

Research Paper

Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

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ABSTRACT

Children raised in Indian institutional care grow up without the stable caregiving relationships Erikson's psychosocial theory presupposes. This qualitative study examined how fifteen orphaned Indian adults (nine women, six men; ages 16 to 30) narrated their progression through Erikson's eight stages, using narrative inquiry and Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis. Findings revealed developmental disruption at every stage alongside persistent adaptive strategies including covert self-soothing, peer solidarity, and chosen family construction. Erikson's model retains value for institutionalised populations when integrated with attachment theory, ecological systems theory, and culturally grounded accounts of Indian selfhood.

Keywords: *Psychosocial Development, Erikson, Institutional Care, Orphaned Youth, India, Resilience, Thematic Analysis*

Development does not happen in isolation from the relationships and cultural meanings that surround a person across time. Erikson's (1950, 1968) theory of psychosocial development proposes that eight conflicts: trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus shame and doubt, initiative versus guilt, industry versus inferiority, identity versus role confusion, intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation, and integrity versus despair, unfold across the lifespan and that their resolution is substantially shaped by the social environments in which a person is embedded. The theory was built, at least implicitly, around a reasonably present and consistent caregiver: someone who returns the infant's gaze, tolerates the toddler's stubbornness, and provides the adolescent with a sufficiently stable mirror in which a self can take form. For children raised in orphanages and residential institutions, this scaffold is structurally absent.

India is home to a substantial population of orphaned and parentally separated children in residential care (Saraswat & Unisa, 2017). Many of these children grow up in environments characterised by rotating caregivers, strict rule regimens, high child-to-staff ratios, and moral instruction that tends to treat compliance as virtue and self-expression as transgression (Ramasubramanian, 2017). The Indian sociocultural context adds a further layer: selfhood in

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Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

India is substantially constituted through genealogy, caste, religious community, and extended kinship, such that the absence of a known family name is not merely a biographical gap but a socially inscribed form of incomplete personhood (Kakar, 1978). This dimension of loss is not adequately captured by Western developmental frameworks.

Existing research on institutionally raised children in India has documented elevated rates of attachment disturbance, diminished self-concept, and psychosocial difficulty (Jena, 2015; MacLean, 2003). A major systematic review by van IJzendoorn et al. (2020) confirmed dose-dependent developmental costs of institutional rearing across multiple domains. Yet what this body of work rarely provides is a qualitative, stage-by-stage account of how orphaned individuals actually experience and narrate their own development, or of the adaptive strategies they independently discover. The present study addresses that gap.

To situate the findings theoretically, we draw on Bowlby's (1969) and Ainsworth et al.'s (1978) attachment framework, which demonstrates that consistent early caregiving builds internal working models of others as trustworthy and available, templates that persist into adulthood. Hazan and Shaver (1987) showed these same secure, avoidant, and anxious patterns reappear in adult romantic relationships decades later. Van der Kolk (2014) and Herman (1992) document the neurobiological and psychological consequences of chronic early relational threat, framing repeated developmental injury as complex trauma. Winnicott (1953) adds an account of how deprived children construct self-soothing through transitional objects, a mechanism that appeared strikingly consistently in this dataset. Bronfenbrenner (1979) situates individual caregiving within nested ecological systems, clarifying why the failures documented here reflect structural constraint rather than individual caregiver shortcoming. Kakar's (1978) account of Indian selfhood explains why the absence of lineage carries culturally specific identity weight. Deci and Ryan (2000) propose that chronic frustration of autonomy, competence, and relatedness needs produces either externally governed compliance or motivational withdrawal, closely paralleling the learned helplessness Seligman (1972) described. Marcia (1966) extended Erikson's identity theory by identifying foreclosure, premature commitment to an externally imposed identity without genuine exploration, as the likely outcome when adolescent exploration is systematically suppressed. Finally, Masten (2001) reframes resilience as the ordinary operation of basic adaptational systems under constrained conditions, not a rare personal attribute.

Objectives

The study pursued three primary objectives. First, to explore how orphaned individuals in India experience and narrate each of Erikson's eight psychosocial stages across the life course. Second, to identify the institutional conditions and broader cultural context that shape these developmental trajectories. Third, to examine what patterns of disruption and resilience emerge from participants' narratives and what these patterns reveal about the applicability and limits of Eriksonian theory in non-Western, non-family-based developmental contexts.

Research Questions

Three research questions guided the inquiry. How do orphaned individuals in India experience each of Erikson's eight psychosocial stages? What specific caregiving, institutional, and cultural conditions shape these experiences? What forms of resilience and adaptive meaning-making emerge, and how do they extend or complicate Erikson's original account?

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Design

We adopted a qualitative design grounded in an interpretive-constructivist paradigm. Narrative inquiry served as the methodological foundation, treating participants' life accounts as primary data rather than as illustrations of pre-existing categories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase thematic analysis supplied the analytic structure. Both approaches were applied iteratively, with the team returning to earlier analytic phases as later coding decisions raised new questions.

Participants

Fifteen orphaned adults participated, nine women and six men, aged 16 to 30 years, each with a minimum of five consecutive years in residential institutional care. We recruited from government-run and faith-based homes in Ahmedabad and Bengaluru. Inclusion criteria were: age 16 to 30; minimum five institutional years; ability to reflect on personal history in English or Hindi; and absence of current acute psychiatric crisis.

Data Collection

We conducted individual semi-structured interviews of 40 to 60 minutes, audio-recorded with written informed consent in private settings. Interview prompts were loosely stage-organised, for example, "What did safety or trust mean to you when you were very young?", "How did you come to understand who you are?", and "What does closeness mean in your relationships today?", while allowing participants to follow their own associative paths. All participants received counselling referrals before and after the interview.

Data Analysis

We read all transcripts in full before coding began. A hybrid deductive-inductive logic guided the process: deductive anchors derived from Erikson's eight stage conflicts, supplemented by inductively generated codes for recurring material not captured by those anchors. Two researchers coded all transcripts independently and resolved disagreements through discussion. Trustworthiness followed Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria: credibility through dual coding and member checking with five participants; transferability through thick contextual description; dependability through a documented audit trail; and confirmability through reflexive memos interrogating the team's own prior assumptions.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the relevant Institutional Ethics Committee prior to recruitment. Written informed consent was obtained from all participants with full explanation of purpose, voluntariness, confidentiality, and the right to withdraw without consequence. Participants are identified by number only; institutional names are withheld.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Across all eight stages, two patterns held consistently. First, institutional conditions made the resolution of each psychosocial conflict harder than Erikson's original formulation anticipated. Second, participants consistently found some channel, a covert practice, a peer relationship, a private ritual, through which the underlying developmental drive continued to move. Both patterns appeared across participants from different cities and different institutional backgrounds, suggesting they reflect structural features of institutional care broadly rather than the idiosyncrasies of any single setting.

Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Stage 1: Trust vs. Mistrust

Core theme: Emotional Detachment and the Failure of Basic Safety

Subtheme 1.1: Inconsistent and Fragmented Caregiving

The earliest accounts centred on structural impermanence rather than active cruelty. Caregivers rotated, physical needs were met while emotional attunement was not, and the most basic relational expectation, that a familiar face would return, was routinely unmet. Participant 2 described the cumulative effect plainly: "I don't recall anybody's name. Faces changed. It was as if living amidst strangers in a room all the time." Participant 5 noted how even a minor broken promise registered with lasting force: "One time a lady gave me candy and said she was coming back tomorrow. She never came back. That broke me." Participant 14 recalled a deeper institutional depersonalisation: "They called us numbers. I was 'three.' Nobody has ever used my name." These accounts describe caregiving organised around absence and unpredictability, producing what Bowlby (1969) identified as internal working models oriented around unavailability rather than safety.

Subtheme 1.2: Absent Nurturing Touch and Somatic Aloneness

Several participants described how the absence of affectionate physical contact left what might be called a body memory of aloneness. Participant 6 reflected: "Nobody ever combed my hair. When I first lived in a family, I flinched if somebody embraced me." Participant 13 described a learned suppression of emotional expression: "When I cried, someone would come and pat me twice and leave. I learned to cry quietly." Participant 1 described feigning illness to secure brief caregiver proximity: "I'd pretend I was ill to be picked up." According to van der Kolk (2014), chronic absence of attuned physical contact during the period of greatest neuroplasticity leaves lasting traces in stress-response systems, making the early environment persistently difficult to revise even when circumstances later improve.

Subtheme 1.3: Covert Self-Soothing and Early Emotional Self-Reliance

Participants independently invented remarkably similar self-soothing practices. Participant 4 recalled pressing a spoon to her chest beneath a blanket at night: "That was my 'heartbeat.' I thought somebody was holding me." Participant 7 whispered bedtime stories to herself. Participant 12 described the withdrawal that followed: "I stopped wanting. Needing people hurt too much." Winnicott's (1953) account of transitional objects explains this pattern well: children invest small physical objects with the containing function the caregiver fails to provide, attempting to perform internally what the external environment withholds. These strategies recurred independently across participants from different institutions and cities, suggesting a general, near-universal human response to early relational scarcity rather than any idiosyncratic coping. Consistent with Erikson's epigenetic principle, the early mistrust consolidated here was traceable through every subsequent stage.

Stage 2: Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt

Core theme: Conflicted Self-Agency and Internalised Shame

Subtheme 2.1: Restricted Autonomy and Institutional Regimentation

Institutional environments described by participants left minimal room for self-initiated action. Participant 6 recalled attempting to tie her own shoelaces only to be struck and told she would spoil it, adding: "I didn't attempt it any further." Participant 3 situated this within a broader surveillance culture: "You needed approval even to drink water. If you didn't, they'd scold or spank your hand." Participant 11 described religious framing that rendered

Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

personal ownership impossible: "We weren't allowed to touch anything without permission. It all belonged to 'God' or the sisters, not us." Deci and Ryan (2000) identify chronic autonomy thwarting, the systematic frustration of self-endorsed action, as a reliable precursor to either externally governed compliance or motivational withdrawal.

Subtheme 2.2: Public Shaming and Identity-Level Judgement

Public shaming around ordinary developmental failures left lasting marks on self-concept. Participant 5 described being made to stand before peers after bedwetting: "I believed I was disgusting." Participant 10 recalled being labelled "good for nothing" after spilling food and added: "I believed it after that." Participant 13 described how religious framing extended shaming beyond ordinary correction: "They told us, 'God sees all. Don't be naughty or you'll be punished.' So even having a want was sin." Erikson (1950) distinguished healthy, bounded guilt from the more corrosive, identity-level shame that institutions of this kind appeared to generate, associating the latter with chronic self-doubt rather than specific behavioural learning.

Subtheme 2.3: Motivational Withdrawal and Learned Helplessness

Over time, participants described arriving at what several recognised, in retrospect, as a suspension of desire. Participant 15 reported: "I didn't cry, didn't laugh too much. I was 'neutral', that's how I survived." Participant 6 located this with notable developmental precision: "By age three or four, I'd already discovered that attempting was hazardous." Seligman (1972) identified this pattern, calling it learned helplessness, the predictable consequence of repeated, inescapable punishment for self-initiated action. Despite this, covert autonomy persisted. Participant 4 hid crayons and drew under her bed: "It was the only thing I could do that was just for me." Participant 8 kept a hidden spoon under her pillow: "Just knowing I had something that was mine." The autonomy drive, these accounts suggest, was suppressed rather than extinguished.

Stage 3: Initiative vs. Guilt

Core theme: Suppressed Agency and Moralised Culpability

Subtheme 3.1: Suppression of Playfulness and Intellectual Curiosity

Spontaneous playfulness, curiosity, and leadership were routinely curtailed. Participant 15 recalled organising an activity for younger children: "My sister was like, 'Stop being bossy. You're a kid.' And then I stopped." Participant 3 described intellectual initiative being dismissed: "I contributed an idea during class but the sister waved me off and said 'sit down.' I did not contribute any ideas after that." Participant 13 noted that even laughter attracted sanction: "If I ever giggled too loudly, they'd say be quiet because I was disturbing God. I was fearful to be happy." The guilt these accounts describe extended to desire and spontaneity, not merely to specific transgressions.

Subtheme 3.2: Internalised Guilt and Moralised Self-Monitoring

Several participants developed a hyper-vigilant self-monitoring in which the ordinary impulse toward action was accompanied by pre-emptive guilt. Participant 1 described praying as penance for ordinary desire: "I prayed a lot because I thought I was bad for wanting things." Participant 9 noted how guilt suppressed voice: "I wanted to say things or ask questions but I felt guilty, like I was rude or disrespectful." Kakar (1978) argues that Indian institutional moral instruction frequently positions obedience to communal and

Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

religious authority as the primary developmental virtue, with no balancing individual affirmation to counterweight it.

Subtheme 3.3: Covert Initiative as Psychological Survival

Initiative persisted through covert channels. Participant 5 read smuggled books after lights out: "It felt like I was claiming a part of myself." Participant 14 wrote fiction on hidden paper scraps. Participant 11 described taking a new student to the bathroom without seeking permission: "It made me feel special." These acts were not rebellion so much as quiet insistence on existing, and they illustrate Masten's (2001) argument that resilience operates through basic adaptational drives finding whatever narrow channel the environment leaves open rather than through exceptional personal qualities.

Stage 4: Industry vs. Inferiority

Core theme: Conditional Worth and Fragile Competence

Subtheme 4.1: Absence of Individual Recognition and Comparative Shame

The institutional culture described by participants consistently failed to recognise individual effort. Participant 6 received a good academic result only to be told: "Don't be proud. Other individuals did better." Participant 3 noted: "Regardless of how much effort you made, no attention was paid. They only criticised if you did it incorrectly." Participant 13 described visible hierarchies of institutional favouritism: "There were favourites. The rest of us felt like background characters in our own lives." Participant 7 described a selection process for institutional roles that rendered non-chosen children structurally invisible: "We competed to be chosen for church plays. If you weren't chosen, then you felt insignificant."

Subtheme 4.2: Fear of Failure and Performance Avoidance

Fear of failure became self-reinforcing. Participant 9 confessed to pretending ignorance in class: "I knew the answer but wouldn't raise my hand, because if you got it wrong, they'd humiliate you." Participant 5 described crying through handwriting practice after watching peers' books torn up for minor errors. Participant 12 described anticipatory freezing: "I felt I was going to mess up and be punished before everyone, even when I wanted to do well." Deci and Ryan (2000) identify this pattern as the motivational cost of chronic competence thwarting.

Subtheme 4.3: Episodic Mastery as Resilience Anchor

Episodic, peer-recognised mastery provided anchors of disproportionate psychological weight. Participant 1 taught herself to sew on old clothing: "It made me feel ingenious, like I could learn anything." Participant 8 repaired a broken shelf to spontaneous peer applause: "That stuck, I felt capable." Participant 4 described mastering routine cleaning tasks as a means of establishing a small sphere of order within an otherwise ungovernable environment. These moments illustrate how the industry drive routes itself around closed institutional channels toward whatever alternative opening remains available.

Stage 5: Identity vs. Role Confusion

Core theme: Fragmented Selfhood and the Search for a Story to Inhabit

Subtheme 5.1: Unknown Lineage and Sociocultural Identity Disruption

This stage generated the most concentrated distress across the sample. The absence of biological family history, no known parents, no caste, no socially meaningful surname,

Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

combined with institutionally imposed religious and moral identities to produce identity confusion of a kind Erikson's framework, built around assumed genealogical knowledge, does not anticipate. Participant 3 asked the question that recurred across multiple interviews: "I don't even know my mother's name. How can I know who I am if I don't know where I came from?" Participant 6 described how explanatory absence resolved into self-blame: "I was informed that my parents left me but never did anybody tell me why. I thought perhaps I was born bad." Participant 10 described the social weight: "If people ask me about my last name or caste, I become speechless. That makes me feel fake." Participant 14 noted how the absence was routinely re-inscribed: "In school forms, there is always a blank space next to father's name. It feels like a reminder that something is missing in me." Kakar (1978) argued that Indian selfhood is constituted through family lineage, caste, and religious community in ways Western theory does not capture, which helps explain why these specific absences carried such disproportionate weight.

Subtheme 5.2: Imposed Religious and Moral Identities

Institutionally prescribed identities constrained adolescent exploration. Participant 2 described anxiety around compulsory worship she privately questioned: "What if I don't believe? It made me scared even to think about." Participant 5 recalled suppression of emerging gender-identity questions: "I felt different in my body, like maybe I wasn't a typical girl. But if I said anything, I would be punished." These patterns correspond to Marcia's (1966) concept of foreclosure, premature commitment to an externally imposed identity without genuine exploration, as the likely outcome when adolescent questioning is systematically penalised.

Subtheme 5.3: Emerging Acts of Self-Definition

Small, symbolically weighted acts of self-definition emerged nonetheless. Participant 1 dyed a streak of hair blue at sixteen: "They were angry but I felt alive. It was mine." Participant 6 adopted her own given name in place of one the institution had assigned: "It was a small revolution." Participant 8 began writing poems in a hidden diary: "It was my voice, at last." These acts represent belated but genuine entries into identity exploration, the beginning of the authentic self-authorship Marcia (1966) associates with identity achievement.

Stage 6: Intimacy vs. Isolation

Core theme: Guarded Connection and Reparative Belonging

Subtheme 6.1: Fear of Abandonment and Defensive Distancing

By young adulthood, the history of early abandonment had translated into relational hypervigilance. Participant 2 described the internal arithmetic of anticipated loss: "Every time someone shows me kindness, I start counting the days until they disappear. I don't believe people stay." Participant 7 described a deliberate defensive architecture: "I keep everyone at a safe distance. If no one is truly inside, no one can walk out." Participant 14 described an involuntary retreat in moments of deepening connection: "When relationships get serious, I suddenly detach. It's like a reflex I can't control." These patterns map onto the avoidant and anxious adult attachment styles Hazan and Shaver (1987) showed to be continuous with early caregiving experience.

Subtheme 6.2: Moralised Sexuality and Somatic Memory

The moralised shame of earlier stages carried into sexual development. Participant 4 recalled: "We were taught sex was sinful. Even now I feel guilty for having desire."

Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Participant 13 described somatic intrusion: "When intimacy starts, I freeze. My body remembers being powerless." Herman's (1992) account of complex trauma describes this precisely: the body re-enacts a relational history that conscious reflection alone cannot fully access or revise.

Subtheme 6.3: Chosen Families and Reparative Connection

Several participants described constructing durable bonds through deliberately chosen relationships. Participant 3 explained: "My closest friends are my family. Holidays with them finally feel like home." Participant 9 found belonging through a poetry collective. Participant 6 described mentoring foster children as simultaneously generative and personally reparative: "Mentoring gives me the connection I missed, and a reason to trust again." These chosen-family structures illustrate Masten et al.'s (2021) point that resilience resources are assembled from whatever relational materials the environment makes available.

Stage 7: Generativity vs. Stagnation

Core theme: Reparative Giving and the Shadow of Unresolved Intimacy

Subtheme 7.1: Reparative Career and Mentorship Orientations

Generativity emerged as an anticipatory orientation shaped explicitly by personal deprivation history. Participant 3 connected career to unmet early need: "My career in community health is my way of giving back. I want to be the adult I needed when I was young." Participant 4 described mentoring foster children: "Helping kids in foster care is like caring for the child I used to be." Participant 9 described advocacy as retroactive voice: "Each talk feels like I'm breaking the silence of my own childhood." This redemptive narrative pattern, in which early suffering becomes the origin of a later capacity for contribution, reflects what McAdams (2013) calls the redemptive self.

Subtheme 7.2: Anticipated Stagnation

Some participants described a quieter anxiety about potential stagnation tracing directly back to the intimacy avoidance of Stage 6. Participant 6 reflected: "I poured myself into my career but now I feel an emptiness I can't name." Participant 10 described avoidance of close ties followed by late-emerging regret: "I avoided close ties for decades. Now I worry it's too late to leave a mark." Both accounts illustrate Erikson's epigenetic principle operating visibly across the later stages.

Stage 8: Integrity vs. Despair

Core theme: Self-Authored Narrative and Anticipated Coherence

Subtheme 8.1: Constructing a Coherent Life Narrative

All accounts of this stage were anticipatory given the sample's age, but they proved theoretically significant. Participant 6 offered a striking reframing: "I never knew my parents, but when I tell my story to my grandchildren, I realise I created the family history that matters." Participant 11 described memoir-writing as deliberate integration: "Writing helps me feel that my life, though unconventional, has a clear arc." These accounts suggest that deliberate narrative construction, actively authoring one's story rather than inheriting one, may be a particularly important resilience resource for individuals whose origins were withheld.

Subtheme 8.2: Spiritual Reconciliation and Existential Acceptance

Participant 4 reframed mortality expansively: "I used to fear death, but now I see it as a reunion with everything bigger than me." Participant 7 resolved the lineage absence of Stage 5 through species-level belonging: "I don't know my ancestry, yet I feel part of the human family. That's enough." Participant 10 described a self-authored ritual: "I light a candle each evening, not for parents I never knew, but for the life I built." The spiritual and philosophical frameworks available in Indian cultural life appeared in these accounts as genuine resources for existential integration, even for participants whose earlier relationship with religious instruction had been one of constraint rather than comfort.

DISCUSSION

The clearest finding across all eight stages is that developmental disruption and persistent developmental drive coexist at every stage. These were not exceptional individuals who overcame their circumstances through unusual resilience. They were ordinary people who found, repeatedly, whatever narrow channel the environment left open. This finding supports Masten's (2001) characterisation of resilience as ordinary magic rather than extraordinary exception.

Erikson's epigenetic principle held up clearly. The trust rupture of Stage 1 reappeared in the relational vigilance of Stage 6; the shame of Stage 2 echoed forward in the guilt of Stage 3 and the fragile competence of Stage 4; and unresolved intimacy difficulty in Stage 6 cast a visible shadow over participants' anticipations of Stage 7. These propagation patterns were visible in participants' own narratives rather than being imposed analytically.

What Erikson did not anticipate was the culturally specific weight of lineage absence in the Indian context. Participants' accounts of being rendered speechless by questions about caste and surname, of filling the explanatory vacuum with self-blame, and of having that absence routinely re-inscribed through school paperwork and public forms, provide empirical support for Kakar's (1978) argument that Indian selfhood is constituted through genealogy and community in ways Western developmental theory fails to capture. Any application of Erikson's identity stage in Indian clinical contexts should attend to this dimension specifically.

Ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) helps explain why caregiving failures documented here reflect structural constraint more than individual shortcoming. High caregiver turnover, comparison-based reward systems, and religiously framed discipline are downstream consequences of institutional underfunding and macrosystemic cultural value, not the personal failings of individual caregivers. Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000) and learned helplessness research (Seligman, 1972) together explain the motivational mechanism through which chronic autonomy and competence thwarting produces withdrawal as early as age three or four. Object relations theory (Winnicott, 1953) explains the striking consistency with which participants from different institutions arrived at structurally similar self-soothing strategies. Marcia's (1966) identity status framework clarifies why the institutionally imposed religious and gendered identities described in Stage 5 represent foreclosure rather than genuine formation.

We note that this study's limitations include the anticipatory nature of Stages 7 and 8 data, given the sample's age range. A longitudinal study following institutionally raised individuals into midlife would substantially strengthen what can be said about the later

Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

stages. The sample of fifteen, adequate for this depth of qualitative analysis, limits generalisability across India's diverse institutional landscape. Purposive and snowball sampling likely favoured participants with higher reflective capacity or more stable post-institutional trajectories. Member checking was conducted with five of the fifteen participants.

CONCLUSIONS

The participants in this study grew up in the absence of the relational conditions that most developmental theory treats as foundational. They did not, as a result, fail to develop. They developed differently, along narrower, more inventive, more quietly determined pathways than Erikson's original framework anticipated. Across every stage and across every subtheme identified here, disruption and drive coexisted. For clinical practice, the stage-specific findings support attachment-focused, narrative-based therapeutic approaches for post-institutional adults, targeting identity coherence and relational safety rather than symptom management alone. For institutional practice, the evidence makes a clear case for consistent primary caregiver assignment, replacement of comparison-based reward hierarchies with individualised recognition, and disciplinary cultures capable of distinguishing genuine moral formation from the suppression of developmentally appropriate curiosity and autonomy. Erikson's virtues, hope, will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care, and wisdom, remain achievable even when the conditions that ordinarily produce them are absent, provided that institutional care creates enough openings for developmental drives to continue moving forward.

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Navigating Identity Without Parental Anchors: A Qualitative Exploration of Psychosocial Development Among Indian Orphans Through Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

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Conflict of Interest

The author(s) declared no conflict of interest.

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