of Evangelicalism,

see Appendix A)

Although any other Tailored ideology (e.g., some other religion) could equally serve the purpose of our research, the reasons for choosing Evangelicalism are as follows:
1)Being well-researched, a lot of data on the empirical and demographical research on Evangelicalism are available (For reviews of these research, see Wuthnow, 1979, Hunter, 1983). This provides rich sources for drawing research hypotheses.
2)Being based on a clearly defined set of theological tenets, touching every aspect of an individual's life (Hunter,1983), Evangelicalism provides a relatively unambiguous ground for empirical investigation.
3)Like the most Tailored ideologies, Evangelicalism not only deals with the past and the present concerns of individuals, but also provides a clear conception of 'what might be' in the future for the individual. Evangelicalism is therefore expected to have a bearing on an individual's conception of his or her FSs.
4)Being 'Institutionalized', Evangelicalism warrants investigation of the extent of the 'shared construction' of FSs among its members.

Hunter (1983), in his research on Evangelicalism's "dynamics of cognitive bargains" (p.73-102) proposes that Evangelicalism offers a very distinct and positive view of the Self, especially in terms of its future, no matter how distant. In an analysis of what he terms *Psychological Christocentrism* he concludes that

Evangelicalism touches every dimension of the life of its followers by making the Bible relevant to the intra-psychic queries of the modern man.

It follows then that if Evangelicalism indeed functions as an OKS, its relevance ought to be observed empirically on other Knowledge Structures. Will an individual strongly committed to Evangelicalism construct some components of the Self and the Views of the World somewhat differently than an individual not so committed? Will the fact of their acceptance of the Tailored ideology of Evangelicalism and joining of a group of the like-minded individuals who all accept their group-designated label to describe themselves, relate to their FSs? If so, then which aspects of their FSs may be expected to be related to their commitment to Evangelicalism? More specifically, if a group of individuals models their OKS after the Tailored ideology of Evangelicalism, and if an OKS is related to the Self, then what may be expected of these individuals' FSs?

In the following, specific ways in which Evangelicalism might be related to FSs are indicated. Although the study is focussed on the Tailored ideology of Evangelicalism, the following aspects of FSs may be equally relevant to most of the Tailored ideologies to which individuals may be strongly committed, "sharing" them as a group.

1. The number of FSs: A strong conviction as to 'what might be' is expected to limit the number of FSs of the Evangelical.

2. The number of Positive and Negative FSs: After reviewing the

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Evangelical literature in detail, Hunter (1983) proposed
that Evangelicalism offers a very distinct and a positive
view of the Self, especially in terms of its future, no
matter how distant. In view of this proposition, the
Evangelical is expected to view a large proportion of his or
her FSs as Positive.

3. The Polarization of the Positive and the Negative FSs:
   Hunter (1983) has further proposed that Evangelicalism
   offers "cognitive clarity" and a well-defined set of
   normative codes, i.e., what is "proper" and what is "not
   proper". With this consideration, the Evangelical is
   expected to conceptualize his or her Positive FSs as very
   Positive and the Negative FSs as very Negative.

4. The attainability of FSs: The emphasis of Evangelicalism on
   'Hope' and 'Optimism' is expected to lead the Evangelical to
   view his or her Positive FSs as more attainable, i.e., more
   likely than the Negative FSs.

5. Uniformity of the FSs: A uniformity in the various aspects
   of FSs is expected among the Evangelical as a group, since
   they share Evangelicalism as an OKS.

Choosing the comparison group

Drawing valid conclusions from research about the nature of
the Evangelicals' FSs necessitates an appropriate comparison
with FSs of the non-Evangelicals. The criterion group, the
Evangelical, can be well-defined in terms of a strong commitment
to the tenets of Evangelicalism, but the consideration of the

distribution of commitment discussed earlier precludes any
simplistic designation of the comparison group; e.g., "The
Non-Evangelical".

Considering the aim of the research, the following seems to
be the most appropriate comparison.

Figure 3

- - - - Continuum of Commitment

The Evangelicals
(The Criterion Group)

The Non-Committed
(The Comparison Group)
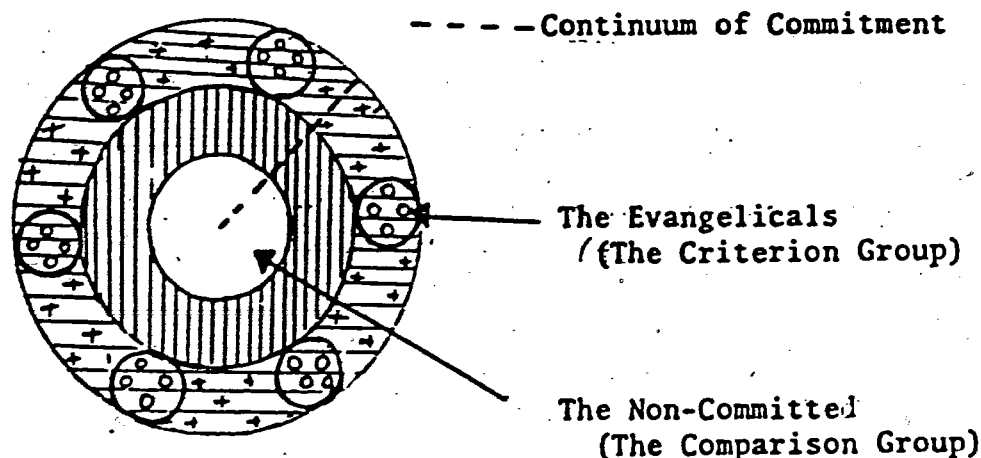
Accordingly, the criterion and the comparison group may be
described as follows:

The criterion group is comprised of the Evangelicals, who
have arrived at some definitive understanding and convictions
about human life and the nature of the world. They have a
well-structured OKS in their cognitive repertoire, sharing it
with their fellow members, all of whom accept the label "the
Evangelical" and "New-born Christian" to describe themselves.

The comparison group is comprised of the Non-Committed
individuals; i.e., individuals who are not only
non-Evangelicals, but are not following any other ideology
either, whether Tailored or Privatized. They have not made any

definitive conclusions about the nature of human life and the world, and have not constructed any well-structured OKS.

Choosing these groups for comparison would make the implications of the findings quite general, i.e., any other Tailored ideology may be substituted in place of Evangelicalism to study how it is related to the FSs of its committed followers, in contrast. to the FSs of individuals who make no commitment to any ideology.

The Hypotheses

Between the two groups of individuals categorized as the Evangelical and Non-Committed, the following relationships are expected.

1. The mean number of FSs of the Evangelical group is lower than that of the Non-Committed group.

2. The mean number of the Positive FSs of the Evangelical group is higher than that of the Non-Committed group.

3. The mean number of the Negative FSs of the Evangelical group is lower than that of the Non-Committed group.

4. The mean "Desirability" rating of Positive FSs of the Evangelical group is higher than that of the Non-Committed group.

5. The mean "Desirability" rating of Negative FSs of the Evangelical group is lower that that of the Non-committed group.

6. The mean of the "Likely" ratings of the Positive FSs of the

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Evangeliclal group is higher than that of the Non-Committed group.

7. The mean of the "Likely" rating of the Negative FSs of the Evangelical group is lower than that of the Non-Committed group.

8. There is a greater uniformity in the ratings of the FSs of the Evangelical group than in those of the Non-Committed group.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were 60 White, single, North American students attending Simon Fraser University or the University of British Columbia. The age of the subjects ranged from 21 years to 29 years, with a mean of 24 years. Thirty subjects formed the criterion group of the Evangelical and 30 subjects formed the comparison group of the Non-committed. Within each group, there were equal numbers of males and females. Selection of these subjects is detailed in the *Procedure* section.

The Questionnaire

Four self-report measures were developed for this study. These were as follows:

1. The Spontaneous FSs:

    This was an open-ended measure with a format of 'What are your Future Selves?'

2. The FS Appraisal:

    To develop this measure, the methodology of Markus and Nurius's (in press) Possible Selves study was followed. A pilot study was conducted in which 42 students other than the ones who participated in the main study, were asked to simply list their FSs. Eighteen of these 42 students were

self-designated Evangelicals, and 24 students were
non-Evangelicals who had indicated that they did not have
any preference for any particular ideological system. On the
basis of this, two lists of 22 FSs each were devised. One
list contained FSs which were given by the Evangelicals, but
not by any of the non-Evangelicals. The other list contained
FSs which were given by the non-Evangelicals, but not by any
of the Evangelicals. Four independent judges, two
Evangelicals and two non-Evangelicals then authenticated
these lists. Within each list, there were equal numbers of
Positive and Negative FSs. Also equally represented in each
list were the domains of Life-style, Personality and
Occupation. (For the categorized list of these FSs, see
Appendix B). These two lists were then combined into a final
list in which all 44 FSs were listed in a random order.

Each of these FSs were to be appraised on the following
three dimensions.
i) The *Thought about* dimension: Whether the subject ever
considers it as his or her FS.
ii) The *Desirability* dimension: How much the subject would
like to be described by it in future, i.e., how Positive or
Negative it is for the subject.
iii) The '*Likely*' dimension: How likely it is to describe the
subject in future.

The first dimension required a categorical response of
YES or NO, whereas the other two dimensions were to be

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evaluated on a rating scale of 1 to 7 (1 =low value, 7 =high value).

3. The Ultimate Concerns:

This measure was adapted from Machalak and Martin (1976). The items represented some of the universal Ultimate Concerns originally tapped by Yinger (1970) in a series of empirical investigations. This measure also included questions relating to the kinds and degrees of ideological commitment (see Appendix C).

4. The Tenets of Evangelicalism:

This measure contained 9 major tenets of Evangelicalism. It was developed from three sources. i) Hunter's (1983) research on Evangelicalism. ii) Sasaki's (1979) review and analysis of various official surveys (including Gallup Polls) on various aspects of religious commitment. iii) Personal consultations with some of the Evangelical leaders, in charge of their church-related youth activities.

To ensure the authenticity of the 9 tenets of Evangelicalism thus selected, two Evangelical leaders were asked to judge whether these tenets properly represented the ideology of Evangelicalism. On the basis of their judgement, the final format was prepared (see Appndix D).

These four measures were combined into one questionnaire with appropriate instructions (The Subject Instructions are provided in the Appendix E)

Procedure

An Overview:

To obtain data from 30 Evangelicals and 30 Non-Committed subjects, questionnaires containing the 4 measures were distributed to 116 subjects. Each subject was approached individually and was requested to fill out the questionnaire. To ensure the anonymity of the subjects, questionnaires were to be returned in sealed envelopes to one of the three volunteers who helped in collecting the data.

Thirty-six of these subjects were self-designated Evangelicals, and the remaining 80 were selected randomly from various locations on the campus. (Details of locating the groups follow in the next paragraph.) Based on their responses to the measures of The Ultimate Concerns and The Tenets of Evangelicalism, subjects were categorized as the Evangelicals, the Committed-Others (i.e., those following ideologies other than that of Evangelicalism), the Partially-Committed and the Non-Committed. Only the data of subjects categorized as the Evangelical and the Non-Committed were used for the main study. This resulted in a 2 x 2 (Group X Sex) factorial design with 15 subjects in each cell.

Locating the Groups:

i)The Evangelicals: To obtain the data from 30 Evangelicals, two alternatives were considered. Either collect all the data from an unselected subject population and then sort out those subjects as Evangelicals who agree to most of the tenets of

Evangelicalism. _Or_, directly approach the on-campus organized groups of self-designated Evangelicals.

To test the feasibility of the first alternative, a pilot study was conducted in which the distribution of Evangelicalism among university students was tapped. In this study, 62 randomly selected students, other than the ones who participated in the main study, were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with the 9 tenets of Evangelicalism. It was observed that only 9.7 % of the students could be designated as Evangelicals. This finding implied that a fairly large sample would be needed to identify 30 Evangelicals required for the main study. It was therefore decided to choose the second alternative, details of which follow.

With the help of a volunteer who was a member of an Evangelical organization, and who was actively involved in coordinating various church-related youth activities on campus (the Inter-varsity Christian Fellowship), data were obtained from 36 Evangelicals. However, to ensure objectivity in designating a subject as an Evangelical, _an objective criterion of 'agreement to at least 8 of the 9 tenets of Evangelicalism'_ was set. Accordingly, 30 Evangelicals were identified. The remaining 6 self-designated Evangelicals agreed to fewer than 8 tenets of Evangelicalism. They were categorized as Partially-Committed Evangelicals and were eliminated from the main study.

ii) **The Non-Committed:** To obtain data from 30 Non-Committed

subjects, questionnaires were distributed to 80 students. These subjects were selected randomly from various locations on campus, including the on-campus student residences.

To designate subjects as Non-committed, three objective criteria were set, all of which had to be fulfilled. These were as follows :

1. Zero or low degree of commitment to Evangelicalism. This was operationalized as 'Disagreement with at least 7 tenets of Evangelicalism, listed in the questionnaire, "the 9-Tenets of Evangelicalism".

<div align="center">and</div>

2. Zero or low degree of commitment to any ideological organization. This was operationalized as a response of 'NO' to the following question in the Ultimate Concerns questionnaire.

"In order to deal with your Ultimate Concerns, (*These Ultimate Concerns were mentioned in the previous question*). do you participate in, or belong to any group or organization, be it Political (e.g., a Political party), Religious/Spiritual (e.g., A particular Church, a Buddhist Meditaion group, a Bible Study group), and/or Humanitarian (e.g., Red Cross, Peace Movement)?"

Or,

If the response was 'YES', then the degree of commitment to the ideological organization had to be very low, which was operationalized as a rating of >5 on a scale of 1 to 7, to

the following question in the Ultimate Concerns questionnaire,

"Do you ever consider leaving it?" (1 =rarely, 7 =very often).

and

3. Not following any well-formulated ideology (other than Evangelicalism), whether Privatized or Tailored. This was operationalized as a response of 'Disagree' to the following statement in the Ultimate Concerns questionnare,

"My philosophy of life is similar to that of a particular Religion/Ideology/Personality. (Name, if any ___)."

Or,

If the response was 'YES' and a name was mentioned, the structure of the ideology had to be very loosely defined, which was operationalized as a rating of <3 on a scale of 1 to 7 to the following statement in the Ultimate Concerns questionniare.

"I have clearly defined my Philosophy of life' (1 =totally diasagree, 7 =totally agree).

Accordingly, out of the 80 randomly selected subjects, 30 Non-Committed subjects were identified. Of the remaining 50 subjects, 12 (15 %) were Partially-Committed Evangelicals, 8 (10 %) were committed in various degrees to ideologies other than that of Evangelicalism. Ten subjects (12.5 %) did not return the questionnaires. Another 13 subjects (16.3 %), returned them incomplete, with a note expressing their unwillingness to

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respond to questions which they considered 'too personal', 'unethical' and 'offensive'. Implications of these responses are discussed in the *Discussion* section). There were 7 subjects (8.8 %) in this group who turned out to be Evangelicals. Their data could have been included among the group of the Evangelicals. However, having obtained the data from the required number of the Evangelicals, and to maintain equal cell-sizes in the factorial design, these data were not used.

Analysis of the data

Part I: Analysis of the specific dimensions of the FSs:

For each subject the following values were calculated, and each of these values were analysed within the 2 X 2 factorial model. (Table 1)

1. The number of the *Thought about FSs*; i.e., the number of YES responses on the Thought about dimension to the 44 pre-listed FSs, plus the subject's Spontaneous FSs which were not included in the 44 pre-listed FSs.

2. The number of the *Likely FSs*; i.e., the number of the pre-listed and the Spontaneous FSs rated >1 on the Likely scale.

3. The percentage of the *Thought About Positive FSs*; i.e., the percentage of the Thought About FSs rated >4 on the Desirability scale.

4. The percentage of the *Likely Positive FSs*; i.e., the percentage of the Likely FSs rated >4 on the Desirability scale.

5. The percentage of the *Thought about Negative FSs*, i.e., the
    percentage of the Thought about FSs rated <4 on the
    Desirability scale.

6. The percentage of the *Likely Negative FSs*; i.e., the
    percentage of the Likely FSs rated <4 on the Desirability
    scale.

7. The mean Likely rating of the Thought about Positive FSs.

8. The mean Likely rating of the Thought about Negative FSs.

9. The mean Likely rating of the Likely Positive FSs

10. The mean Likely rating of the Likely Negative FSs.

11. The mean Desirability rating of the Thought about Positive
    FSs.

12. The mean Desirability rating of the Thought about Negative
    FSs.

13. The mean Desirability rating of the Likely Positive FSs.

14. The mean Desirability rating of the Likely Negative FSs.

15. The percentage of the Extreme Desirability ratings; i.e., 1s
    and 7s, for the Thought about FSs, and the Likely FSs.

16. The difference between the mean Desirability rating of the
    Thought About Positive FSs, and the mean Desirability rating
    of the Thought About Negative FSs.

The group means, standard deviations, and the F and p values are
provided in Table 1.

Part II: An overall analysis of the 44 pre-listed FSs:

1. The observed frequency of the Evangelicals and the
    Non-committed in terms of their responses (YES/NO) to the
    Thought About dimension were analysed using the Chi-square

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test. The complete frequency tables and the Chi-square values are provided in the Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5.

2. Within the 2 X 2 (Group X Sex) factorial model, each of the pre-listed 44 FSs was analysed on the the Desirability dimension. The group means, standard deviations, and the F and p values are provided in Appendix F.

3. Each of the 44 pre-listed FSs was analysed within the 2-way factorial model, on the Likely dimension. The group means, standard deviations, and the F and p values are provided in Appendix G.

4. The group variances of the Desirability ratings and the Likely ratings on each of the 44 pre-listed FSs were analysed by using the Levene's test of equality of variances. The F and p values obtained by this test are provided in Appendix F and Appendix G.

Part III: Analysis of the Ultimate Concerns:

Within the 2 X 2 (Group X Sex) factorial model, the following values, obtained for each subject were analysed.

1. The total score on the Ultimate Concerns.

2. The ratings on the five specific Ultimate Concerns.

3. The rating on the 'extent of Life Satisfaction'.

The group means, standard deviations, and the F and p values are provided in Table 6.

RESULTS

Part I: The specific dimensions of FSs:

The 2-way Analysis of Variance of the 16 variables representing 16 specific dimensions of FSs resulted in the main effect for Group for 9 variables (see Figure 6 and Table 1). There was an interaction effect on other 2 variables; the number of the Thought About FSs, and the number of the Likely FSs (see Figures 4 and 5). No significant main effect or interaction effect was observed for the remaining 6 variables.

Part II: Analysis of the pre-listed 44 FSs:

(i) The *Thought About* dimension: A Chi-square analysis of the observed frequency of the Evangelicals and the Non-Committed, in terms of their response to the question, 'Do you consider this to be your Future Self? YES/NO', indicated a significant main effect of Group on 19 of the 44 pre-listed FSs (Table 5). Ten of these FSs were responded with 'YES' by a significantly larger number of the Evangelicals (Table 2) than by the Non-Committed, and other 9 FSs were responded with 'YES' by a significantly larger number of the Non-Committed than by the Evangelicals (Table 3).

(ii) The *Desirability* dimension: The 2-way Analysis of Variance for the Desirability ratings, i.e., responses to the question, "How much would you <u>like</u> to be descibed by this?", indicated a significant main effect of Group for 33 of the 44 pre-listed FSs

(Appendix F). Twelve of these FSs were rated significantly higher by the Evangelicals (see FSs listed 1 to 12 in Appendix F) and the other 21 FSs were rated significantly higher by the Non-Committed (see FSs listed 13 to 33 in Appendix F).

In addition to the main effect of Group, main effect of Sex was observed on 3 of these 33 FSs. FSs, 'Married more than once' and 'Divorced' were rated slightly but significantly higher by the female subjects than by the male subjects (See FSs listed 17 and 27 in Appendix F). Whereas the FS, 'Able to manipulate people' was rated higher by the male subjects (See FS listed 20 in Appendix F).

No significant interaction effect was observed on any of the 44 FSs.

(iii) The *Likely* dimension of FSs: The 2-way Analysis of Variance for the Likely ratings, i.e., responses to the question, "How underline likely is this to describe you in future?", indicated a significant main effect of Group for 28 of the 44 pre-listed FSs (Appendix G). The Evangelicals rated 10 of these FSs significantly higher than the Non-Committed (see FSs listed 1 to 10 in Appendix G), and the Non-Committed rated the other 18 FSs significantly higher than the Evangelicals (see FSs listed 11 to 28 in Appendix G).

In addition to the main effect of Group, main effect of Sex was observed on 1 of these 28 FSs. The FS 'Wear fashionable clothes' was rated significantly higher by the female subjects

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than by the male subjects (see FS listed 16 in Appendix G).
There was no significant interaction effect on any of the 44
FSs.

(iv) The uniformity in the FSs ratings: The Levene's test of
equality of variances indicated the group variances in the
Desirability ratings to be significantly low for the
Evangelicals on 26 out of the 44 pre-listed FSs. On the Likely
ratings, the group variances were significantly low on 20 of the
44 pre-listed FSs. Thus, of the total 88 values of group
variances tested, 52.27 % were significantly low in the case of
the Evangelicals.

Part III: The Ultimate Concerns:

The 2-way Analysis of Variance indicated no significant group
differences on the mean total number of the Ultimate concerns
and on the mean ratings for 3 of the 5 specific Ultimate
Concerns (Table 6). The main effect of Group was observed on two
Specific Ultimate concerns. 'Man-to-God Relationship' was rated
significantly higher by the Evangelicals, whereas 'Knowing my
REAL self' was rated significantly higher by the Non-Committed
(see Table 6, and Figures 7 and 8).

Table 1

The specific Dimensions of Future Selves: Means, Standard deviations, F and p values from the 2-way ANOVA for the 16 variables representing the specific dimensions of Future Selves

EVM= Evangelical Males
EVF= Evangelical Females
NCM= Non-Committed Males
NCF= Non-Committed Females
* significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level
All the F values are for the
Group Main effect, except when
specified by 'x' to indicate
Group X Sex Interaction.

VARIABLE	GROUP	MEAN	SD
1) The mean number of Thought About FS	EVM:	30.467	8.526
	EVF:	23.600	6.957
	NCM:	26.533	6.556
	NCF:	26.733	6.158
F(1, 56) = 3.71, p = 0.0592 * x			
2) The mean number of Likely FS	EVM:	34.867	6.599
	EVF:	28.467	5.866
	NCM:	33.800	6.549
	NCF:	34.867	5.902
F(1, 56) = 5.37, p = 0.0241 * x			
3) The mean percentage of the Thought About Positive FS	EVM:	65.891	13.032
	EVF:	64.566	14.354
	NCM:	61.760	7.396
	NCF:	58.372	18.198
F(1, 56) = 2.10, p = 0.1529			
4) The mean percentage of the Likely Positive FS	EVM:	55.578	9.021
	EVF:	54.898	10.042
	NCM:	48.845	11.050
	NCF:	46.999	18.287
F(1, 56) = 5.03, p = 0.0289 *			
5) The mean percentage of the Thought About Negative FS	EVM:	29.603	14.633
	EVF:	28.653	14.989
	NCM:	29.751	9.119
	NCF:	26.407	14.595
F(1, 56) = 0.09, p = 0.7654			
6) The mean percentage of the Likely Negative FS	EVM:	40.134	10.134
	EVF:	37.037	11.501
	NCM:	41.813	11.216
	NCF:	41.856	14.446
F(1, 56) = 1.11, p = 0.2960			
7) The mean Desirability rating of the Thought About Positive FS	EVM:	6.624	0.322
	EVF:	6.465	0.328
	NCM:	5.959	0.329
	NCF:	6.217	0.293
F(1, 56) = 16.91, p = 0.0001 ****			
8) The mean Desirability rating of the Likely Positive FS	EVM:	6.377	0.254
	EVF:	6.393	0.311
	NCM:	5.845	0.452
	NCF:	6.221	0.306
F(1, 56) = 16.20, p = 0.0002 ***			

Table 1 (Continued)

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
9) The mean Desirability rating of the Thought About Negative FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	1.343 1.347 1.771 1.753	0.476 0.304 0.450 0.446
$F(1, 56) = 14.50$, $p = 0.0003$ ***			
10) The mean Desirability rating of the Likely Negative FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	1.412 1.445 1.701 1.668	0.200 0.233 0.385 0.324
$F(1, 56) = 11.26$, $p = 0.0014$ ***			
11) The mean percentage of the Extreme Desirability rating of the Thought About FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	60.120 53.545 39.174 40.179	14.908 21.628 19.952 17.102
$F(1, 56) = 12.79$, $p = 0.0007$ ***			
12) The mean Likely rating of the Thought About Positive FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	5.279 5.379 4.890 5.021	0.486 0.609 0.702 0.589
$F(1, 56) = 0.0196$ *			
13) The mean Likely rating of the Likely Positive FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	5.361 5.367 4.996 5.091	0.450 0.657 0.575 0.607
$F(1, 56) = 4.63$, $p = 0.0358$ *			
14) The mean difference between the Mean Desirability rating of the Thought About Positive FS, and the mean Desirability rating of the Thought About Negative FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	5.081 5.119 4.188 4.464	0.567 0.484 0.652 0.574
$F(1, 56) = 27.44$, $p = 0.0000$ ****			
15) The mean Likely rating of the Thought About Negative FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	2.783 2.762 2.883 2.945	1.022 0.832 0.748 0.720
$F(1, 56) = 0.43$, $p = 0.5157$			
16) The mean Likely rating of the Likely Negative FS	EVM: EVF: NCM: NCF:	2.936 2.792 2.931 2.795	0.463 0.451 0.406 0.530
$F(1, 56) = 0.00$, $p = 0.9918$			

Figure 4

The Mean Number of the "Thought About" Future Selves'
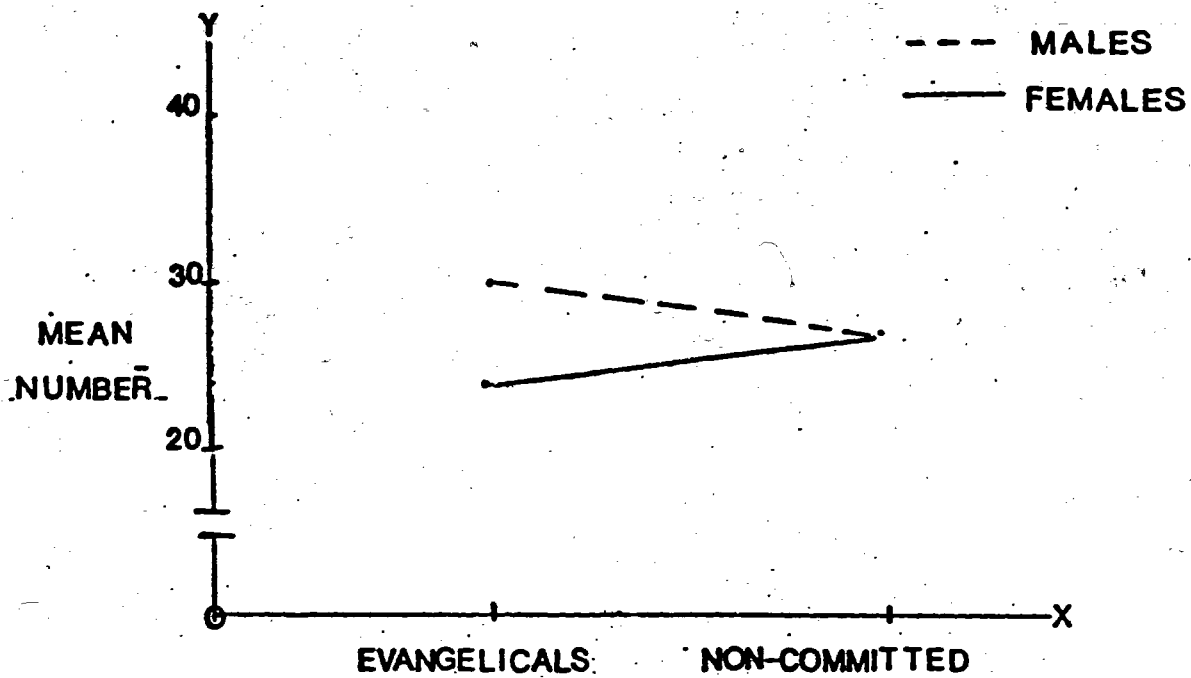
Figure 5

The Mean Number of the "Likely" Future Selves
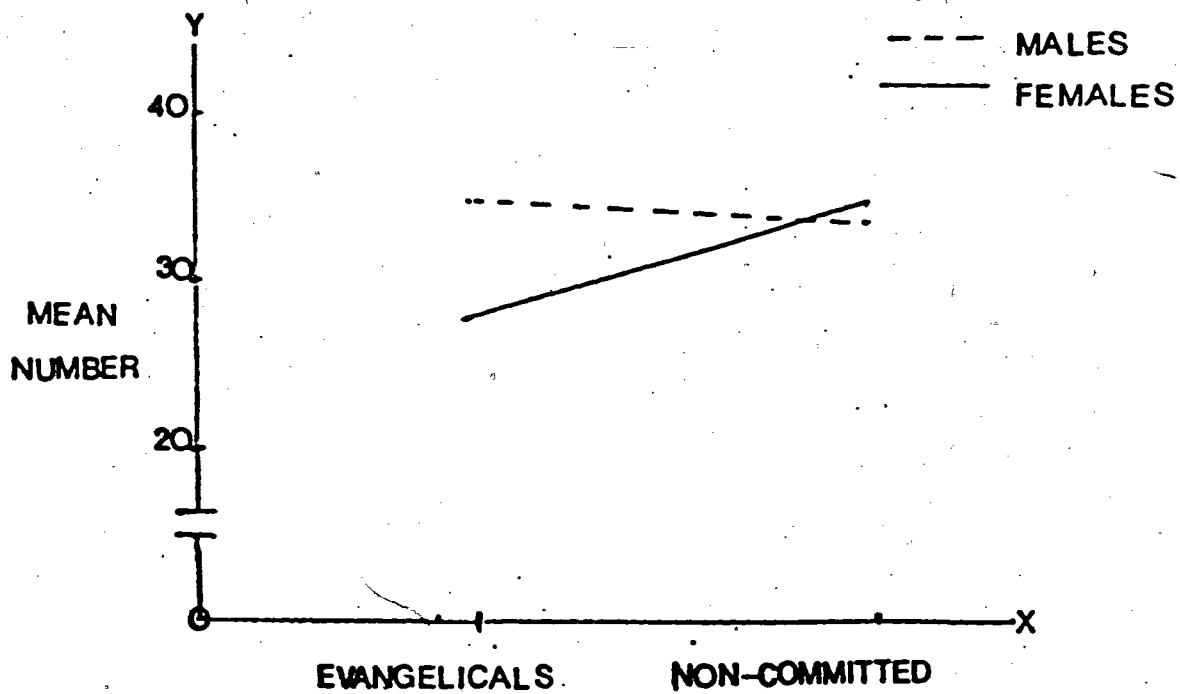
Figure 6

The Mean Percentage of the Extreme Desirability
Ratings (1s and 7s) of the Future Selves
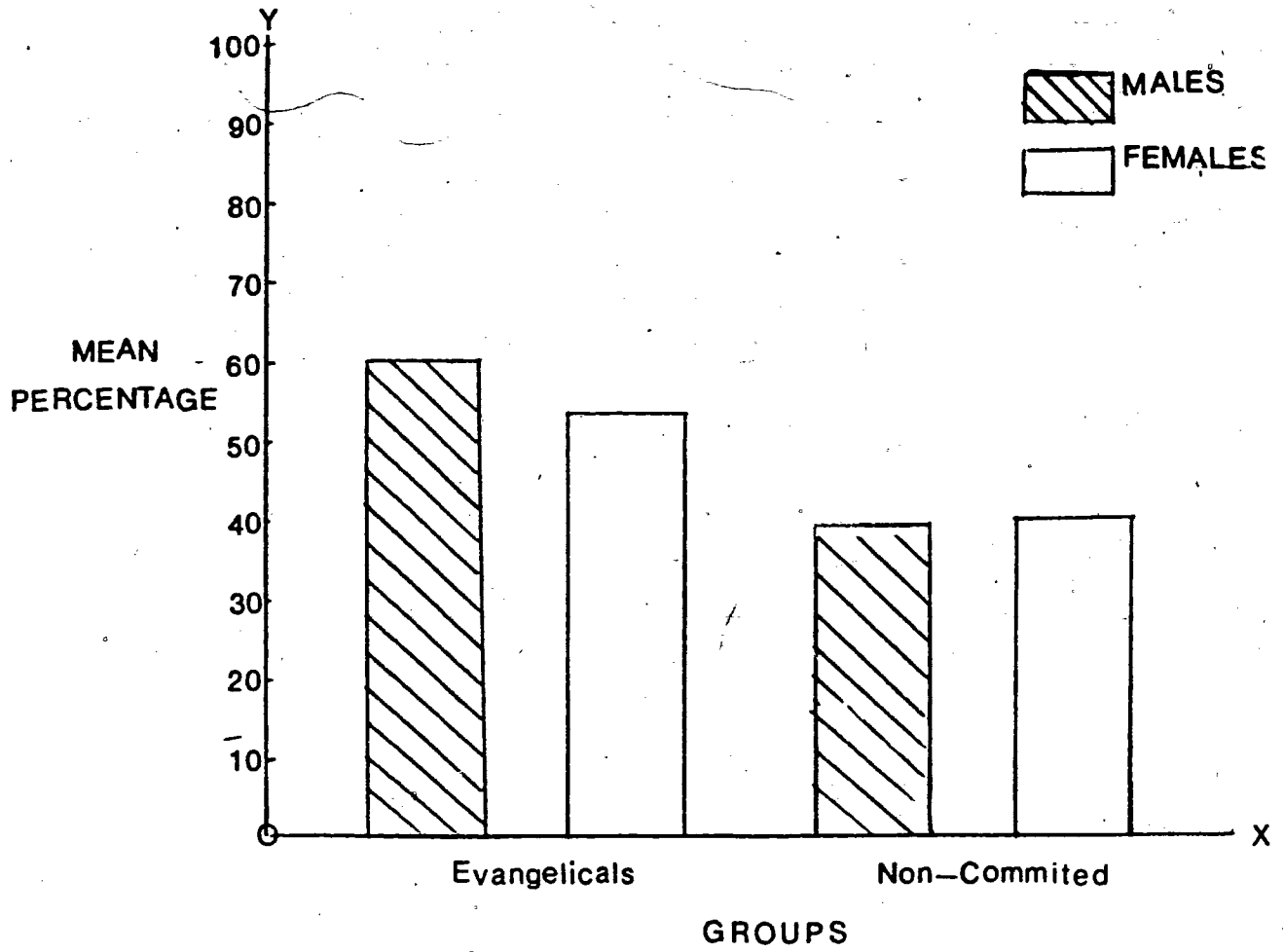
Table 2

The Thought About Future Selves of the Evangelicals

FUTURE SELF	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS WHO RESPONDED 'YES'		
	EV.	NC.	
1) Full time ministry	25	5	****
2) Communicate God's message effectively to others	30	11	****
3) Having a Christian family	29	14	****
4) Seeker of god	30	12	****
5) Eternity with Christ	29	14	****
6) Christ-like	29	12	****
7) Go to heaven	28	20	**
8) Active church-involvement	29	11	****
9) Bible-scholar	19	2	****
10) Fail to reach my spiritual goals	22	10	**

Table 3

The Thought About Future Selves of the Non-Committed

FUTURE SELF	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS WHO RESPONDED 'YES'		
	EV.	NC.	
1) 'Living together' with a spouse	7	27	****
2) Win a big lottery	15	24	**
3) Able to manipulate people	10	21	**
4) Sexy	16	23	*
5) Glamorous Media Personality	4	18	**
6) Have an 'affair'	5	19	**
7) Have a very attractive body	17	25	*
8) Occasionally getting drunk with friends	8	22	**
9) Divorced	1	15	****

Table 4

The Observed Frequency of the Evangelicals and the Non-Committed in Terms of Their Response to the Question, "Do you ever consider this Future Self as your Future Self? YES/NO."

FUTURE SELF: OWN A BIG LUXURIOUS HOUSE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	18	22	40
no	12	8	20
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: POLICE OFFICER

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	4	6	10
no	26	24	50
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: BECOME A CELEBRITY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	18	18	36
no	12	12	24
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: 'LIVING TOGETHER' WITH A SPOUSE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	7	27	34
no	23	3	26
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: WORKAHOLIC

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	13	15	28
no	17	15	32
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: FULL TIME MINISTRY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	23	5	28
no	7	25	32
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	5	7	12
no	25	23	48
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: COMMUNICATE GOD'S MESSAGE EFFECTIVELY TO OTHERS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	30	11	41
no	0	19	19
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: FRIENDS/FAMILY DISAPPROVING MY BELIEFS & VALUES

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	16	12	28
no	14	18	32
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: HAVING A CHRISTIAN FAMILY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	29	14	43
no	1	16	17
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF LACK OF SELF-CONTROL/ DISCIPLINE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	16	14	30
no	14	16	30
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: TURN AWAY FROM GOD

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	11	7	18
no	19	23	42
TOTAL	30	30	60

Table 4 (Continued)

FUTURE SELF: WIN A BIG LOTTERY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	15	24	39
no	15	6	21
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: SUCCOMB TO WORLDLY TEMPTATIONS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	19	20	39
no	11	10	21
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: WEAR FASHIONABLE CLOTHES

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	19	23	42
no	11	7	18
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: VICTIM OF AIDS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	0	2	2
no	30	28	58
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: DIVORCED

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	1	15	16
no	29	15	44
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: REMAIN SINGLE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	17	12	29
no	13	18	31
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: ABLE TO MANIPULATE PEOPLE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	10	21	31
no	20	9	29
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: SEEKER OF GOD

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	30	12	42
no	0	18	18
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: IMPOTENT/NON-ORGASMIC

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	3	3	6
no	27	27	54
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: LONELY/DEPRESSED

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	13	14	27
no	17	16	33
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: SUFFER A NERVOUS BREAKDOWN

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	7	7	14
no	23	23	46
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: NOT BEING HELPFUL TO OTHERS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	7	7	14
no	23	23	46
TOTAL	30	30	60

Table 4 (Continued)

** FUTURE SELF: FAIL TO REACH MY SPIRITUAL GOALS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	22	10	32
no	8	20	28
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: ETERNITY WITH CHRIST

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	29	14	43
no	1	16	17
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: FALL FROM GOD'S GRACE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	6	7	13
no	24	23	47
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: MARRY A FAMOUS PERSONALITY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	8	12	20
no	22	18	40
TOTAL	30	30	60

* FUTURE SELF: SEXY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	16	23	39
no	14	7	21
TOTAL	30	30	60

*** FUTURE SELF: OCCASIONALLY GETTING DRUNK WITH FRIENDS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	8	22	30
no	22	8	30
TOTAL	30	30	60

*** FUTURE SELF: GLAMOROUS MEDIA PERSONALITY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	4	18	22
no	26	12	38
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: GOOD EXAMPLE TO OTHERS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	28	28	56
no	2	2	4
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: FASHION-MODEL

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	4	7	11
no	26	23	49
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: WORK AMONG COMMON/POOR PEOPLE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	26	23	49
no	4	7	11
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: CHRIST-LIKE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	29	12	41
no	1	18	19
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: GAY/LESBIAN

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	4	7	11
no	26	23	49
TOTAL	30	30	60

Table 4 (Continued)

** FUTURE SELF: GO TO HEAVEN

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	28	20	48
no	2	10	12
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: END UP IN A JAIL

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	5	3	8
no	25	27	52
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: ACTIVE CHURCH INVOLVEMENT

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	29	11	40
no	1	19	20
TOTAL	30	30	60

* FUTURE SELF: HAVE A VERY ATTRACTIVE BODY

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	17	25	42
no	13	5	18
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: NOT BEING USEFUL IN LIFE

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	7	6	13
no	23	24	47
TOTAL	30	30	60

FUTURE SELF: DEVOTED IN MY DUTY TOWARDS OTHERS

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	28	25	53
no	2	5	7
TOTAL	30	30	60

*** FUTURE SELF: HAVE AN 'AFFAIR'

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	5	19	24
no	25	11	36
TOTAL	30	30	60

**** FUTURE SELF: BIBLE-SCHOLAR

YN	GROUP		
	EV	NC	TOTAL
yes	19	2	21
no	11	28	39
TOTAL	30	30	60

Table 5

The Chi-square Statistic for the "Thought About" Future Selves

FUTURE SELF	PEARSON CHISQUARE VALUE	D.F.	PROB
OWN A BIG LUXURIOUS HOUSE	1.200	1	0.2733
POLICE OFFICER	.480	1	0.4884
BECOME A CELEBRITY	0.000	1	1.0000
'LIVING TOGETHER' WITH A SPOUSE	27.149	1	0.0 ****
WORKAHOLIC	0.268	1	0.6048
FULL TIME MINISTRY	21.696	1	0.0000 ****
MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE	0.417	1	0.5186
COMMUNICATE GOD'S MESSAGE EFFECTIVELY TO OTHERS	27.805	1	0.0 ****
FRIENDS & FAMILY DISAPPROVING MY BELIEFS & VALUES	1.C71	1	0.3006
HAVING A CHRISTIAN FAMILY	18.468	1	0.0000 ****
LACK OF SELF-CONTROL/ DISCIPLINE	.267	1	0.6056
TURN AWAY FROM GOD	0.2589	1	0.2598
WIN A BIG LOTTERY	5.934	1	0.0149 **
WEAR FASHIONABLE CLOTHES	1.270	1	0.2598
DIVORCED	16.705	1	0.0000 ****
ABLE TO MANIPULATE PEOPLE	8.076	1	0.0045 **
IMPOTENT/NON-ORGASMIC	0.000	1	1.0000
SUFFER A NERVOUS BREAKDOWN	0.000	1	1.0000
SUCCOMB TO WORLDLY TEMPTATIONS	0.073	1	0.7866
VICTIM OF AIDS	2.069	1	0.1503
REMAIN SINGLE	1.669	1	0.1965
SEEKER OF GOD	25.714	1	0.0 ****
LONELY/DEPRESSED	0.067	1	0.7952

Table 5 (Continued)

FUTURE SELF	PEARSON CHISQUARE VALUE	D.F.	PROB
NOT BEING HELPFUL TO OTHERS	0.000	1	1.0000
FAIL TO REACH MY SPIRITUAL GOALS	9.849	1	0.0019 **
ETERNITY WITH CHRIST	18.488	1	0.0000 ****
FALL FROM GOD'S GRACE	0.098	1	0.7540
MARRY A FAMOUS PERSONALITY	1.200	1	0.2733
SEXY	3.590	1	0.0581 *
OCCASIONALLY GETTING DRUNK WITH FRIENDS	13.087	1	0.0003 ***
GLAMOROUS MEDIA PERSONALITY	14.087	1	0.0002 ***
GOOD EXAMPLE TO OTHERS	0.000	1	1.0000
FASHION-MODEL	1.002	1	0.3169
WORK AMONG COMMON/POOR PEOPLE	1.002	1	0.3169
CHRIST-LIKE	22.259	1	0.0000 ****
GAY/LESBIAN	1.002	1	0.3169
GO TO HEAVEN	6.667	1	0.0098 **
ACTIVE CHURCH-INVOLVEMENT	24.300	1	0.0000 ****
NOT BEING USEFUL IN LIFE	0.098	1	0.7540
HAVE AN 'AFFAIR'	13.6111	1	0.0002 ***
END UP IN A JAIL	0.577	1	0.4475
HAVE AN ATTRACTIVE BODY	5.079	1	0.0242 *
DEVOTED IN MY DUTY TOWARDS OTHERS	1.456	1	0.2276
BIBLE SCHOLAR	22.278	1	0.0000 ****

Table 6

Means, Standard Deviations, F and p values from the 2-way ANOVA for the ratings of the Ultimate Concerns

EVM=Evangelical Males
EVF= Evangelical Females
NCM= Non-Committed Males
NCF= Non-Committed Females
* significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level
All the F values are for Group
Main effect, except when
specified by 'x' to indicate
Group X Sex Interaction

VARIABLE	GROUP	MEAN	SD
1) The mean total score of the Ultimate Concerns	EVM:	27.000	5.988
	EVF:	28.933	7.146
	NCM:	27.667	7.724
	NCF:	28.333	5.080
$F(1, 56) = 0.00$, $p = 0.9847$			
2) Concern 1: Man-to-God relationship	EVM:	6.333	0.724
	EVF:	6.667	0.816
	NCM:	4.333	2.160
	NCF:	4.267	1.907
$F(1, 56) = 30.58$, $p = 0.0000$ ****			
3) Concern 2: Life-after-death	EVM:	4.267	1.438
	EVF:	5.133	1.506
	NCM:	4.800	2.111
	NCF:	4.000	1.309
$F(1, 56) = 3.97$, $p = 0.0513$ * x			
4) Concern 3: Knowing my 'Real' self	EVM:	4.333	1.345
	EVF:	4.867	1.642
	NCM:	5.800	1.082
	NCF:	6.067	1.100
$F(1, 56) = 15.49$, $p = 0.0002$ ***			
5) Concern 4: Meaning & Pupose of life	EVM:	4.800	1.474
	EVF:	5.467	1.767
	NCM:	5.333	1.633
	NCF:	5.800	1.424
$F(1, 56) = 1.13$, $p = 0.2928$			
6) Concern 5: World Problems	EVM:	4.867	1.807
	EVF:	4.733	1.223
	NCM:	5.267	1.223
	NCF:	5.200	1.424
$F(1, 56) = 1.36$, $p = 0.2485$			
7) The mean rating on 'Life Satisfaction'	EVM:	5.467	1.060
	EVF:	5.800	0.775
	NCM:	4.867	1.246
	NCF:	5.067	1.033
$F(1, 56) = 6.14$, $p = 0.0163$ **			

Figure 7 .

The Mean Rating on the specific Concern :

"Man-to-God Relationship"
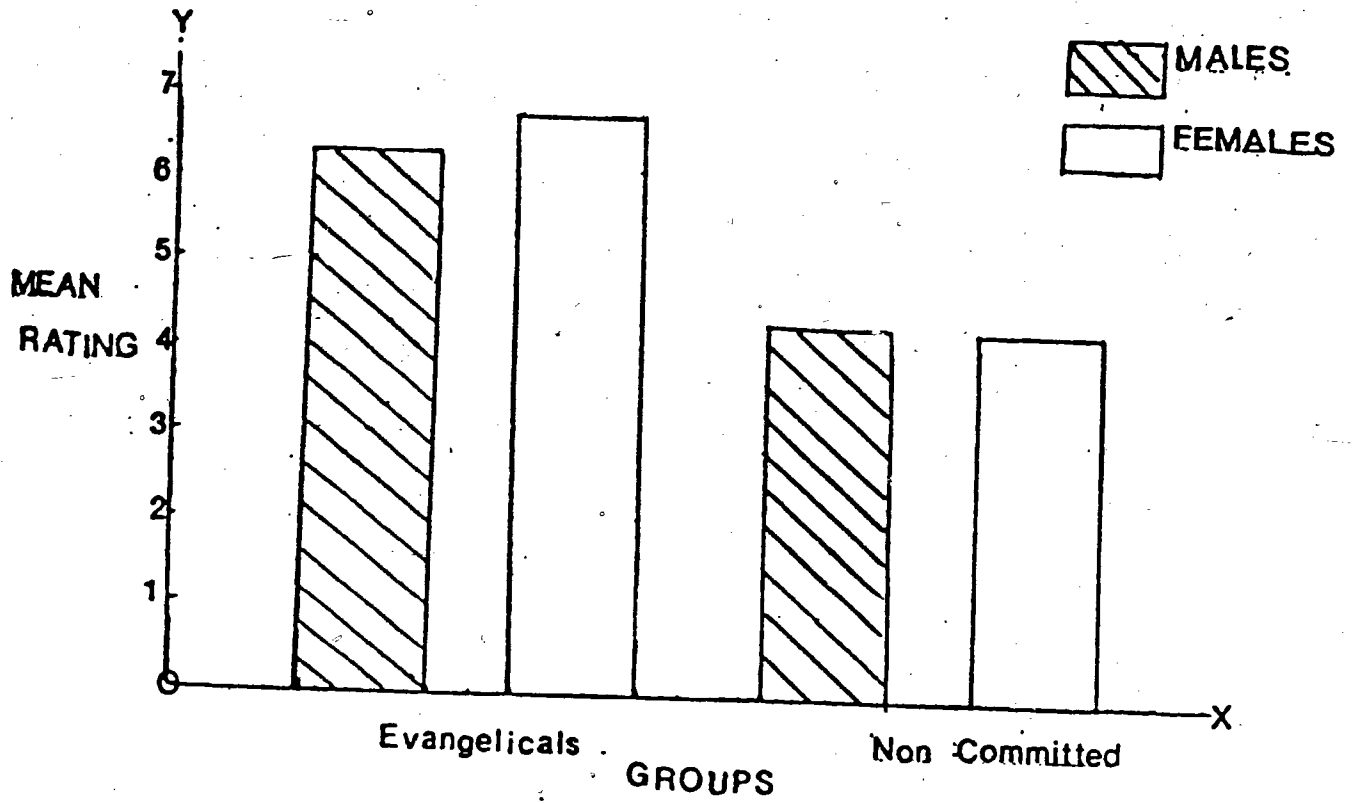
Figure 8

The Mean Rating on the Specific Concern :

"Knowing my REAL Self"
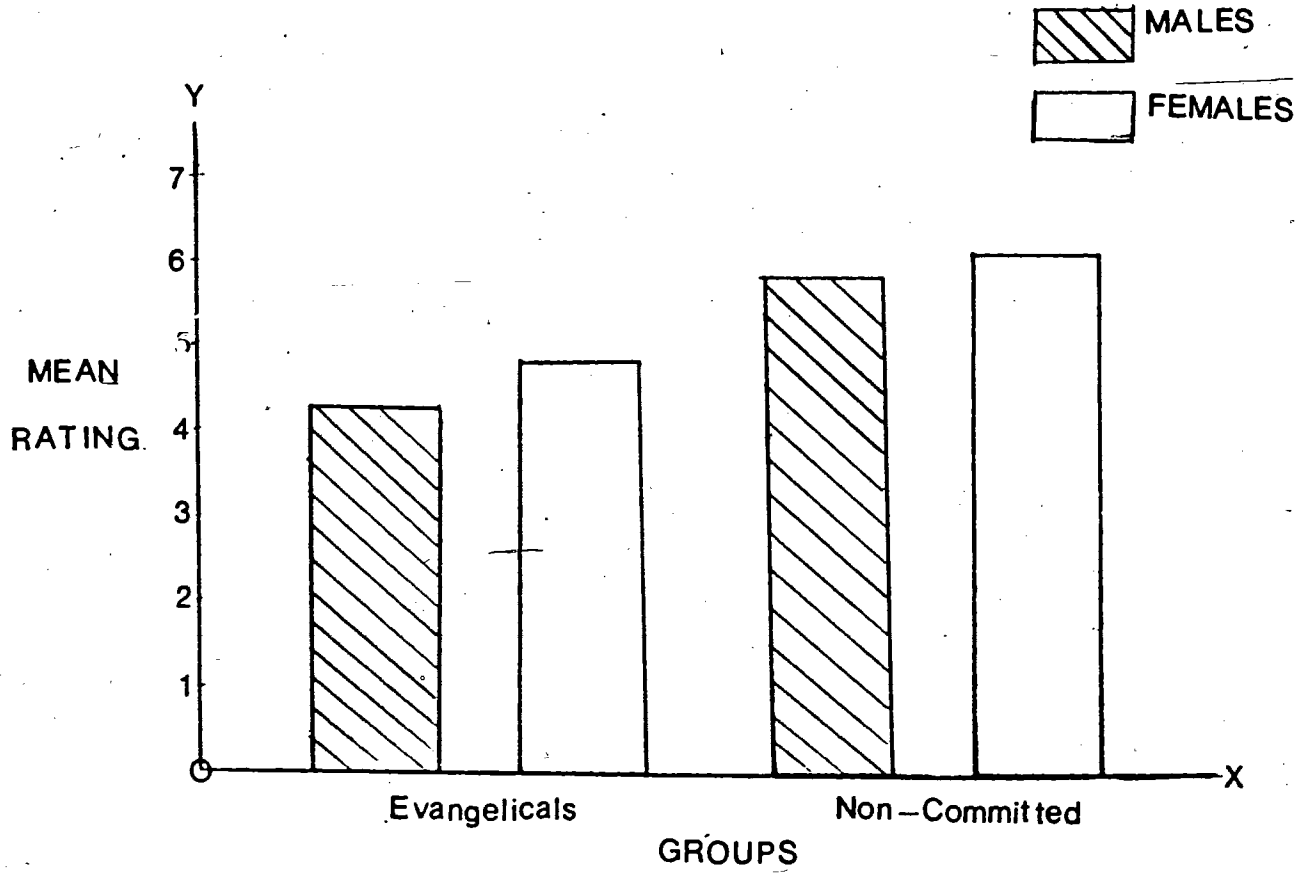
DISCUSSION

The number of Future Selves

It was proposed in the first hypothesis that *the mean number of FSs of the Evangelicals would be lower than that of the Non-Committed.* It may be recalled that the the mean number of FSs were computed for two dimensions of FSs, i) the "Thought About" and ii) the "Likely" dimensions. The number of the "Thought About" FSs was the total number of the 'YES' responses to the 44 pre-listed FSs, plus the number of the Spontaneous FSs listed by the subject, not covered by the 44 pre-listed FSs. The number of the Likely FSs was the total number of the FSs rated >1 on the 7 point Likely scale representing 'how Likely' was each of the 44 pre-listed FS, plus the number of the similarly rated each of the Spontaneous FSs not covered by the 44 pre-listed FSs.

This hypothesis was only partially supported, because as shown in Table 1, there is no significant difference between the Evangelicals and the Non-Committed in their mean number of the Thought About FSs and in their mean number of the Likely FSs. However, there was a significant interaction effect between the two variables, Group and Sex, for the mean number of the Thought About and the Likely FSs, which is illustrated in Figure 4 and 5. Of the four groups, the Evangelical males, the Evangelical females, the Non-Committed males, and the Non-Committed females,

the highest mean number of the Thought About FSs and the Likely FSs were conceived by the Evangelical males and the lowest mean number of the Thought About and the Likely FSs were conceived by the Evangelical females. The Non-Committed males and females conceived almost an equal number of FSs.

The finding of the interaction effect raises the question as to why the Evangelical women should conceive a significantly lower number of future possibilities for themselves, compared to the Evangelical men and the Non-Committed men and women. The answer to this question may be found within the context of the Biblical world-view, which is said to prescribe a restrictive role for women, mainly as an obedient wife and a devoted mother. In comparison, men's positions are not so restricted. As a consequence, the Evangelical women are likely to have conceptualized their FSs within this limited role-prescription.

The present study offers some evidence suggesting that the Evangelical women's FSs are centered around the domain of 'family' more than the Evangelical men's FSs. An analysis of the Spontaneous FSs listed by the subjects showed that about 26% of the total 119 Spontaneous FSs of the Evangelical females, related to the domain of family. (E.g., "married" "mother" "grandmother", "homemaker"). Whereas for the Evangelical males, the family-related FSs were only 11% of the total 138 Spontaneous FSs. It would be interesting to investigate this matter more directly in future research.

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Though the specific hypothesis was not well supported, the finding that Evangelicalism's differential role prescription is reflected in the significantly different number of the FSs conceived by the Evangelical men and the Evangelical women, however, provides a partial support for the general theoretical proposition that the construction of FSs is influenced by the OKS.

The first hypothesis about the number of FSs stems from the general assumption that, having accepted a Tailored ideology, the Evangelicals would be, on the whole, restricted in the range of alternatives constructed for their future, compared with the Non-Committed, who have presumably not accepted such a Tailored ideology. The findings indicate that such restrictions are placed on the Evangelical women, but not on the other observed groups. The lack of support of the hypothesis on the whole might be attributed either to unclear theorizing, or to an inappropriate methodology. Theoretically speaking, the lack of clarity follows from the difficulty in specifying whether there is restriction on the sheer number of alternative FSs, or on the types of FSs. The 'types' of FSs might mean types of occupations (e.g., blue collar vs. white collar), or categories of social roles (e.g., family vs. some other institutional roles). It may be that an ideology directs the cognitive constructions in favor of certain types of FSs as in the case of the Evangelical women favoring family role-restricted FSs. But it is perhaps wrong to expect the number of FSs to be limited by a Tailored ideology.

Methodologically, the study depended on counting numbers of FSs rather than on grouping FSs into types. The necessary refinement in theory and method to circumvent these problems should be the task for future research.

(2) The number of Positive Future Selves

The second hypothesis proposed that *the mean number of the Positive FSs would be higher for the Evangelical group than for the Non-Committed.* It may be emphasized that the 44 pre-listed FSs contained an equal number of generally liked and disliked FSs (Appendix B), based on a pilot study. In order not to impose this pre-judgement about the Positive and Negative FSs on the subjects' responses, a Positive FS was operationalized as a rating of >4 on a 7 point Desirability scale, indicating how much the subject would <u>like</u> to be described by the listed FS. Thus a Positive FS would imply how *desirable* it is for the subject. The mean percentage of the Positive FSs for each subject was calculated from the total number of his or her Thought About FSs, as well as from the total number of his or her Likely FSs. This resulted in two categories, i) the Thought About Positive FSs and ii) the Likely Positive FSs.

The finding that the mean percentage of the Likely Positive FSs of the Evangelical group is significantly higher, supports the hypothesis. The Evangelicals have indeed viewed a larger proportion of their Likely FSs as Positive. As indicated in the review of the literature, a major feature of a Tailored ideology

is a vision of a positive outcome for the future of the followers. The ideology of Evangelicalism does not *guarantee* that the followers would never have negative experiences in the future, but it provides a slanted interpretational framework, such that the conceptions of the Self and the World are *viewed* more positively. Consider for instance the very title of a book of an Evangelical author (Eggnum, 1979), <u>Feeling</u> <u>Good</u> <u>about</u> <u>Feeling</u> <u>Bad</u> . The message is not that one will not feel bad, but that 'feeling bad' is to be *interpreted* as 'feeling good'. The positively biased guidelines for interpreting the Self is aptly summed up by another Evangelical author, Shuller (1979) in his message to the Evangelicals, "You can become a wonderful and a worthwhile person. Simply affirm, 'Christ lives within me, so I am a wonderful person'" (p.108). Equipped with such guidelines, the OKS of Evangelicalism indeed provides a positive view of the Likely FSs to its followers. This is shown to be the case in so far as the Evangelicals have expressed more Positive FSs than the Non-Committed.

It may be useful to emphasize the role of an ideology as an interpretational framework, because what it makes possible is not so much as to actually realize positive outcomes, but to allow one to see certain outcomes as positive. The findings indicate that what is conceived as very desirable by one group is conceived as equally undesirable by another group. For example, the Likely FSs, "Active church involvement", "Full time ministry", and "Christ-like" are viewed as very Positive FSs by

the Evangelicals, but the same are viewed as Negative FSs by the Non-Committed (see FSs listed 10, 1, and 8 in Appendix F). On the other hand, the Likely FSs, "Win a big lottery", "Living together with a spouse" (as in common law), "Own a big luxurious house" are conceived as Positive FSs by the Non-Committed, whereas the same FSs are conceived as Negative FSs by the Evangelicals (see FSs listed 18, 15 and 13 in Appendix F). As Schutz (1962) had pointed out in his paper 'On multiple realities', human beings are liable to think differently on the same issues, and once having done so, they can choose which way of thinking to adhere to and which to disregard. Indeed 'one group's meat may be another group's poison'! An ideology provides not merely a framework for constructing the nature of the world, but also guidelines for evaluating objects and events in the world. Ideologies shape not only beliefs, but also values, likes and dislikes.

However it needs to be noted here that the hypothesis was not supported in the case of the mean percentage of the Thought About Positive FSs. This finding requires a closer examination of the difference between the Thought About FSs and the Likely FSs. Both were based on two different questions which were asked about the pre-listed 44 FSs. The Thought About FSs were based on the question, "Do you *ever consider* this as one of your FSs?", whereas the Likely FSs were based on the question, "How *likely* is this to describe you in future?" On the Thought About dimension, both the groups have reported almost an equal number

of FSs (Table 2 and 3), and except for one negative FS reported by each group, all the remaining FSs are Positive. This indicates that perhaps there is a *general* bias in considering Positive FSs as one's FSs on this dimension. In their pioneering study on the Possible Selves, Markus and Nurius have observed that given an opportunity to think about one's future, individuals tend to conceive more of Positive possibilities for themselves. It is inconceiveable that many individuals would consider their future possibilities as; e.g., a "Victim of AIDS" or as "Suffering a nervous breakdown". Therefore, when asked directly if they considered these Negative FSs as their FSs, most subjects have responded with NO. Whereas when asked the same question about FSs like "Good example to others", "Devoted in my duty towards others", most subjects have responded with YES, which is to be expected since these FSs are in general considered as desirable FSs. On the other hand, if individuals are asked if contracting AIDS or suffering nervous breakdown were their *Likely* FSs, some may say, "who knows, I *might* contract Aids". What is not thought about as a possible FS may be recognized as a likelihood when specifically asked. It would be reasonable therefore to expect significant differences in the Likely dimension but not in the Thought About dimension of FSs. The finding of a significant group difference on the Likely dimension may imply that the specific question about the likelihood of FSs has succeeded in crossing the general bias discussed earlier, and has tapped a broader domain of individuals' conceptions of their future, Positive as well as

Negative.

The significant finding that the Evangelicals have totally excluded many of the Negative possibilities from the view of their future, whereas the Non-Committed have not, is indicative of the role of an OKS in the construction of the FSs.

The mean number of the Negative FSs

This hypothesis proposed that *the mean number of the Negative FSs would be lower for the Evangelicals than for the Non-Committed*. Based on the operationalization of the Negative FSs as a rating of <4 on the 7 point Desirability scale, once again the mean percentage of the Negative FSs were calculated for the Thought About and for the Likely FSs.

The hypothesis was not supported in either category. The *general bias* discussed earlier may explain this finding. Pruyser (1963) has remarked that human beings are 'hoping beings'. People may differ in terms of the number of their Positive FSs, but it seeems to be a general cognitive strategy of human beings to envision a 'brighter future'. Taylor (1983) in his analysis of what he terms "illusions", pointed out the importance of "holding onto beliefs which have yet to yield any factual basis for support" (p. 1162). However this may seem contradictory to what was stated earlier about the Positive bias of the Evangelicals. The implication is not that only the Evangelicals possess a positively biased framework. It is acknowledged that human beings in general possess this cognitive bias.

Nevertheless, the Evangelicals seem to possess a larger share of this bias. The question that remains to be answered then is that if all the human beings have a positive cognitive bias, what special purpose may be served by accepting a Tailored ideology? The answer would require a deeper probe into the dynamics of a Tailored ideology. As was pointed out earlier, there may be many dimensions to a Tailored ideology. In the present study, only its cognitive dimension is focussed, within which it was observed that a Tailored ideology seems to heighten the positive cognitive bias of the followers. Perhaps a future investigation in this area may throw some light on the special dynamics of a Tailored ideology.

The Desirability rating of the Positive and Negative Future Selves

The fourth and the fifth hypotheses, respectively, proposed that *when compared with the Non-Committed, the Evangelicals would rate their Positive FSs as very desirable, and their Negative FSs as very undesirable.* These propositions were well supported by the observation that compared to the Non-Committed, the Evangelicals tended to choose more extreme ratings (1s and 7s) on the 7 point Desirability scale. (See Table 1, and Figure 6). This finding indicates the Evangelicals' stronger level of convictions as to what may be considered desirable and what may be considered undesirable for their future.

The observed polarization in the Desirability ratings of the Evangelicals is consonant with the theoretical propositions. The very purpose of the ideologies in general, and of Tailored ideologies in particular, is to foster a sense of certainty and remove ambiguity in the individuals' understanding of the world and themselves. As suggested, the OKS based on the ideology of Evangelicalism provides a very clearly defined set of normative guidelines, which leave no scope for doubts about who one is and what the world is like. Questions as to what is right and wrong which pose a great challenge to philosophers and laymen alike are made easy for the Evangelicals. A well-constructed OKS provides the Evangelicals with a framework whereby every bit of information falls into its pre-designated place. There is nothing that cannot find a clear and meaningful interpretation.

The issue that remains to be highlighted is, what do the Evangelicals' strong convictions as to 'what is desirable and what is not' imply? Do they indicate cognitive 'clarity'? Or, do they indicate cognitive 'dogmatism'? Indeed, the line dividing the two interpretations is very thin! With a view to retain a value-free research approach, this issue is left for the readers to decide.

The Likely rating of the Positive Future Selves

The sixth hypothesis proposed that *compared to the Non-Committed, the Evangelicals would consider their positive FSs more Likely* . This hypothesis was well-supported.

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Accordingly, to the Evangelicals, not only a larger proportion of their FSs seem desirable, but these desirable FSs seem very likely to materialize as well.

As suggested earlier, one of the reasons as to why many individuals are attracted to the Tailored ideologies is precisely that they promise that a positive future is indeed attainable. Evangelicalism clearly makes such promises. Consider for example the Evangelical leader Billy Graham's (1977) promise to the Evangelicals, *"Levels of living we have never attained await us. Peace, satisfaction and joy we have never experienced are available to us "* (p.33). By accepting these promises, the Evangelicals seem to be "moving ahead with possibility thinking" (Schuller, 1979).

It would be relevant to explore the nature of the promised future of the Evangelicals. The global framework of Evangelicalism not only makes the concerns about the future of life-in-this-world anxiety-free, but it also extends this promise to the 'other-worldly' domain. In the case of life-in-this-world, as suggested earlier in the discussion, Evangelicalism's positively biased framework creates a vision of a positive future. The promises like 'You can change your personality' (Bustanby, 1977) and 'You can prevent a nervous breakdown' (Caldwell, 1978) may fuse the Evangelicals with a sense of attainability of a positive future for themselves. The Evangelicalism's promise in the 'other-worldly' domain is well-reflected in the Evngelicals' FSs. Future Selves such as

"Go to Heaven", "Eternity with Christ", "Seeker of God", were all chosen by the Evangelicals to a much greater degree but not by the Non-committed. This finding indicates once again the relevance of the OKS to FSs.

The Likely rating of the Negative Future Selves

The seventh hypothesis proposed that *The mean Likely rating of the Negative FSs of the Evangelicals would be lower than that of the Non-Committed.* This hypothesis was not supported. There were no significant group differences in terms of how likely one considered one's Negative FSs.

It is an interesting finding that while compared to the Evangelicals, the Non-Committed had conceived a larger percentage of Negative FSs in the Likely dimension (i.e., "I *might become* this way"), these Negative FSs are not considered by them as likely to be realized . The Evangelicals and the Non-Committed have differed only in so far as how many of their Likely FSs they have considered as desirable, but not in whether what they have considered undesirable is more likely or less likely to be realized in future. The fact that the Non-Committed have at least acknowledged some of the negative future possibilities for themselves whereas the Evangelicals have not even acknowledged them, raises the issue whether the Evangelicals are being 'unrealistic', or 'optimistic'. Future research might investigate the specific role of Tailored ideologies in this context.

The last hypothesis proposed that *there would be a greater uniformity in the ratings of the FSs of the Evangelicals than in that of the Non-Committed.* This hypothesis was supported to the extent that 52.27 % of the total Desirability and the Likely ratings of the Evangelicals on the 44 pre-listed FSs had significantly lower variances than that of the Non-Committed. Although this percentage is not very high, it nevertheless points out that within an OKS based on a Tailored ideology, there are many 'shared constructions' as discussed in the Introduction section. It was observed that there was a total absence of variability in many of the ratings of the Evangelicals; e.g., on FSs "Divorced" and "Fall from God's grace". As explained earlier, sharing cognitive constructions within a group lends credibility to the individuals' interpretations of the Self and the World. The partial support of the theoretical proposition that a shared OKS would result in shared construction of the FSs is indicative of a trend. Perhaps future investigation might explain the nature of the shared cognitive constructions more specifically.

The Ultimate Concerns

In response to questions regarding the Ultimate Concerns (Appendix C), the Evangelicals expressed a significantly higher degree of concern about *Man-to-God Relationship* than the Non-Committed (Figure 7). While this is easy to understand, it

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is intriguing that the Evangelicals were much <u>less</u> concerned about *Knowing my REAL Self*, than the Non-committed (Figure 8). Nevertheless, this is understandable if we examine these responses in the light of the theory of OKS. The very purpose of an OKS, as suggested earlier, is to fill the gaps and remove uncertainties in one's understanding of the Self and the World. Evangelicalism seems to close the gaps in the follower's Self-structure by having the follower conceive himself or herself as a 'child of God'. This global 'hypothetical' proposition seems to have patched up the 'holes' in the cognitive map of the Self and the World for the Evangelicals.

By transferring the focus from the concern about the Self to the concern about God, Evangelicalism perhaps frees its followers not only from the existential anxieties but also from the uncertainties and fears about dealing with the limitations of the Self. Individuals no longer need to strive for, or compete to be anything like an 'all-American boy', since 'the relationship with God' is more important than the mundane concerns about the Self. Consider for example the following message for the Evangelicals, "God does not promise an escape from every fearful situation, but He does promise to walk with us through every experience. And we can be strong and unafraid because God is the strength of our life" (Nartamore, 1969, p. 44).

The Evangelicals' choice of the Thought About FSs, and their ratings on the Desirability and Likely dimensions reflect the ideology of Evangelicalism. e.g., FSs "Living together with a spouse" (as in common law), which is more or less an acceptable social pattern in the contemporary Western society, is considered as highly negative and unlikely in their own case by the Evangelicals. The strong Biblical taboo on premarital and extramarital relationships may offer an explanation for this. That this OKS is well-structured is indicated by the Evangelicals choosing to "swim against the tide", in that, what is considered as "fun" by their peers (e.g., "Occasionally getting drunk with friends") is not a part of the Evangelicals' chosen life-style.

On the Likely dimension, a large number of Negative FSs have been rated higher by the Non-Committed. Though the differences in the mean ratings of the two groups are not large, nevertheless they are significant enough to warrant an explanation. FSs "Divorced", "Gay/Lesbian", "Married more than once" "Have an Affair" are considered as Negative FSs by both the groups, but whereas the Evangelical group has considered them as least Likely, the Non-Committed have not. The Evangelicals have totally excluded the possibility of these Negative FSs from their Self-structure, but the Non-Committed have at least acknowledged to some extent that they *might* become

this way.

The sex differences observed on 4 of the 44 pre-listed FSs indicate some interesting socio-cultural influences on the Self-structure of men and women. FSs "Divorced" "Married more than once" and "Wear Fashionable clothes" were rated higher by the female subjects on the Desirability dimension. The increased divorce rate and hence the possibility of being married more than once have been incorporated in many contemporary women's Self-structure, but not in the men's Self-structure. This may be indicative of the different social pressures that operate on men and women. It may be that women, more than men, consider the issue of marriage as much more relevant and important in their lives. However it must also be noted that a higher rating of these FSs on the Deirability rating is not to be interpreted as women considering the possibilities of divorce and being married more than once as 'desirable'. But rather it indicates that these issues are not considered as highly undesirable by women. It is perhaps more indicative of the "tolerance" of these possibilities by women, compared to men. For men the FS "Able to manipulate people" seems to be more desirable and Likely. The social/cultural influences on the Self-stucture are thus highlighted by this finding.

Before concluding this report about the subjects who completed the questionnaire, it is necessary to to say something about those who were approached, but refused to complete the questionnaire. Interestingly, the questionnaire evoked very strong negative responses from 10 subjects, who returned the incomplete questionnaires with some negative comments. Their demographical background was not much different from that of the compliant subjects. To be specific, there were 7 males and 3 females among them. Eight were graduate students from the Science faculty and 2 were from the Arts faculty.

In the light of their written and verbal comments, it is possible to speculate on the reasons behind their negative responses. Such speculation is in order in view of the light it might throw on the issues under study. It is possible that the negative responses were elicited by different ideological backgrounds of these subjects:

i) The Committed other: These subjects might have been committed strongly to some other OKS, and therefore considered the questionnaire containing some items related to the Evangelical ideology as 'irrelevant'. For instance, one subject commented, "I am a scientist. God does not exist for me. If we believe that God will solve problems, we are a doomed society". This comment may be interpreted as indicative of a strong commitment to a Privatized ideology.

ii) The Partially committed: These subjects might be still

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searching for a framework, but have decided that it is certainly not Evangelicalism. Therefore the questionnaire seemed 'irrelevant', or even threatening, since it seemed to suggest that it is better for a person to think about Ultimate Concerns and make ideological commitment one way or another. One subject commented, "I believe there is 'something', but your questionnaire implies that anyone who enjoys life (including sex) is not a good person. I don't have to be a Christian to be a good person". Another subject's comment, "I am insulted by this questionnaire. I think this is a highly unethical study", seems to suggest, to borrow a concept from Marcia's (1976) theory of the Identity Stages, a *Moratorium*.

iii) Or, perhaps there is a category, of 'Anti-Evangelical' who were angered by the apparently 'leading' questions. One of the non-compliant subject angrily remarked, "Why can't these people accept the fact that life in heaven is a farce?" It may be that, for almost every Tailored ideology, there exists a group of individuals who are 'anti-that particular ideology'. Incidentally, there also seems to be individuals who are 'anti-psychology research', e.g., "This study reveals what is wrong with most of the psychological research. Sorry, but I would rather not complete".

CONCLUSION

The importance of the study of Future Selves is aptly captured in the following quotation.

"...As a matter of fact, a great many states of mind are adequately described only in terms of their futurity... people, it seems are busy leading their lives into future, whereas psychology, for the most part is busy tracing them into past" (Allport, 1955, p.51).

It is hoped that the present study will add to a greater understanding of the Self in terms of the future, the area of research which has remained neglected.

The study has attempted to establish that Future Selves, besides being individuals' cognitive reprsentations of fears and hopes as pointed out by Markus and Nurius, are reflections of individuals' comprehensive understanding of themselves and the world in a global context.

One promising area of future research seems to be the role of Future Selves as a cognitive-behavioral link. Can an individual's present behavior be explained and future behavior be predicted from his or her Future Selves? e.g. If an individual's Future Selves are "Christlike" & "work among common people", what kind of behavior may be expected of him or her?

Another question that follows from the study is, given that Ultimate Concerns are universal, why some individuals actively seek to reach at an all-encompassing answer to them, while some may either actively avoid dealing with them, or may decide to accept the cognitive gaps in the Self-structure as "a part of being a human"? Perhaps a future investigation may throw some light on this issue.

A summary of the major premises of Evangelicalism

The word Evangelicalism comes from a Greek root *Euangelion*, meaning 'the Good News'. For Evangelicals, Evangelicalism is the active proclamation and demonstration of the good news that Jesus Christ came into the world to save 'sinners' from the consequences of their sins, to reconcile them to God.

The major premises:

1. **Bible is perfect, inerrant and infallible** with regard to all spiritual, ethical and religious matters. It is the final authority in matters pertaining to spiritual and everyday aspects of life. It is the sole authoritative testimony to 'Absolute Truth'. No part of Bible is to be regarded as mythical, folklore or imagery.

2. **Devil is a personal being** who directly influences people to do wrong.

3. **The origin of man** began with God's creation of Adam and Eve after His own image.

4. **Personal relationship with God** must be established by receiving Jesus Christ as one's personal Lord and by asking Him to come into one's life. Mere Belief is not enough. One must be *Born Again*.

5. **Everyday life as an Evangelical** involves

    a. Continuous personal communion with God and reliance on the imminent strength and wisdom of God to meet the

demands and pressure of life in an *alien (sinful)* world.

b.   Regular Bible reading and praying.

c.   A meaningful involvement in the Church activities.

6.   A <u>Continual</u> <u>experience</u> of joy, happiness, peace of mind, satisfaction and optimism about life are the consequences of being a 'True believer'

Behaviorally, Evangelicals are characterized by an individuated and experiential orientation towards spiritual salvation.

(Based on Hunter, 1983)

The categaorization of the pre-listed 44 Future Selves

The Future Selves of the Evangelicals

Positive:

LIFE STYLE

1) Active church-involvement
2) Go to heaven
3) Having a Christian family
4) Communicate God's message
   effectively to others
5) Good example to others
6) Seeker of God
7) Devoted in my duty towards
   others
8) Eternity with Christ

PERSONALITY

1) Christ-like
2) Bible-scholar

OCCUPATION

1) Full time ministry
2) Work among common/
       poor people

Negative:

LIFE STYLE

1) Friends & family
   disapproving my beliefs
   & values
2) Turn away from God
3) Remain single
4) Fall from God's grace
5) Succomb to worldly temptations
6) Not being helpful to others
7) Fail to reach my spiritual goals
8) Not being useful in life

PERSONALITY

1) Lack of control/
              discipline
2) Workaholic

Positive:

LIFE STYLE

1) Become a celebrity.
2) 'Living together' with a
                spouse
3) Own a big luxurious house
4) Wear fashionable clothes
5) Win a big lottery
6) Glamorous media personality
7) Marry a famous personality
8) Maintain an attractive body

PERSONALITY

1) Sexy
2) Able to manipulate
                people

OCCUPATION

1) Police officer
2) Fashion-model

Negative:

LIFE STYLE

1) Have an 'affair'
2) Divorced
3) Victim of AIDS
4) Occasinally getting
    drunk with friends
5) Have an 'affair'
6) End up in a jail
7) Gay/Lesbian
8) Married more than once

PERSONALITY

1) Lonely/Depressed
2) Suffer a nervous
                breakdown

The Questionnaire: The Ultimate Concerns

I)The following are some issues which are the Ultimate Concerns
of some people. Indicate how often you think about them.
(Circle an appropriate number on the rating scale).

	RARELY						VERY OFTEN
1)Man-to-God relationship	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2)Life-after-death	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3)Knowing my 'Real' Self	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4)Meaning/purpose of life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5)World problems. e.g. Poverty, War, Fatal disasters, Exploitation etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6)Other issues that concern you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Specify (if any):.....

II) In order to deal with your Ultimate Concerns, do you participate in, or belong to, any group or organization, may it be <u>Political</u> (e.g. a Political party), <u>Religious/Spiritual</u> (e.g. a particular Church, a Buddhist Meditation group, a Bible study group) and/or <u>Humanitarian</u> (e.g. Red Cross, Peace Movement) ?

<u>YES/NO</u>

If your answer is YES, please describe the groups or organizations as specified below.

Name of the group or organization.	Major aims	Do you ever consider leaving it? (Circle a number on the scale) RARELY ⟷ VERY OFTEN
1)		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2)		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3)		1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4)		1 2 3 4 5 6 7

III)In dealing with the Ultimate Concerns, some people tend
to define their 'Philosophy of life'. In this respect,
indicate how the following statements apply to you.

A) I have clearly defined my Philosophy of life.

	TOTALLY					TOTALLY
	DISAGREE					AGREE
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B) My Philosophy of life is quite similar to that of

i) a particular Religion   YES/NO

           If YES, Name: ....

ii) a particular Personality   YES/NO

           If YES, Name: ....

iii) a particular Ideology   YES/NO

           If YES, Name: ....

iv) no particular other   YES/NO

IV)How satisfied are you with your life in general?
(Circle an appropriate number on the scale)

	NOT AT ALL					HIGHLY
	SATISFIED					SATISFIED
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The Questionnaire: The 9-Tenets of Evangelicalism

PART V

Please indicate your answer by putting a (✓) mark appropriately under YES / NO / DO NOT KNOW.

	YES	NO	DO NOT KNOW
(1) I believe that Christ is a living reality.	—	—	—
(2) The Bible is God's word, and all it says is true.	—	—	—
(3) Church activities (meetings & commitee work etc.) are a major source of satisfaction in my life.	—	—	—
(4) Praying to Jesus/Holy Spirit is a regular part of my behavior.	—	—	—
(5) I frequently feel very close to Jesus/Holy Spirit in prayer, during public worship, or at an important moment in my life.	—	—	—
(6) I have discovered goals & clear purpose in my life as a Christian.	—	—	—
(7) My religious beliefs as a Christian are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.	—	—	—
(8) I try hard to carry my Christianity over into all my other dealings in life.	—	—	—
(9) Would you say that you have had an 'experience', a turning point in your life when you committed your life to Christ?	—	—	—

In which year did this experience occur? 19....

END OF PART V

(Please go on to the next page)

Subject ·Instructions

General .Instructions

This is an anonymous qestionnaire. Please do not write your name on it. All the information supplied by you will be treated confidential. It will be used for research purpose only. Although we would like you to complete the entire questionnaire, if for any reason you wish not to complete it, please feel free to quit.

To ensure anonymity, please return this Questionnare in a sealed envelope, which is supplied to you. If you would like to know the outcome of this reseach, please leave your name & address on a separate piece of paper, so that we could send you a summmary of the findings. **(Please go on to the next page)**

A STUDY OF FUTURE SELVES

This study is aimed at investigating people's thoughts about their 'Future Selves'. Probably everyone thinks about the future to some extent. When doing so, we often think about the kind of people we might become. Some of these 'Future Selves' are very desired & hoped for (positive), while others are worried about or feared (negative). We may look forward to some of these Future Selves, but we may be quite concerned about others. In short, given appropriate circumstances, we can all probably imagine a number of possible Future Selves.

This booklet contains **Five** parts. They are to be completed in the order in which they appeare in this questionnaire. You must first complete part I before proceeding to part II, which must be completed before proceeding to part III and so on. You must not look at any part until due instructions are given.

Please work rapidly. Answer with the first responses that come to your mind. Try to be honest. Do not mull over your answers. Do not worry about contradictions, inconsistencies or
uncertainties. (**Now open this booklet and proceed to PART I**)

Instructions for PART I: The spontaneous Future Selves

Please think of what you might become or what you might be, at any time in the future. List below these 'Future Selves', that you have thought about as possible for you, Positive as well as Negative, i.e. what you would **like to be or become**, as well as what you would **rather avoid becoming**. Please answer with your first thoughts. You may write as many as come to your mind. (**Proceed to PART II on next page only after completing this PART**)

Instructions for Part II: The Pre-listed 44 Future Selves

Listed in this PART are a number of 'Future Selves' that have been provided by some people. We are interested in what Future Selves you may have considered for yourself.

There are three columns next to the list of the Future Selves. Each column asks a specific question about these Future

Selves. Your task is to respond to each future Self according to the specific question in the column. Again, please answer with the first responses that come to your mind. Do not worry about what you have listed in PART I, or about any 'apparent contradictions' in your responses. For instance, it is quite possible for people to visualize themselves as both, 'Poor' as well as 'Rich'.

The question in the first column, asks whether you ever think of this as your Future Self. If you do, then, mark (✓..), and if you do not, then mark (X..).

The Second & Third columns ask different questions which are to be answered by circling an appropriate number on the given scales. e.g. The question in the Second column asks how much you would like this Future Self to describe you in the future. If you would never like to be described this way, circle "1". On the other hand, if you would very much like to be described this way, circle "7". And for less extreme judgements, use appropriate numbers in between. Using the scale similarly, answer the question in the third column, which asks how likely it is to describe you in future.

(Adapted from Markus and Nurius, in press)

Instructions for Part III

Now go back to Part I where you have given a list of your Future Selves. If any of your Future Selves are not covered in Part II, list them in the form on the next page and give your answers the same way as you did for Part II, according to the

questions in the columns. But if your future selves are all covered in Part II, you do not have to complete this Part. Simply proceed to PART IV.

Instructions for Part IV: the Ultimate Concerns

Probably everyone has given some thoughts to what human life is all about. This PART aims to investigate people's 'Ultimate Concerns', i.e. <u>concerns</u> <u>of</u> <u>life</u> <u>which</u> <u>are</u> <u>beyond</u> <u>the</u> <u>temporary</u> <u>&</u> <u>immediate</u> <u>issues</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>day.</u> Please answer the following carefully & honestly.

Instructions for Part V: The 9 Tenets of Evangelicalism
Please indicate your answers by putting a (✓) mark appropriately under YES / NO/ DO NOT KNOW.

Instruction at the end of the questionnaire

Please write your comments, if you have any about this study.

* THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION *

Means, Standard Deviations, F and p values from the 2-way ANOVA,
F and p values from the Levene's Test of Equal Variances, for
the "Desirability" Ratings of the 44 pre-listed Future Selves.

EVM= Evangelical Males
EVF= Evangelical Females
NCM= Non-Committed Males
NCF= Non-Committed Females
* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level
All the F values are for the main
effect of Group. The main effect
of Sex is indicated by '+'.
L = Levene's test for equal variances

FUTURE SELF	GROUP	MEAN	SD
1) Full time ministry	EVM:	5.200	1.971
	EVF:	4.400	1.765
	NCM:	2.000	1.773
	NCF:	2.000	1.309
$F(1, 56) = 39.67, p = 0.0000$ ****			
$L(3, 56) = 1.14, p = 0.3422$			
2) Communicate God's message	EVM:	6.867	0.516
effectively to others	EVF:	6.733	0.458
	NCM:	2.733	2.154
	NCF:	3.133	2.066
$F(1, 56) = 95.63, p = 0.0000$ ****			
$L(3, 56) = 19.62, p = 0.0000$ ****			
3) Having a Christian family	EVM:	6.733	0.594
	EVF:	6.933	0.258
	NCM:	3.333	2.024
	NCF:	4.133	2.503
$F(1, 56) = 53.48, p = 0.0000$ ****			
$L(3, 56) = 20.23, P = 0.0000$ ****			
4) Seeker of God	EVM:	6.333	1.589
	EVF:	7.000	0.
	NCM:	3.333	2.610
	NCF:	3.067	2.120
$F(1, 56) = 52.14, p = 0.0000$ ****			
$L(3, 56) = 17.42, p = 0.0000$ ****			
5) Eternity with Christ	EVM:	6.800	0.561
	EVF:	6.867	0.516
	NCM:	3.600	2.694
	NCF:	3.867	2.356
$F(1, 56) = 43.06, p = 0.0000$ ****			
$L(3, 56) = 29.49, p = 0.0000$ ****			
6) Good example to others	EVM:	7.000	0.0
	EVF:	6.467	1.552
	NCM:	6.200	0.775
	NCF:	6.267	0.961
$F(1, 56) = 3.81, p = 0.0558$ *			
$L(3, 56) = 4.42, p = 0.0074$ **			

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
7) Work among common/poor people	EVM:	5.333	1.234
	EVF:	4.867	1.885
	NCM:	3.600	1.765
	NCF:	4.733	1.668

F(1, 56) = 4.76, p = 0.0333 *
L(3, 56) = 0.98, p = 0.4070

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
8) Christ-like	EVM:	6.933	0.258
	EVF:	6.867	0.516
	NCM:	3.200	2.597
	NCF:	2.800	2.178

F(1, 56) = 77.21, p = 0.0000 ****
L(3, 56) = 26.00, p = 0.0000 ****

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
9) Go to heaven	EVM:	6.933	0.258
	EVF:	6.933	0.258
	NCM:	4.400	2.923
	NCF:	4.867	2.475

F(1, 56) = 21.45, p = 0.0000 ****
L(3, 56) = 45.10, p = 0.0000 ****

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
10) Active church involvement	EVM:	6.000	1.195
	EVF:	6.600	0.737
	NCM:	3.067	2.251
	NCF:	3.400	1.844

F(1, 56) = 54.06, p = 0.0000 ****
L(3, 56) = 9.32, p = 0.0000 ****

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
11) Devoted in my duty towards others	EVM:	6.467	0.915
	EVF:	5.867	1.685
	NCM:	5.000	1.813
	NCF:	4.867	1.246

F(1, 56) = 10.72, p = 0.0018 **
L(3, 56) = 0.57, p = 0.6341

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
12) Bible-scholar	EVM:	5.400	1.454
	EVF:	5.000	1.604
	NCM:	2.067	1.438
	NCF:	2.067	1.668

F(1, 56) = 61.79, p = 0.0000 ****
L(3, 56) = o.07, p = 0.9768

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
13) Own a big luxurious house	EVM:	2.933	1.944
	EVF:	3.333	1.718
	NCM:	4.733	2.086
	NCF:	5.067	2.085

F(1, 56) = 12.13, p = 0.0010 ***
L(3, 56) = 0.16, p = 0.9063

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
14) Become a celebrity	EVM:	3.733	1.710
	EVF:	2.467	1.727
	NCM:	4.267	1.792
	NCF:	4.000	1.852

F(1, 56) = 5.11, p = 0.0277 *
L(3, 56) = 0.03, p = 0.9922

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
15) "Living together" with a spouse	EVM:	3.067	2.890
	EVF:	1.467	1.302
	MCM:	5.733	1.870
	MCF:	5.333	2.57

F(1, 56) = 34.35, p = 0.0000 ****
L(3, 56) = 7.55, p = 0.0002 ***

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
16) Workaholic	EVM:	1.600	0.828
	EVF:	1.667	0.900
	MCM:	2.867	1.885
	MCF:	2.667	1.397

F(1, 56) = 11.01, p = 0.0016 **
L(3, 56) = 6.54, p = 0.0007 ***

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
17) Married more than once	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.200	0.775
	MCM:	1.067	0.258
	MCF:	2.333	0.024

F(1, 56) = 4.54, p = 0.0376 *
F(1, 56) = 6.78, p = 0.0118 * +
L(3, 56) = 20.15, p = 0.0000 ****

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
18) Win a big lottery	EVM:	3.400	2.293
	EVF:	3.733	1.981
	MCM:	6.267	1.100
	MCF:	5.333	1.759

F(1, 56) = 22.19, p = 0.0000 ****
L(3, 56) = 3.42, p = 0.0232 *

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
19) Wear fashionable clothes	EVM:	3.533	1.995
	EVF:	4.133	1.552
	MCM:	4.533	1.727
	MCF:	5.400	1.882

F(1, 56) = 5.97, p = 0.0178 *
L(3, 56) = 0.85, p = 0.4736

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
20) Able to manipulate people	EVM:	1.933	1.486
	EVF:	1.400	0.737
	MCM:	4.267	1.907
	MCF:	2.933	1.386

F(1, 56) = 26.97, p = 0.0000 ****
F(1, 56) = 6.29, p = 0.0152 * +
L(3, 56) = 4.42, p = 0.0074 **

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
21) Marry a famous personality	EVM:	2.067	1.100
	EVF:	2.067	1.280
	MCM:	2.667	1.496
	MCF:	3.800	1.897

F(1, 56) = 9.40, p = 0.0033 **
L(3, 56) = 1.67, p = 0.1849

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
22) SEXY	EVM:	4.400	2.197
	EVF:	3.200	2.077
	MCM:	4.933	1.438
	MCF:	4.933	1.751

F(1, 56) = 5.40, p = 0.0238 *
L(3, 56) = 2.14, p = 0.1052

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
23) Glamorous Media Personality	EVM:	1.800	1.474
	EVF:	1.333	0.617
	NCM:	3.400	1.682
	NCF:	3.333	1.839

    F(1, 56) = 22.19, p = 0.0000 ****
    L(3, 56) = 5.01, p = 0.0038 **

24) Fashion-model	EVM:	1.800	1.373
	EVF:	1.667	0.900
	NCM:	2.200	1.424
	NCF:	3.000	2.000

    F(1, 56) = 5.17, p = 0.0269 •
    L(3, 56) = 2.95, p = 0.0402 •

25) Have an 'affair'	EVM:	1.133	0.352
	EVF:	1.333	1.047
	NCM:	2.267	1.751
	NCF:	2.600	1.682

    F(1, 56) = 12.14, p = 0.0010 ***
    L(3, 56) = 7.87, p = 0.0002 ***

26) Have a very attractive body	EVM:	4.333	1.839
	EVF:	4.000	1.964
	NCM:	5.200	1.612
	NCF:	6.000	1.309

    F(1, 56) = 10.67, p = 0.0019 **
    L(3, 56) = 1.12, p = 0.3499

27) Divorced	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.000	0.0
	NCM:	1.067	0.258
	NCF:	1.667	0.900

    F(1, 56) = 9.21, p = 0.0037 **
    F(1, 56) = 6.16, p = 0.0161 * +
    L(1, 56) = 21.81, p = 0.0000 ****

28) Gay/Lesbian	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.000	0.0
	NCM:	1.467	1.246
	NCF:	1.667	1.767

    F(1, 56) = 5.70, p = 0.0203 *
    L(3, 56) = 10.59, p = 0.0000 ****

29) Friends & family disapproving	EVM:	1.467	0.640
my beliefs & values	EVF:	1.200	0.561
	NCM:	2.200	1.568
	NCF:	2.000	1.254

    F(1, 56) = 7.42, p = 0.0086 **
    L(3, 56) = 10.58, p = 0.0000 ****

30) Turn away from God	EVM:	1.067	0.258
	EVF:	1.000	0.0
	NCM:	2.733	2.120
	NCF:	2.267	1.870

    F(1, 56) = 16.02, p = 0.0002 ***
    L(3, 56) = 18.12, p = 0.0000 ****

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
31) Succomb to worldly temptations	EVM:	1.067	0.258
	EVF:	1.200	0.561
	NCM:	2.867	1.598
	NCF:	2.067	1.580
$F(1, 56) = 19.65, p = 0.0000$ ****			
$L(3, 56) = 11.33, p = 0.0000$ ****			
32) Fall from God's grace	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.000	0.0
	NCM:	2.133	1.767
	NCF:	1.800	1.424
$F(1, 56) = 10.88, p = 0.0017$ **			
$L(3, 56) = 19.54, p = 0.0000$ ****			
33) Occasionally getting drunk with friends	EVM:	1.133	0.352
	EVF:	1.400	0.910
	NCM:	4.600	2.131
	NCF:	3.333	2.193
$F(1, 56) = 42.45, p = 0.0000$ ****			
$L(3, 56) = 14.42, p = 0.0000$ ****			
34) Police officer	EVM:	1.800	1.265
	EVF:	1.600	1.404
	NCM:	2.267	1.792
	NCF:	2.067	1.534
$F(1, 56) = 1.43, p = 0.2367$			
$L(3, 56) = 0.76, p = 0.5213$			
35) Lack of self-control/ discipline	EVM:	1.400	1.298
	EVF:	1.133	0.516
	NCM:	1.400	0.632
	NCF:	1.333	0.816
$F(1, 56) = 0.20, p = 0.6575$			
$L(3, 56) = 1.12, p = 0.3476$			
36) Impotent/Non-orgasmic	EVM:	1.133	0.352
	EVF:	1.067	0.258
	NCM:	1.200	0.561
	NCF:	1.200	0.561
$F(1, 56) = 0.73, p = 0.3957$			
$L(3, 56) = 1.40, p = 0.2515$			
37) Suffer a nervous breakdown	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.000	0.0
	NCM:	1.000	0.0
	NCF:	1.000	0.0
38) Victim of AIDS	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.000	0.0
	NCM:	1.000	0.0
	NCF:	1.000	0.0

Appendix F (continued):

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
39) Remain single	EVM:	1.533	0.743
	EVF:	2.333	1.543
	NCM:	1.933	1.486
	NCF:	1.867	1.356
F(1, 56) = 0.01, p = 0.9225			
L(3, 56) = 3.07, p = 0.0349 *			
40) Lonely/Depressed	EVM:	1.200	0.567
	EVF:	1.067	0.258
	NCM:	1.067	0.258
	NCF:	1.133	0.352
F(1, 56) = 0.12, p = 0.7340			
L(3, 56) = 1.91, p = 0.1377			
41) Not being helpful to others	EVM:	1.067	0.258
	EVF:	1.067	0.258
	NCM:	1.267	0.549
	NCF:	1.267	0.799
F(1, 56) = 2.14, p = 0.1495			
L(3, 56) = 3.09, p = 0.0342 *			
42) Fail to reach my spiritual goals	EVM:	1.100	0.0
	EVF:	1.467	1.552
	NCM:	1.333	0.724
	NCF:	1.533	0.015
F(1, 56) = 0.64, p = 0.4284			
L(3, 56) = 3.51, p = 0.0210 *			
43) Not being useful in life	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.067	0.258
	NCM:	1.000	0.0
	NCF:	1.067	0.258
F(1, 56) = - 0.00, p = 1.000			
L(3, 56) = 3.09, p = 0.0342 *			
44) End up in a jail	EVM:	1.067	0.258
	EVF:	1.133	0.516
	NCM:	1.133	0.352
	NCF:	1.267	0.799
F(1, 56) = 0.55, p = 0.4623			
L(3, 56) = 1.65, p = 0.1874			

Means, Standard Deviations, $\underline{F}$ and $\underline{p}$ values from the 2-way ANOVA, $\underline{F}$ and $\underline{p}$ values from the Levene's Test of Equal Variances, for the "Likely" Ratings of the 44 pre-listed Future Selves.

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EVM= Evangelical Males
EVF= Evangelical Females
NCM= Non-Committed Males
NCF= Non-Committed Females
* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level
*** Significant at .001 level
**** Significant at .0001 level
All the F values are for the
Group Main effect. Main effect
for Sex is specified by '+'
L = Levene's test for equal variances
```

FUTURE SELF	GROUP	MEAN	SD
1) Full time ministry	EVM:	4.400	1.809
	EVF:	3.667	1.988
	NCM:	1.533	0.990
	NCF:	1.267	0.594
F(1, 56) = 48.70, p = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 6.73, p = 0.0006 ***			
2) Communicate God's message	EVM:	6.867	1.047
effectively to others	EVF:	5.333	1.175
	NCM:	5.333	1.521
	NCF:	2.200	1.767
F(1, 56) = 76.02, p = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 1.28, p = 0.2887			
3) Having a Christian family	EVM:	5.733	0.961
	EVF:	5.600	1.639
	NCM:	2.800	1.740
	NCF:	3.333	2.193
F(1, 56) = 35.43, p = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 4.91, p = 0.0042 **			
4) Seeker of God	EVM:	5.733	1.387
	EVF:	6.133	1.060
	NCM:	3.133	2.066
	NCF:	2.800	1.781
F(1, 56) = 50.36, p = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 4.25, p = 0.0089 **			
5) Eternity with Christ	EVM:	6.867	0.352
	EVF:	6.860	0.775
	NCM:	3.200	2.336
	NCF:	3.600	2.165
F(1, 56) = 65.09, p = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 20.61, p = 0.0000 ****			
6) Go to heaven	EVM:	6.667	0.617
	EVF:	6.800	0.561
	NCM:	3.867	2.850
	NCF:	4.533	2.326
F(1, 56) = 27.06, p = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 32.58, p = 0.0000 ****			

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
7) Active church involvement	EVM:	5.800	1.146
	EVF:	6.000	1.254
	NCM:	2.933	2.154
	NCF:	2.933	1.751

$F(1, 56) = 49.86$, $p = 0.0000$ ****
$L(3, 56) = 3.41$, $p = 0.0237$ *

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
8) Devoted in my duty	EVM:	5.467	0.743
towards others	EVF:	5.400	0.986
	NCM:	4.400	1.595
	NCF:	4.400	1.595

$F(1, 56) = 9.69$, $p = 0.0029$ **
$L(3, 56) = 2.41$, $p = 0.0763$

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
9) Bible-scholar	EVM:	4.133	1.457
	EVF:	4.067	1.668
	NCM:	1.667	1.175
	NCF:	1.667	1.113

$F(1, 56) = 47.22$, $p = 0.0000$ ****
$L(3, 56) = 0.70$, $p = 0.5563$

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
10) Christ-like	EVM:	5.333	1.397
	EVF:	5.067	1.100
	NCM:	1.867	1.302
	NCF:	1.800	1.255

$F(1, 56) = 105.32$, $p = 0.0000$ ****
$L(3, 56) = 0.39$, $p = 0.7635$

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
11) Own a big luxurious house	EVM:	3.067	1.710
	EVF:	2.867	1.598
	NCM:	4.333	1.799
	NCF:	4.333	1.633

$F(1, 56) = 9.85$, $p = 0.0027$ **
$L(3, 56) = 0.45$, $p = 0.7177$

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
12) 'Living together' with	EVM:	2.800	2.597
a spouse	EVF:	1.667	1.496
	NCM:	5.600	1.404
	NCF:	5.333	2.257

$F(1, 56) = 39.09$, $p = 0.0000$ ****
$L(3, 56) = 4.50$, $p = 0.0067$ **

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
13) Workaholic	EVM:	3.067	1.280
	EVF:	2.667	1.447
	NCM:	4.133	1.846
	NCF:	3.267	1.486

$F(1, 56) = 4.46$, $p = 0.0393$ *
$L(3, 56) = 2.01$, $p = 0.1226$

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
14) Married more than once	EVM:	1.200	0.414
	EVF:	1.267	0.799
	NCM:	1.867	0.915
	NCF:	— 2.733	2.052

$F(1, 56) = 11.66$, $p = 0.0012$ ***
$L(3, 56) = 11.42$, $p = 0.0000$ ****

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
15) Win a big lottery	EVM:	1.200	0.414
	EVF:	1.200	0.414
	NCM:	2.000	1.648
	NCF:	2.133	1.060

F(1, 56) = 10.78, p = 0.0018 **
L(3, 56) = 4.33, p = 0.0081 **

16) Wear fashionable clothes	EVM:	3.267	1.751
	EVF:	4.133	1.552
	NCM:	4.067	1.668
	NCF:	5.067	1.870

F(1, 56) = 3.83, p = 0.0552 *
F(1, 56) = 4.45, p = 0.0394 * +
L(3, 56) = 0.41, p = 0.7432

17) Able to manipulate people	EVM:	2.267	1.387
	EVF:	2.067	1.033
	NCM:	4.000	1.733
	NCF:	3.867	1.506

F(1, 56) = 22.29, p = 0.0000 ****
L(3, 56) = 2.44, p = 0.0735

18) Marry a famous personality	EVM:	1.800	1.800
	EVF:	1.400	0.507
	NCM:	2.000	1.195
	NCF:	3.133	1.922

F(1, 56) = 8.95, p = 0.0041 **
L(3, 56) = 8.12, p = 0.0001 ****

19) SEXY	EVM:	3.667	1.915
	EVF:	2.533	1.767
	NCM:	4.333	1.496
	NCF:	4.400	1.298

F(1, 56) = 8.98, p = 0.0041 **
L(3, 56) = 1.08, p = 0.3670

20) Glamorous Media Personality	EVM:	1.600	1.121
	EVF:	1.333	0.352
	NCM:	2.267	1.033
	NCF:	2.667	1.676

F(1, 56) = 13.81, p = 0.0005 ***
L(3, 56) = 12.78, p = 0.0000 ****

21) Fashion-model	EVM:	1.067	0.258
	EVF:	1.267	1.033
	NCM:	1.400	0.828
	NCF:	1.867	1.186

F(1, 56) = 4.05, p = 0.0491 *
L(3, 56) = 3.90, p = 0.0133 *

22) Have an 'affair'	EVM:	1.600	0.986
	EVF:	1.400	1.121
	NCM:	2.800	1.612
	NCF:	2.867	1.552

F(1, 56) = 14.74, p = 0.0003 ***
L(3, 56) = 1.82, p = 0.1541

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
23) Have a very attractive body	EVM:	3.533	1.552
	EVF:	3.267	1.100
	NCM:	4.200	1.656
	NCF:	4.733	1.831
F(1, 56) = 7.03, p = 0.0104 **			
L(3, 56) = 1.34, p = 0.2718			
24) Divorced	EVM:	1.000	0.0
	EVF:	1.000	0.0
	NCM:	2.533	0.834
	NCF:	2.467	1.727
F(1, 56) = 36.72, p = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 21.81, P = 0.0000 ****			
25) Gay/Lesbian	EVM:	1.067	0.258
	EVF:	1.067	0.258
	NCM:	1.400	1.298
	NCF:	1.867	1.807
F(1, 56) = 3.79, p = 0.0566 *			
L(3, 56) = 6.43, P = 0.0008 ***			
26) Turn away from God	EVM:	1.467	0.834
	EVF:	1.400	0.737
	NCM:	3.067	2.052
	NCF:	1.933	1.624
F(1, 56) = 8.44, p = 0.0052 **			
L(3, 56) = 4.80, P = 0.0048 **			
27) Fall from God's grace	EVM:	1.467	0.640
	EVF:	1.267	0.594
	NCM:	2.267	1.486
	NCF:	2.200	1.612
F(1, 56) = 8.09, p = 0.0062 **			
L(3, 56) = 6.36, P = 0.0009 ***			
28) Occasionally getting drunk with friends	EVM:	1.733	1.100
	EVF:	1.467	0.834
	NCM:	4.667	2.160
	NCF:	3.533	2.475
F(1, 56) = 29.54, P = 0.0000 ****			
L(3, 56) = 11.49, P = 0.0000 ****			
29) Friends & family disapproving my beliefs & values	EVM:	3.533	1.668
	EVF:	2.533	1.457
	NCM:	2.867	1.506
	NCF:	2.667	2.667
F(1, 56) = 1.29, p = 0.2608			
L(3, 56) = 0.24, P = 0.8652			
30) Police officer	EVM:	1.400	0.828
	EVF:	1.133	0.352
	NCM:	1.800	1.781
	NCF:	1.533	1.533
F(1, 56) = 1.69, p = 0.1988			
L(3, 56) = 2.97, p = 0.0394 **			

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
31) Lack of self-control/ discipline	EVM:	2.867	1.187
	EVF:	2.333	1.047
	NCM:	2.867	1.356
	NCF:	2.667	1.496

F(1, 56) = 0.25, p = 0.6168
L(3, 56) = 0.82, p = 0.4891

32) Impotent/Non-orgasmic	EVM:	1.333	0.617
	EVF:	1.400	0.737
	NCM:	1.667	1.113
	NCF:	1.667	0.900

F(1, 56) = 1.82, p = 0.1831
L(3, 56) = 1.0 p = 0.3980

33) Suffer a nervous breakdown	EVM:	1.733	0.884
	EVF:	1.400	0.507
	NCM:	1.800	1.082
	NCF:	2.067	1.534

F(1, 56) = 1.77, p = 0.1890
L(3, 56) = 2.96, p = 0.0399 *

34) Victim of AIDS	EVM:	1.200	0.414
	EVF:	1.067	0.258
	NCM:	1.267	0.458
	NCF:	1.533	0.990

F(1, 56) = 2.99, p = 0.0895
L(3, 56) = 9.46, p = 0.0000 ****

35) Rem─────────le	EVM:	2.000	1.134
	EVF:	2.800	1.859
	NCM:	2.400	1.502
	NCF:	2.267	1.534

F(1, 56) = 0.03, p = 0.8666
L(3, 56) = 3.34, p = 0.0257 *

36) Lonely/Depressed	EVM:	2.667	1.397
	EVF:	2.267	1.438
	NCM:	2.600	1.502
	NCF:	2.667	1.447

F(1, 56) = 0.20, p = 0.6672
L(3, 56) = 0.08, p = 0.9702

37) Not being helpful to others	EVM:	1.933	1.033
	EVF:	1.600	0.737
	NCM:	2.000	1.134
	NCF:	1.800	1.207

F(1, 56) = 0.25, p = 0.6225
L(3, 56) = 0.77, p = 0.5154

38) Fail to reach my spiritual goals	EVM:	3.200	1.656
	EVF:	3.000	1.558
	NCM:	2.067	1.668
	NCF:	2.733	1.438

F(1, 56) = 2.93, p = 0.0922
L(3, 56) = 0.23, p = 0.8766

	GROUP	MEAN	SD
39) Not being useful in life	EVM:	1.667	0.724
	EVF:	1.600	0.986
	NCM:	1.933	1.486
	NCF:	1.533	0.834
F(1, 56) = 0.14, p = 0.7133			
L(3, 56) = 2.10, p = 0.1100			
40) End up in a jail	EVM:	1.600	0.737
	EVF:	1.200	0.561
	NCM:	1.265	0.458
	NCF:	1.400	1.056
F(1, 56) = 0.12, p = 0.7279			
L(3, 56) = 1.47, p = 0.2314			
41) Become a celebrity	EVM:	2.533	1.060
	EVF:	1.867	1.060
	NCM:	2.467	1.125
	NCF:	2.933	1.831
F(1, 56) = 2.18, p = 0.1450			
L(3, 56) = 1.90, p = 0.1400			
42) Succomb to worldly	EVM:	2.000	1.134
temptations	EVF:	2.800	1.859
	NCM:	2.400	1.502
	NCF:	2.267	1.534
F(1, 56) = 0.03, p = 0.866			
L(3, 56) = 3.34, P = 0.0257 •			
43) Good example to others	EVM:	5.400	0.737
	EVF:	5.267	1.280
	NCM:	5.400	0.828
	NCF:	5.333	1.291
F(1, 56) = 0.01, p = 0.9039			
L(3, 56) = 1.91, P = 0.1384			
44) Work among common/poor	EVM:	4.467	1.187
people	EVF:	4.467	1.922
	NCM:	3.333	1.799
	NCF:	4.133	1.642
F(1, 56) = 2.92, p = 0.0929			
L(3, 56) = 1.12, p = 0.3501			

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