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The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Self-Concept in Italian-Americans

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNICITY AND
SELF-CONCEPT IN ITALIAN-AMERICANS

BY

PAUL ROBERT CASSARINO

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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IN

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THESIS ABSTRACT

It is the purpose of this research to investigate the relationship of ethnicity and self-concept. Relationship here means that self-concept varies with ethnicity even when other variables, such as social class, age, etc. are similar.

In the literature review, the argument is developed that perceptions of self are in part formulated from the perception of oneself as being ethnic or having a particular ethnic heritage. These ethnic perceptions include belief systems, patterns of emotions, expectations, perceptions of the environment, sense of reality, interpretive schemes for interacting in the world, etc. In the development of self-perception or self-concept, these perceptions that are ethnic in origin are incorporated into the self-concept and no longer are ethnic perception per se, but become part of the individuals perception of himself or herself. In that way, ethnicity becomes a psychological dimension, passed on from generation to generation through the psychological constructs which are responsible for the development of self-concept.

The hypotheses presented are 1) that persons of the same ethnic heritage have similar self-concepts;

2) that persons of the same ethnic heritage have similar ideal self-concepts; 3) that persons of the same ethnic heritage will perceive their parents of the same sex as having similar self-concepts; and, 4) that persons of the same ethnic heritage from a homogeneous family will have self-concepts which are more similar than persons from families which are ethnically homogeneous.

The subjects for this study were 117 undergraduate college students of Italian-American descent. The majority of the subjects were of the third and fourth generation. A comparative sample of 117 undergraduate college students was also obtained. This comparative sample was similar in every way (i.e. age, class, generation, etc.) to the Italian-American sample except that the comparative sample contained no members with any Italian-American ancestry. The subjects were administered the Activity Vector Analysis (AVA), an adjective checklist type of assessment instrument. The AVA is a widely used, well established technique for the assessment of self-concept. The subjects were asked to fill out three AVA checklist forms resulting in self-concept profiles being generated for the subjects 1) self-concept, 2) ideal self-concept and 3) perceptions of same-sex parent.

The results indicated that the Italian-American subjects yielded two groups or clusters of profiles that were statistically significantly different from the norma-

tive sample used by AVA measure. Results indicated one of those clusters to be significantly different also from the comparative sample of college students. Differences of statistical significance were not found for profiles generated for the ideal self-concept, for persons from homogeneous vs. heterogeneous family background or for profiles of perceptions of parents.

Results indicate that for third and fourth generation college students of Italian-American descent that ethnic perceptions are incorporated into self-perception and provide a powerful framework through which to interpret the world and one's self. These findings indicate ethnicity to be psychological dimension which becomes stable by becoming incorporated into the self-concept. This refutes the traditional view that ethnicity is a socio-cultural phenomenon that will be extinguished after two or three generations.

The implication for psychology is that ethnicity must be considered by both clinical psychologists and research psychologists. Research psychologists must investigate ethnicity as part of any research on the development of self-concept and self-perceptions. Clinical psychologists must acknowledge the variable of ethnicity in the development of self-concept and attempts to change self-concept or self-perceptions.

DEDICATION

For My Dad And
My Cousin Santana

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INTRODUCTION

In 1975, The National Project On Group Identity And Mental Health issued a report indicating that it was time that mental health professionals began considering the variable of ethnicity in the delivery of mental health services. Specifically, in referring to the various ethnic groups, the Project issued the following statement: "An approach to mental health care is proposed that would be culturally compatible with their (the members of the ethnic groups) lifestyles, drawing on the strength of the communal bond and the sense of belonging it provides" (Giordano, 1975, p. 36).

The assertion made in the above report represents a growing trend that began in the last decade. A trend in which the variable of ethnicity has been given greater consideration in the assessment of individual behavior. It is unlikely that this interest in ethnicity is merely a fad in that the interest persists and grows. Beginning in the late 1960's and early 1970's, any discussion of ethnicity most often meant a discussion of Blacks or other non-white groups. Through the 1970's and continuing to the present, interest in ethnicity has expanded to include white ethnic groups as well as non-white groups. Research, in which ethnicity is

considered as an important variable, has increased. As will be seen in the literature review section of this work, that research concerns a number of different subjects on which ethnicity may have an effect.

This consideration of ethnicity by some professionals in psychology and related disciplines is a marked departure from the traditional treatment of ethnicity. Formerly, a discussion of ethnicity most likely focused on the foods of the various ethnic groups, their language, or perhaps on the certain behaviors that immigrant group members manifested in homogeneous communities. There was little consideration given to the effect that a person's ethnicity had on his or her own psychological development.

The dismissal of the role of ethnicity in psychological development did not evolve as part of a conscious effort made by mental health professionals. Rather, this attitude resulted from a broader attitude historically held by the whole society. This broader attitude has been simply that if society waited long enough everybody in the United States would essentially be the same and divest themselves of behaviors related specifically to their ethnic background. This belief, discussed from different perspectives by diverse groups, is generally known in the social sciences as the "melting pot theory." Held essentially without question up until the last decade, this melting pot theory is now

regarded by many as part of an American myth; a myth which extolled the virtues of "sameness," while at the same time equating "different" and "diverse" with "not good." Nevertheless, the melting pot theory was held historically with such persistence, that research regarding ethnicity was considered superfluous. Why should a social scientist spend time studying groups of people who in one or two generations were going to disappear anyway? Certain groups, such as Blacks and Indians, were obviously not going to disappear physically and did command more attention than white ethnic groups. However, even non-white ethnic groups were expected to assimilate to the degree that they were able and allowed by the dominant culture.

Slowly, however, social scientists have begun to investigate the proposal that the effects of ethnicity are more profound than, for example, the foods one eats. But even now, a considerable amount of research which has been done, has been research that is sociological in nature. That is, the investigations have tended to focus on how ethnics behave as a group. Attention has been given to such questions as "how do ethnics vote?"; "what are the political positions of certain ethnic groups?"; and, "in what manner and at what rate do certain ethnic groups assimilate?" (assuming, as has been the case, that they do assimilate). While inquiries into such questions are appropriate for sociological

research, this study proposes that there is a psychological dimension which provides a framework that structures those external social manifestations and while these behaviors reveal that some dimension such as ethnicity does exist, investigation of these social manifestations do not provide information regarding the internal psychological mechanisms which transmit these "ethnic behaviors" from one generation to the next. When one considers the definition of ethnicity, one must look beyond the sociological manifestations of ethnicity such as the foods one eats, voting patterns, etc. One must regard ethnicity as consisting of psychological constructs such as belief systems, views of the world and self, patterns of emotions, etc. More specifically, the definition of ethnicity consists of beliefs and pictures one has of oneself that have been incorporated into the self-concept from ethnic perceptions. The missing psychological link then between the social manifestations of behaviors that are considered to be ethnic behaviors is the link which explains how ethnic perceptions become, through psychological mechanisms, incorporated into self-perceptions and self-concept. The author has, therefore, chosen to examine in this study the effect of ethnicity on the individual's self-perceptions or self-concept. While psychologists often seem to imply that belonging to a particular ethnic group affects self-

concept, very little systematic research has been done to investigate the relationship between any white American ethnic group and self-perceptions. Such research may be missing because of the historical attitude that ethnic groups would assimilate rapidly and such research was unnecessary. Currently, however, this assimilation model seems antithetical to naturalistic observation which indicates not only that ethnicity exists but that it persists. In stating that ethnicity persists, means that ethnicity does not die out after one or two generations of an ethnic group member being in this country. Rather, ethnicity continues to be incorporated into the self-perceptions of third and fourth generation ethnic group members.

The objective of this study is to investigate the effect of ethnicity on perception of self. The questions raised are whether certain self-concepts or self-perceptions persist in members of the same ethnic group, and whether particular dynamics of family affect the maintenance and transmission of these self-perceptions. In proceeding with this study the author will 1) provide an extensive review of the literature pertinent to ethnicity, self-concept and the relationship of the two; 2) describe the methodology used in this study including the sample, measurement and procedures used; 3) report a set of results; and 4) discuss the results in terms of the implication of those results for both scientific and

applied psychology.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review, will begin with a discussion of ethnicity and establish that ethnicity is a set of perceptions that are passed from one generation to the next and that these ethnic perceptions affect how ethnics see themselves and relate to the world.

A discussion of theories of self-concept and the important construct in each of these theories which contributes to the psychological development of self-perceptions will follow. That is, we will review how self-perceptions evolved from the point of view of different theories of individual psychological development.

Finally, in the third section of the literature review, a discussion of how self-perceptions which evolve from ethnic identification are related to the constructs which are involved in the development of self-perceptions from a psychological perspective will be offered.

Ethnicity

Even though ethnicity as a variable in research by social scientists is a recent phenomenon, our own experience informs us of the reality of the existence of

ethnicity and ethnic groups. Other than personal experience, much of what we have come to acknowledge as ethnicity comes from our experiences in the society. In travelling, for example, through cities, we become aware of the wide diversity of one neighborhood from another. In larger cities, each neighborhood often functions as a small city within the larger city.

These ethnic communities are also easily identifiable by both members of the community and members outside the community. Even an outsider, who may be newly arrived or visiting an urban area, can identify easily the distinctiveness of the neighborhoods. The general population also acknowledges the distinctiveness of the neighborhoods by giving the neighborhoods geographical names and specific physical boundaries.

During the last decade, even popular publications have presented articles in which the existences of ethnicity was acknowledged. In 1981 for example, New York Magazine published an extensive piece entitled, "Touring Europe-Right In Town." The article stated; "Luckily, we live in New York, where a subway token is the next best thing to a Eurailpass . . . we cross the water to Brooklyn and Queens - and the ethnic communities whose forebearers come from Greece, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Ireland" (pp. 16-17).

Even though people's own experience inform them

that there is a diversity in this country, the persistence of the melting pot theory has caused people to either deny the importance of ethnicity or in some cases disregard ethnicity altogether.

Today still, even when ethnicity is discussed, the discussion often focuses on the observed, superficial characteristics of ethnic groups. Articles such as the one quoted above serve to reinforce the idea that something called ethnicity does exist, but at the same time demean the ethnic experience by viewing ethnic differences as differences that are comparatively superfluous, such as the foods the people eat.

Giordano (1973) points out that documenting the effect of ethnicity on such behavior as food choices, voting patterns, residential patterns, etc. is easily done. Clearly politicians have been doing this since the great waves of immigration began. What this study proposes is that not only does ethnicity exist but that it exists in ways that are more profound than is commonly thought. This requires serious questioning of the melting pot theory as well as an investigation of those self-perceptions that are ethnic and how those self-perceptions are related to the development of self-perception according to developmental psychological theories. Before discussing ethnicity as a set of self-perceptions however, the models used in accounting for the existence of ethnicity will be discussed.

Models for dealing with ethnicity

Because of the existence of ethnic groups and ethnicity within our society different models have evolved for understanding and tolerating the cultural diversity produced by the various ethnic groups.

Gordon (1964) suggests that there are three possible models or theories of assimilation. The first is called both the elimination model of the anglo-conformity model. The elimination model is the most primitive, and involves domination by the majority ethnic group. According to this model, the immigrants who came to this country were expected to assume the behaviors and social mores of the dominant Anglo-Saxon group. There is a deliberate effort to strip immigrants of their own cultural attachments and to replace these values with those of the dominant culture. Related to the model of elimination is separation or secession. Separation is considered to be a second form of elimination. In separation, political as well as cultural independence is given by the dominant group to the remaining group or groups. Territorial divisions are usually established in this form of elimination. An example of this would be if Anglo-Saxon Canada eliminated the French cultural influences on Canadian culture by allowing Quebec to be a separate political entity.

A second model, and one that is less restrictive than the first, is the assimilation model or the melting

pot model. In the assimilation model, the culture of the United States (or host country) is not seen as merely a modified Anglo culture, but a blend of the cultures of all persons who have come from Europe and elsewhere. The emphasis in the assimilation model is that both the host and immigrant groups blend and change, producing a new composite society, culture, and identity. While in this theory one could accommodate the idea that new institutions and mores might develop from the interaction of the various cultures; the fact remains that the immigrant groups, as they arrived, were still expected to adopt many of the Anglo institutions although they might be allowed to make certain limited inputs from their own culture. Theoretically however, it was believed that over time common institutions, lifestyles, and customs would evolve.

Greeley (1974) and Glazer and Moynihan (1963) expose American assimilation as a myth. Greeley contends that the assimilation model fails to do justice to the complexity of American culture. Further, the assimilation model does not account for the importance of pluralism in the society or even acknowledge that pluralism exists.

The observation that pluralism was persisting in our society, despite the emphasis on the assimilation model, lead to the proposal of the model of cultural pluralism. According to the model of cultural pluralism,

there is societal toleration for ethnic differences, with a high degree of cultural autonomy for cultural subgroups. Each ethnic group maintains enough separation to insure the continuation of the ethnic group's identity, but at the same time interacts effectively with the American society as a whole. This model acknowledges that despite efforts toward homogeneity, meaningful distinctions between ethnic groups are still evident.

In summary, the strategies of the Anglo-conformity and assimilation models have not succeeded in eliminating ethnicity in this country. To the contrary, ethnicity in American culture has been paid more, not less attention recently by many social scientists.

The above description of the proposed models for ethnicity and their relative ability to account for ethnicity in American society is important because this study is based on the assumption that the cultural pluralism model of ethnicity is the most powerful description of what has happened and what is happening among and within American ethnic groups. Assuming this pluralistic model is to say that ethnicity exists and persists in the society. A discussion of ethnicity continues now with a brief historical outline of the development of ethnic consciousness in the United States; some comments as to who the ethnic are; and then a presentation of the two positions which regard the

development of ethnicity as either a psychological dimension or a socio-cultural dimension.

Development of ethnic consciousness in the United States

To understand ethnicity in contemporary society, it is useful to see how ethnic consciousness developed historically, and how this consciousness continues today among third and fourth generation members of ethnic groups who have never even visited their country of origin.

Since the original inhabitants of North America were American Indian groups, any group coming from Europe after the discovery of America by Europeans can be considered immigrants. While these initial European explorers and settlers came to America in the 16th and 17th century, the first of what might be considered a wave of migration began at the end of the Revolutionary War. These initial immigrant groups came from the British Isles and Western Europe. They had little trouble adjusting to their new home in that the white population which was already in America, was essentially from the same places as were the immigrants who came at the end of the 18th and early 19th century. It is in fact this group of predominantly Anglo-Saxon people who became the dominant group in the culture. The question of ethnic pluralism did not arise with these initial waves of immigrants because they were not culturally diverse from the group who had already settled in

America. Up to this time then, historically, the culture was still homogeneous.

It was not until the end of the 19th and early part of the 20th century that ethnic pluralism became an established fact in America. This occurred when the United States instituted an open door policy which allowed waves of immigrants to enter the country from various parts of Europe. Mostly however, the immigrants who came between the period 1880 to 1920 came from Eastern and Southern Europe. Immigrants from Ireland were also included in this group, although the majority of Irish immigration had taken place before this period.

The immigrants who came in this wave of migration, had for the most part travelled from small agricultural villages throughout Europe, to larger cities in Europe and finally to the United States. These immigrants were primarily the descendants of the poorer classes within their own society and frequently came to America for a more prosperous life for themselves and their families.

Although life in the small towns and villages from which these immigrants came was often harsh and difficult economically and often politically as well, Greeley (1969) has commented:

Nevertheless, there was a warmth and intimacy and closeness in these peasant communities. A person could be sure of the patterns of relationships and be sure that while he might have enemies, he also had friends and the friends and enemies were defined by historic tradition. Society indeed controlled individual

members, but it also rallied support, strength and resources when help was needed. It was a highly personal world, not in the sense that the dignity of the human person was more respected than it is today, but in the sense that relationships were, for the most part, between persons who knew each other, understood their respective roles, and knew what kind of behavior to expect. Family, church, and community were all fairly simple and overwhelmingly important, and though mankind had evolved beyond the all-pervading intimacy of the tribe or clan, life was nonetheless quite personal and intimate in a stylized and highly structured way (p. 6).

As these immigrants came to America, they lost some of the support and intimacy of their old villages. A social phenomenon evolved in large American cities in which members of similar ethnic groups began seeking out people like themselves. To be sure, immigrants especially during the initial period of the great wave of immigration (1880-1920), suffered discrimination and would not have been allowed, or financially able, to live anywhere they chose. Yet, there is evidence to suggest that these people chose to live together because of their cultural similarities and the sense of support and trust they felt among people from their own villages of origin.

Greeley (1969) has described the attempt by the immigrant to re-establish the immigrant's sense of community in the new environment:

Because such settlers were 'his kind of people', he could trust them; they knew their obligations to him and would help him to adjust to this new world in which he found himself. Thus, in the Italian neighborhoods of New York's lower east side in the early 1920's, it was possible to

trace, block by block, not only the region in Italy, but also the villages from which the inhabitants had come. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that some of these blocks were nothing more than foreign colonies of Sicilian villages (p. 4).

Parenthetically, while the establishment of ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods is part of the historical perspective of ethnicity and ethnic groups, the desire to live among people of similar ethnic backgrounds persists to the present day. It is common knowledge in large urban areas such as New York, that certain of the suburbs are inhabited predominantly by members of one or the other of the ethnic groups. Most of these people are second and third generation ethnic group members and have never visited the villages from whence their ancestors came. Yet, they strive for the same sense of community that their ancestors did.

This phenomenon of establishing ethnically homogeneous communities does not just exist in the large urban areas of the country. In Rhode Island for example, it is known among the Italian-American community that persons with Sicilian ancestry live predominantly in the part of the State surrounding Westerly, while Providence is populated by people whose ancestors came from the area around Naples. Hartford Connecticut and now its predominantly Italian-American suburb, Wethersfield, are populated also from third and fourth generation descendants of Sicilian immigrants.

From an historical and contemporary perspective, this persistent tendency toward maintaining somewhat homogeneous ethnic communities is important because it indicates that in some way the notion of one's own ethnicity is being transmitted and because it is additional evidence that the melting pot theory is simply a myth that is just not occurring even as ethnic groups pass from one generation to the next.

It is not difficult to understand why the early immigrants retained their ethnic identification and chose to live in ethnically homogeneous communities. Even with the pressure to assimilate, ethnic identification would be very important for the immigrants to survive in what must have seemed like a hostile cultural environment. Yet considering this pressure to assimilate and become part of a single, amalgamated-like culture in this country, it is important and more complicated to investigate why ethnicity persisted and to some extent is being re-asserted by the third and fourth generation descendants of immigrants.

Who are the ethnics?

In the strictest sense, ethnic groups are groups of the descendants of people who came from Eastern and Southern Europe and were, and often still are seen as having cultural heritages considerably distinct from the dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture of American society.

In addition to these peoples from Eastern and Southern Europe, descendants of settlers from Ireland are also considered to be members of an ethnic group. For some who study ethnicity, the Irish temperament and certain aspects of their cultural heritage (e.g. language) was so similar to the dominant WASP culture that they did not include them as an ethnic group. However, the Irish do constitute an ethnic group when evaluated in the light of the definition of ethnicity being followed in this study.

In fact, it can be proposed that the WASPs themselves constitute an ethnic group although their geographical and political boundaries are not so easily defined. They do have a common historical experience and a cultural heritage which, as in any other group, serve to contribute to the development of individual personality.

The more controversial question is whether groups without common cultural heritage can be considered an ethnic group. For example, do professionals or the professional class compose an ethnic group? For those who equate ethnicity with class differences, the answer would be yes. However, in terms of the definition assumed in this study, professionals do not qualify as an ethnic group.

The movement of a person into the professional class does cause him to modify his behaviors and

strategies, but that is not the same as divesting himself of his ethnicity. It is more likely that what happens is that the professional restricts his sensibilities so that his behavior is appropriate for what is considered acceptable by the professional class. Even John Kennedy who was both of the upper class and President of the United States was frequently described as having many qualities about him that were 'Irish.'

Ethnicity as a socio-cultural dimension

Various explanations have been generated to explain the phenomenon of continued ethnic identification. One type of explanation is socio-cultural in nature. According to these explanations, ethnicity is a function of such variables as socio-economic class, political belief, or social phenomena such as industrialization or the growth of governmental bureaucracy. Although the author does not accept these explanations as accounting for the development and persistence of ethnicity in the individual, the explanations will be discussed here because they are frequently used in literature concerning ethnicity.

Ethnic differences and social class differences have long been regarded as the same things. For a long time, so many members of the ethnic groups have also been members of the working or blue collar class that ethnic sensibilities have become equated with working

class sensibilities. Not only does this view minimize the differences between the various ethnic groups (since they are all working class and, therefore, similar according to this explanation) but it also presupposes that as one transcends the working class, he or she loses whatever it is about him or her that is ethnic. In fact, there is growing evidence that this is not happening and that ethnicity is retained across class. Greeley (1974), in reporting data compiled by the National Opinion Research Center, has indicated that "data we now have on the differential personality constellation of eight American white ethnic groups seems to me to offer conclusive evidence that even social class is held constant, immense differences of personalities have existed among these groups" (p. 31).

The second incorrect concept is that ethnic groups are essentially large political groups. While in certain cases the ethnic groups may function jointly as a cohesive political force, focusing on the groups only as political forces disregard their much more important cultural and psychological distinctiveness. The treatment of ethnic groups as political groups can best be seen in the rather famous Moynihan and Glazer book, Beyond the Melting Pot. In that work, Moynihan and Glazer (1970) essentially argue that ethnic groups are large political groups but disregard other aspects of the ethnic groups such as their cultural distinctiveness.

Isaacs (in Giordano, 1973) relates the reassertion of ethnic identification in white ethnic groups to the resurgence of the "Black" identity of the 1960's. Isaacs views this change as essentially political in nature but does see the 'identity crisis' between being "Black" and being "American" as being less ambivalent as is the questions of white ethnic groups. Isaacs states: "In the groups of the white population, the response (to the identity crisis) is more ambivalent and more ambiguous, and our knowledge of their present states of mind is more sparse" (p. 7).

Titmus (1965) relates the resurgence of ethnic identification to effect of industrialization on the family. He sees the interest in ethnic identity as a kind of defense by people who are feeling overwhelmed by a highly industrialized and technological society.

Bensman and Vidich (1971), two sociologists, see the reassertion of ethnicity as a result of the growth of the bureaucracy in so many areas of American life. As it becomes increasingly difficult to achieve the "American dream," people retreat to their traditional culture and values. In a sense, this is seen as a reaction to complicated social and economic trauma that has been experienced in recent American history.

While these socio-cultural explanations of ethnicity have been popular historically among social scientists, many now believe that the present reassertion

of ethnicity and the persistence of ethnic identification over time is much more involved with personal identify and self-perception.

Ethnicity as a psychological dimension

Ethnicity, seen as a psychological dimension, is a recent phenomenon. Essentially, ethnicity, according to this explanation, is a set of perceptions which influences how we observe the world and how we interace with it.

Rossi (in Greeley, 1974) for example, sees ethnicity as having to do with "subtle but important differences of expectation in one's most intimate personal relationships" (p. 31).

Novak (1973) sees different ethnic groups members as " . . . persons in different traditions having various conceptions of life and purpose and meaning" (p. 40).

In The Rise of The Unmeltable Ethnics, Novak (1973) offers the following explanation of ethnicity:

'What is an ethnic group? It is a group with historical memory, real or imaginary. One belongs to an ethnic group in part involuntarily, in part by choice. Given a grandparent or two, one chooses to shape one's consciousness by one history rather than another. Ethnic memory is not a set of single events remembered, but rather a set of instincts, feelings, intimacies, expectations, patterns of emotions and behavior; a sense of reality; a set of stories for individuals - and the people as a whole-to live out" (p. 56).

Novak elaborates on his own definition by further stating; "The interpretive schemes according to which

humans shape their actions are particular, concrete, and diverse. The ethnic group is one of the chief shapers of personal action and its significance" (p. 57).

These dimensions (i.e. expectation, conceptions of life, historical memory, patterns of emotions, interpretive schemes etc.) are all psychological dimensions. It is the thesis of this study that these dimensions are the powerful constructs for explaining ethnicity and why ethnicity remains after three and four generations. In approaching ethnicity as a psychological dimension, the author contends that a person's perceptions of the world are at least in part ethnic perceptions. We have a set of beliefs, a value system and a set of perceptions about the world and ourselves and these shape how we behave in the world.

Figure 1 shows how ethnicity is a set of perceptions that are incorporated into our self perception. Other factors, such as age, gender and socio-economic status also affect our self-perception and contribute to it. The figure however, indicates the contention that in the assessment of self-perception those perceptions that are ethnic must be considered.

Now that it has been demonstrated how ethnicity is a set of perceptions and that these perceptions are psychological in nature, psychological theories of self-concept development will be reviewed to show how the set of perceptions we have called ethnic may be

Figure 1. Factors Contributing To The Formation Of Self-Perception

related to the psychological constructs that are responsible for the development of self concept.

Self-Concept

In the previous section a discussion of ethnicity which particularly focused on ethnicity as a set of psychological dimensions was given. Among these dimensions were historical memory, expectations, patterns of emotions, sense of reality interpretive schemes. These dimensions contribute to our self-perceptions and shape how we behave in our relationship with the world.

In order for these dimensions to affect how we see the world, these dimensions must in some way be incorporated into our perceptions of ourselves. That is, these dimensions, which are ethnic in nature, must be incorporated into our self-perceptions or self-concept. Psychology offers theories of self-concept which explain how certain theoretical constructs are responsible for the development of self-perceptions or one's self-concept. What will be discussed at this time is how different theorists in psychology talk about self-perception and the development of self-perception.

What is self concept?

The concept of self is essentially beliefs and ideas a person holds about himself/herself. Self-concept and self-perceptions are seen primarily as the result of a person interacting with his or her environment;

especially the immediate environment of the family. Self-concept and self-perceptions also affect the way a person views the world and interacts with the world. To the degree that the self-perceptions are reinforced or the behavioral interaction with the environment is successful, the person's self-perception or self-concept is strengthened.

Freud and the 'ego'

In orthodox Freudian theory (Wyss 1973), the ego is developed out the energy of the id. The id, for Freud was the source of all psychic energy. That is, the id was the reservoir of the instincts. The instincts were the drives of the organism. Whatever propelling motion (i.e. behavior) was performed by the organism, the source of the drive was an instinct residing in the id.

The difficulty for the organism arises from the drives of the id because the id wants immediate gratification. It is not willing to postpone gratification or consider environmental or social aspects of its desires which may make gratification either impractical or unfeasible. The id is impulsive; it wants what it wants when it wants it.

The ego develops through the process known as identification. As the ego selects objects which are gratifying (tension-reducing) it is invested with energy.

The ego soon has energy of its own, but this energy comes from the id - it is not the ego's own energy. Still, as the ego identifies objects which reduce tension, the ego is invested with energy that it can use for its own purposes.

Following the death of Freud, the ego was given greater autonomy and therefore increased responsibility (Cameron 1963). Specifically, there was the addition of the concept of adaptation. In Freud's original theory, adaptation was seen as a way to maintain homeostasis. The self or the ego was not seen as being creative, but rather as a mechanism to reduce tension in the organism. In the modified, neo-Freudian concept of adaptation, it becomes through adaptation that the ego devises new forms of behavior and in doing so masters the environment more fully. The idea of interacting with and mastering the environment more fully, was a major idea elaborated on by the theorists who followed Freud. The introduction of this concept of mastering the environment through adaptation represents a departure from the orthodox Freudian model of personality development to a model in which the ego becomes proactive.

In this neo-Freudian model, the ego is also given autonomous powers with which to do thinking, using ones intellect etc. Initially, these were all thought of as being simply derivatives of the instincts. The ego-psychologists put such concepts as friendship, loyalty,

trust etc. in the domain of the ego. It is unclear how much of this Freud would have subscribed to himself. While he did indicate that the ego may have some autonomous functions, he never did free the ego, in the energy system, from the id.

The concepts of the theoretical positions of Freudian and ego psychology that are especially important to this study are the concepts of identification, incorporation and adaptation. Particularly relevant is adaptation in the way it is used in the ego psychology theories. "Incorporation may be thought of as the "taking into the mind, the attributes of another person" (Burness, 1968, p. 50). Incorporation is an unconscious process and is considered to happen in early childhood. That which is incorporated is considered to be extremely important in the development of the healthy 'self', or ego.

Identification is related to incorporation and again is an unconscious process related to adaptation. Identification, for our purposes may be defined as:

An automatic, unconscious mental process whereby an individual becomes like another person in one or several aspects. It is a natural accompaniment of maturation and mental development and aids in the learning of interests, ideals, mannerisms etc. An individual's adaptive and defensive reaction patterns are often attributable to identification with either loved or admired persons or feared ones. By means of identification with a needed person an individual can often provide himself or herself satisfaction of the needs desired from that other person. Separation from a loved person becomes more tolerable as a result of identification

with him or her (Moore, 1968, p. 50).

The important points to note in this definition is that identification is an unconscious process which contributes to the total development of the self. In that identification affects the development of adaptive and defensive reactions, the methods and strategies a person uses to interact with the environment can be attributed to the sense of self derived from the process of identification and also the related process of incorporation.

Adaptation may be seen as a concept which involves the capacity to cope reasonably, yet advantageously with the environment. While it requires conformity to the reality of the external world, it does not preclude activity directed toward its change. The term may refer to either the state of adaptedness which obtains between the organism and his environment, or the process of adaptation which brings about that state. Successful adaptation is regarded as one criterion of healthy ego functioning, which seeks to bring about a harmonious relationship between the id, superego and external reality. The ego fulfills the task of adaptation by intrapsychic changes or by modifications in the environment through activity. This accommodation should provide a gratifying, satisfactory discharge of instinctual forces within the limitations imposed by the external world and without pathological alterations to the ego itself. Adaptation has active and passive components and should not be confused with 'adjustment,' an essentially passive phenomenon (Moore, 1968, pp. 17-18).

Freud proposed that we incorporate attributes of others into our own self-perceptions through these processes of identification and adaptation. Identification particularly takes place among young children who identify with their parents and other family members in

the immediate environment. Identification affects adaptation in that the individual relates and acts in the world based on how he or she views the world and himself or herself in it. While adaptation can also take place after an interaction with the environment which is unsuccessful (thereby causing us to adapt different behaviors and strategies), the strength of the identification process may also cause us to change the environment and adapt in that way. Rather than reacting to the environment then, the effect of identification is so strong as to cause one to adapt by changing the environment not the self or self-perceptions.

In Freudian theory then, the ego or self results from the processes of identification and adaptation within the immediate environment, particularly the family. Identification produces a strong sense of self and set of self-perceptions that causes the self or ego to act in a certain way in the environment. When met with an unsuccessful interaction in the environment, one may attempt to adapt by changing the environment rather than by changing the set of self-perceptions the organisms holds. This behavior of changing the environment based on one's own perception of self and the world is considered proactive behavior.

Adler and the Creative Self

The concept of adaptation is important to this study because adaptation is affected by both the organism itself (through identification, principally) and by the results the organism achieves or doesn't achieve in the environment.

Adler, a theorist who came shortly after Freud, spoke of the Creative Self; a concept analogous to Freud's ego. The Creative Self is considered the "crowning achievement" of Adler's theory and is important to this study because it (the Creative Self) is, among other things, considered to be the determinant of personality.

For Adler (in Hall and Lindsey, 1966) each individual is unique. Each individual is also seen as suffering from inferiority and therefore spends much of his life striving for superiority.

Along with innate personal drives, Adler theorized that man also had an innate disposition to social interest. That is, being socially involved was for Adler a human characteristic. Adler also introduced the concept of "style of life." For Adler, this was the total way in which a person went about living his life and interacting with the environment. Again, the idea here is of uniqueness in that each person's style of life might be unique even though each person had the same goal; that is striving for superiority.

The Creative Self can be thought of as the person's whole consciousness, but unlike the self of the orthodox Freudians, the Creative Self is not static; it is proactive. In that way, the Creative Self is more related to the ego or self of ego-psychologists.

The Creative Self is not the personality per se, nor is it a construct in the personality as the ego is, rather it helps to create the personality. In other words, it is a construct which allows each man to be that kind of person he wants to be.

The Creative Self helps to determine the person's unique style of life and in that way it may be compared to the ego. Also, like the ego, the Creative Self chooses defense mechanisms which will produce the individual's observed behavior. Unlike the ego, however, the Creative Self is not only autonomous, but it is creative (i.e. proactive). It is not bound by any energy system and does not have to be beholden to any other construct.

The Creative Self at the same time contains and produces many of the things which society sees as its cultural heritage - art, music, etc.

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The Creative Self pulls the person along, it determines his personality and decides what course of action the person will take. The Creative Self can

produce new behaviors and alternatives for the person in his or her strivings and his style of life. The Creative Self is forward moving and can enhance both self and society.

These constructs of Adler (i.e. the Creative Self, fictional finalism, and style of life) are self-reinforcing. As a person goes forth in the world employing these constructs successfully, the constructs become firmly part of that person's perception of himself or herself and the world. As that person proceeds in the world and changes the world, the environment in which he or she lives is altered.

Sullivan and personification

For Harry S. Sullivan (1953), the self or ego concept is manifested in the self-system. There is no constant personality per se because Sullivan defined personality as the sum total of a person relationships. He further states that anxiety is the result of difficulty in interpersonal relationships. Specifically, we are anxious to the degree that we feel we are being rejected by other people and the magnitude of that rejection.

In order to cope with anxiety, Sullivan believes that each person has what he terms a self-system. A self-system is one of the dynamisms (a kind of habit) but is purported to be probably one of the most important

dynamisms. Sullivan believes that people have a way of seeing themselves and others. He calls this construct "personification," and to the degree that a personification is generalized, a personification becomes a stereotype. Sullivan believes a person does not have a single view of himself or herself, but rather thinks of himself or herself as "good-me," "bad-me," and "not me." These are somewhat related to Roger's idea of self-concept as will be seen later. One must remember in considering Sullivan, that Sullivan speaks of his theoretical considerations not in the absolute but in relation to other people. Therefore, the idea of "good-me" is born out of good experiences with other people.

The self-system essentially is that part of the person that the person perceives as the "good-me." The self-system is a kind of defense system that protects the person from anxiety by providing him only with information about himself or herself that is good. This concept is similar to the ego of Freud in that both the ego and the self-system have the responsibility of defending the organism from anxiety through the use of defense mechanisms. The self-system essentially uses three mechanisms; selective attention, sublimation, and dissociation.

While these mechanisms are all used, the self-system most often uses selective attention. It does so

by simply not attending to that which is anxiety provoking. While this is helpful in that it is protecting the organism from anxiety, it is harmful over time because the self-system can never learn anything new in that it refuses to take in and learn from any negative information. In fact, the more anxiety is felt by the organism, the more the self-system becomes fortified and distinct from the rest of the organism.

The self-system is considerably different from the Creative Self of Adler. The Creative Self holds the central position in Adlerian Theory, while the self-system is not of a high priority for Sullivan. Unlike the Creative Self, the self-system does not learn from errors made (between the organism and the environment) and therefore cannot produce new behaviors as the Creative Self can. Neither is the self-system interested in mastery as is the Creative Self; rather it is interested in defending and protecting the organism from anxiety.

In considering Sullivan then, we must consider the self-system and particularly the construct of "personification." Personifications, for Sullivan, contains a person's self-perceptions and thus is responsible for a person's behavior. The construct of 'personification'

is that which a person believes about him or herself and then acts according to that personification. The actual behavior is carried out by the dynamisms.

Rogers and the "phenomenological self"

For Carl Rogers (1951) the self is of critical importance and central to his theory. Roger's theory is called the Self Theory. In order to understand the concept of self as it is used by Rogers, it is necessary first to understand Rogers use of the concept he calls the "organism."

The organism is the total experience of any person. It is their whole "phenomenal field." Rogers is phenomenology-oriented psychologist and therefore "experience" in his theory means subjective experience (i.e. as the person perceives, feels, etc.).

According to this theory, all of our experience is at first conscious and acceptable to us. However, as conditions of worth are put on us, certain experiences and behaviors become unacceptable. For example, a child does two things that are equally part of his experience; one is punished and the other is not. The one that is punished (i.e. the one that has downgraded his worth) becomes the one the child does not wish to replicate. He eliminates it from his immediate (conscious) experience, but not from his organism. The behavior, although it has been rejected by the individual in his environment, is

nonetheless still valid to the organism. Because conditions of worth have been attached to the child in terms of this particular behavior, the child wishes to remove it from his immediate experience and behavior repertoire. The self or self-concept are those behaviors which do not have conditions of worth put on them and are therefore acceptable to the person. He includes these acceptable behaviors in the world of his experience.

If a person has had many conditions of worth put on him in terms of his or her behaviors, the experiences which are acceptable and available to him or her are going to be less than a person who has had no conditions of worth put on his or her behaviors. A person who has had no conditions of worth placed on his or her behaviors would have a self-concept and organism that were equal. The self or self-concept then is that part of the organism which includes the experiences that the person feels are acceptable and are without conditions of worth put on them. The organism, it must be reiterated here, includes all experiences; experiences that are included in the self and experience that has been banished from the self.

Aside from the self-concept of Rogers which is central to his theory is another important concept; that of congruency and incongruency. To the extent that the experience in the self is different from experience in organism as a whole, the person is referred to as being "incongruent". To the extent that the self and organism

overlap, it is said that the person is congruent.

Rogers also discusses the concept of the "ideal self." The ideal self is simply the perceptions and beliefs a person holds about what he or she thinks are the qualities of the ideal person.

For Rogers then, the self is phenomenological and includes those experiences which the person has experienced as acceptable. The person takes these self-perceptions in the world, interacting with the world in ways that consistent with his phenomenological self. In other words, he chooses behaviors which are acceptable and therefore part of the phenomenological self. Continued negative feedback can cause the phenomenological self to change, but as is the case in the other theories of development of self-concept, the self or self-perceptions have over time been reinforced and strengthened by experience and are therefore very difficult to alter.

In summary, in this section a review of prevalent psychological theories pertaining to the development of self concept have been presented. The specific constructs in each theory which serve as the self-concept constructs for the theories have been identified. For Freud the construct is the ego; for Adler, it is the Creative Self and fictional finalism; for Sullivan it is personification; and for Rogers, it is the phenomenological self and congruency. These constructs represent the self-construct concepts in each theory.

A discussion was also presented in which it was shown how each theory explains how behavior results from self-concept constructs. For Freud, behavior results from the adaptation process of the ego. For Adler, behavior results from the "lifestyle" that has evolved from the Creative self and fictional finalism concepts. For Sullivan, the dynamisms initiate behavior and for Rogers, behavior is the result of choice; choosing from the phenomenological self those behaviors which are acceptable.

In all theories, the self-concept construct develops out of some sort of undifferentiated energy system, and develop in different ways depending on the experience and perceptions of the organism (i.e., the person). Through personal experiences and perceptions of the world, particularly those experiences and perceptions which occur during infancy and early childhood, these constructs provide a cognitive framework which the person uses to interpret and act in the world. These psychological constructs are extremely stable and not easily changed. Therefore, the self-perceptions which these constructs formulate are not easily altered. Since, from a psychological perspective, these constructs provided the cognitive framework by which we see ourselves and act in the world, it follows that we continue to act in the world in a consistent way depending on our self-perceptions and cognitive view of the world. Since our

self-perceptions are not easily altered, we are more likely to move into the environment and attempt to alter the environment rather than alter our self-perceptions. Changing our self-perceptions, our view of the world, and the cognitive framework we use to interact with the world can be a very difficult, painstaking process. Changing the self-perceptions is the function of psychotherapeutic process are familiar with the difficulty involved in changing self-perceptions and ways of interacting with the environment even when a person desires the change.

Having just discussed the psychological construct involved in the formation of the self-concept and having previously discussed ethnicity as a set of perceptions, the next portion of this section will examine how the set of perceptions that are ethnic are incorporated into self-perceptions via the psychological constructs we have discussed.

Ethnicity and Self-Concept

To summarize the previous two parts of this section, it should be remembered that ethnicity is considered by the author to be a set of perceptions about the world and the way to proceed in it. These perceptions manifest themselves in certain psychological dimensions such as our expectation patterns of emotions, sense of reality, interpretive schemes,

patterns of emotions, etc.

We have also reviewed psychological theories of the development of self-concept. It was shown how certain core constructs (i.e. ego, creative self, etc.) elucidate most thoroughly what the meaning of "self-concept" is for each of the theories. We now will briefly discuss how the set of perceptions that are ethnic are related to and in fact become incorporated into the perceptions which we call self-concept.

Firstly, it must be reiterated that the original prevailing perspective regarding ethnic perceptions was that such perceptions did exist in persons coming from foreign nations, but that such perceptions would disappear over time through the process of assimilation. However, American society has proceeded into the third and fourth generations of descendants of the immigrants of the late 19th and early 20th century and we, as a society, are experiencing a re-discovery rather than a decline of ethnic consciousness. In order to explain this phenomenon, it has to be explained how these ethnic perceptions are being transmitted to each succeeding generation, being maintained by that generation, and then being transmitted to the next generation.

It is the thesis of this work that the maintenance and transmission of ethnic perceptions is done through the psychological mechanisms of self-concept. The set of perceptions called ethnic are incorporated as per-

ceptions into what is called self-concept through the constructs such as the ego, or creative self, etc. which were previously discussed. By becoming part of the self-concept, ethnic perceptions become stable, and are reinforced by experiences in the environment, especially in the family, the early reinforcement of incorporating such perceptions into one's self-concept is assured. Once these ethnic perceptions become incorporated into the self-perceptions they become as strong and unchanging as is the self-concept and therefore are maintained even when the individual leaves the immediate environment of childhood. The ethnic perceptions, which have not been incorporated into what is called self-concept are maintained through life and transmitted to the next generation.

Research exists which alludes to this thesis that those sensibilities which are part of one's ethnic heritage are incorporated into the self concept. However, very little literature regards ethnicity as a psychological dimension as is done in this work. Part of this can be attributed to the fact that this research has not been done by psychologists.

The earliest research on ethnicity and ethnic groups focused on those topics as sociological phenomenon although still alluding to the idea that the ethnic groups were behaving differently from each other and from the majority group in the culture. Some of these

sociological observations will be presented now.

Ethnicity observed as a sociological phenomenon

Early studies, such as Wythe (1943) and later Gans (1962), were done by sociologists, not psychologists. Because of this, little attention was given as to how the individual is affected by the ethnic group to which he or she belongs. The interest rather was focused on the group as a whole and often on the rate of the group's assimilation.

One of the earliest and most comprehensive sociological observations of Italian Americans was done by Wythe (1943). In his work, he found that Italian-Americans appeared to stay within their ethnic group for personal and organizational (i.e. fraternal and social organizations) relationships. Whyte found this to be true for both working class and college educated persons. Whyte cautioned that this finding may be ecological in that his sample came from a very large Italian-American community. That finding indicates that neighborhood structure may play a role in the interaction between ethnicity and self. That is, self identity may evolve from the commitment to an ethnic neighborhood.

Gans (1962) found, in studying second generation Italian-Americans that they tended to confine their meaningful relationships and participations in institutions to Italian-American and things Italian-American.

Gans' sample was working class and Gans felt that some of these patterns he observed were both Italian-American and working class patterns. This is an example of treating ethnicity as a class phenomenon rather than a group of individuals with similar self-perceptions. Still, it is interesting to note that Gans' sample did contain second generation Italian Americans indicating a transmission of ethnic values and ethnic identity.

Child (1943) focused somewhat more on psychological issues when he classified three types of second generation Italian-Americans in terms of the samples' method of assimilating into the larger society. He saw the three types as being: 1) the rebel - this was the one moving in the direction of Americanization, 2) the in-group - these were the people adhering to Italian-American institutions and groups, and 3) the apathetic - this was the group that had retired from conflict and minimized the significance of the ethnic group. It is worth noting that in this study of Child's, it was assumed that assimilation was taking place and that it should take place in the traditional sense of the term "assimilation."

Ethnicity observed as a psycho-social phenomenon

Subsequent to the study of ethnicity as a sociological phenomenon, research was conducted in which ethnicity was treated as a psycho-social phenomenon. Although this more recent research does not conclude that

ethnicity is a psychological dimension, as this study does, this recent research does present findings which indicate ethnicity to be an important factor in individual behavior.

More recent psycho-social research presents statistical evidence that ethnicity as an independent variable can account for very significant differences in how individuals see themselves and interact with the world. Greeley (1974) provides a summary of such existing literature that establishes the variable of ethnic membership as a powerful predictor across a wide range of personality dimensions. Evidence is presented to document that ethnic identity or membership may provide for individual differences on such dimensions as attitudes towards sex and alcohol, perception of male/female roles, mother salience, and even participation in the community in terms of politics and civil disobedience.

Greeley (1974) further indicates that in investigations of the relationship between ethnicity and behavior and attitudes, certain variables such as generation, mobility and sex roles should also be taken into consideration.

While there has been little research into the relationship between ethnicity and self-concept, some recent research has been done investigating the relationship between ethnicity and health and/or mental health.

These studies are important because they offer insights into the persistence of ethnic differences in differing areas of life, and also because they provide impetus to do further, more psychologically oriented research into the effects of ethnicity on an individual's self-perceptions.

An example of such a study is the one done by Opler and Singer (1956) concerning schizophrenic symptoms in Italian-American and Irish-American families. They summarized the differences in this way:

The Irish group was characterized by fear and anxiety directed against females, latent but repressed homosexuality, intense feelings of guilt and inadequacy (especially in regard to sex), low self-esteem, passiveness and compliance, paranoid dillusions, fantasy, and high levels of alcoholism.

The Italian group was characterized by hostility toward males, overt homosexuality, extreme impulsivity and excitability violent swings in moods of depression and uncontrolled elation, assaultive and destructive behavior, poor emotional control, bodily pre-occupations and hypochondria, and low levels of alcoholism (p. 11).

Piedmont (in Giordano, 1973) did a similar study with German and Polish ethnic groups. He found the Polish group "exhibited more anxiety and less hostility, more use of alcohol, but fewer homosexual tendencies. They also had more somatic complaints, greater dependence on authority, and fewer dillusions that the German patients" (p. 20).

In a classic study of mental illness by Nollingshead and Redlich (1958), these investigators examined

mental health within certain ethnic groups. However, the focus of this study was social class, not ethnicity. What they assumed here was that the lower class had less chance to receive mental health services. The question then, of course, becomes would the various ethnic groups use these services even if the members of the group belonged to a higher class. That question is opened to further research.

Zborowski (1964) investigated the relationship between physical pain and ethnic identification. In this study, Zborowski interviewed male patients and then placed them into four groups: WASP, Jewish, Italian, and Irish. As seen in the following quote by a member of the WASP group, the WASP tends to downplay overt complaining and exhibition of emotion; he also may resent others who do:

This fellow - he gets a lot of pain. He is Italian. He gets very excited. He can bellow so that you can hear him from one end of the hospital to the other. He is the fellow you ought to talk to. He ought to be psycho-analyzed. (Why? What's wrong with him?) Well, he's got to have a lot of attention. He's only happy when there are two or three nurses and - uh - an attendant and a doctor around (p. 55).

The above quote reflects Zborowski's finding which indicated that the WASP patient tends to hide his pain. They cope with pain privately. He believes in bearing the pain essentially in silence and looks condescendingly upon those who are histrionic about

pain and its discomfort. Even in extreme pain, the WASP would not cry and controlled his reaction. It is a kind of traditional stoic attitude. Irish Americans tended to behave in the same way toward pain as did the WASP group. Both groups preferred to hide their pain and cope with it personally and quietly.

By contrast, both Jews and Italians were very expressive about the pain they had. They complained, often at length about the pain, and verbally requested that something be done about the pain, because they found the pain intolerable.

Italians tended to focus on the pain in the present and almost shared it in the communal sense that all things might be shared. Jews, who also dwelled on the pain, did not show so much concern for the pain per se but were concerned about the illness the pain was related to. Jews, as opposed to the Italians, were concerned about the meaning of the pain in terms of future personal health.

Zborowski (1964) also investigated attitude toward doctors and attitude toward general health among the groups. On all parameters he found that ethnicity was the critical variable that provided the differentiation of manifested behavior and attitudes.

Suchman (in Giordano, 1973) investigated socio-medical variations among ethnic groups. He focused on the influence of the group and family solidarity. His

findings were related to illness dependency, social organization, and social groups and family support.

Among his findings were the following:

1. In all cases in the study, lower dependency in illness was associated with lower ethnic exclusivity, friendly group solidarity, and family orientation to tradition and authority.
2. The more cohesive the group, the greater the dependency of the individual upon it for support during illness.
3. The amount of support sought and secured from one's social group was influenced by the degree of social interaction of the group (pp. 23-24).

Aside from these studies of the interaction between ethnicity and mental and physical health, some recent studies have also been conducted to investigate the "ethnic family." This research is being conducted at Rutgers University by Monica Orfanditis (1979) the co-ordinator of the school's family training program. Particularly, these studies were concerned with the methods which families of different ethnic backgrounds employ to cope with and react to stress in life. Results of this investigation do indicate that certain styles of coping predominate in different ethnic groups.

Some observations concerning the dynamics of the ethnic family were as follows:

Italians: Loyalty to the family is paramount, and to bring dishonor to it is the worse possible offense. "Honor thy father" was no mean commandment in a land where political loyalties were weak but personal ones strong. When it comes to dealing with life, Italians most often use a physical approach. It's their

response to love, friendship, even arguments.

Irish: The Irish are unlikely to complain of emotional or psychological problems and are strong and stoical when others might fuss and fume. In a marriage for example, if the partners argue, they'd be much more likely to distance themselves for a bit rather than get involved in a knock-down, drag-out fight.

WASP: With so much emphasis on being respected, thinking rationally and maintaining a tight rein on the emotions, it's easy for the WASP to grow rigid, afraid to reveal feelings. In a marriage, this style might make for a chilly relationship, with honest emotions hidden under a cloud of silence.

Jews: Given the twin emphasis on getting ahead and on children, it's not surprising that children in a Jewish household may struggle under the pressure to achieve. To solve problems, a Jewish family generally turns to talk - endless talk to thrash out the matter (Rosenbaum, 1979, p. 16).

Danziger (1974) investigated the acculturation of Italian-American immigrant girls in Canada. The study found that immigrant girls experience the effect of parental attitudes as those attitudes relate to sex roles, expectations, and decision making.

The studies discussed to this point in this section represent a sample of the research done in terms of understanding individual behavior and perceptions of the world as a function of ethnic identity. However, none of these studies offer a comprehensive system or model for understanding how individual functioning and

the development of self-perception is related to the ethnic experience. No pervasive concept, such as self-concept is investigated. Rather much of the work has involved the isolation of a particular personality variable. That is not specifically what is relevant to the psychologist. Psychologists need a theoretical framework which explains whether and how ethnicity is incorporated into self-perceptions and perceptions of the world. Findings regarding specific personality variables (such as sexual behaviors, political attitudes, etc.) imply from a sociological perspective that there is an integration of the ethnic experience into the individual's personality development, but no model is proposed.

Studies of self-concept among various national groups have been done but not of the group in this country. The literature does contain cross cultural studies of self-concept such as is found in a study of the differences in perception of ideal self versus ideal person in American and German samples (Merenda et. al 1970). One such study (Merenda et al., 1972) investigated self-perceptions of Sicilian male youth. This study indicated that the sample fell essentially into three personality profiles: independent, stubborn and persistent. While these samples were living in their native country, such studies do represent the investigation of self-concept within a single national group.

In sum then, a review of the literature has shown that concerning ethnicity and self-concept, there is considerable evidence that ethnicity does exist and that it persists across generations to present day second, third, and fourth generation subjects.

Concerning the self and development of the self-concept, there are many theoretical positions which imply the influence of cultural environment in the development of the self-concept. There is also support for the concept of an ideal self-concept.

As regards the relationship between self-concept and ethnicity more empirical research is needed. Evidence from psycho-social research indicates that those perceptions and beliefs considered to be ethnic are incorporated into self-perception and self-concept. This proposition however is never actually stated. Historically, however, the relationship between ethnicity and self-concept has been reported largely from a sociological perspective or in an anecdotal way. This study is an attempt to approach this relationship from a psychological perspective.

RATIONALE

It is the purpose of this research to investigate the relationship of ethnicity and self-concept. Relationship here means that self-concept varies with ethnicity even when other variable, such as social class, age, etc. are similar.

In the literature review, the author has developed the argument that perceptions of self are in part incorporated from perceptions of oneself as being an ethnic or having a particular ethnic heritage. In the development of self-perception or self-concept, the perceptions that are ethnic in origin are incorporated into the self-concept and no longer are ethnic perceptions per se but become part of the individual's perceptions of himself or herself. In that way, ethnicity becomes a psychological dimension, passed on from generation to generation through the psychological constructs which are responsible for the development of self-concept. It is the purpose of this study to elucidate this thesis that ethnicity is a psychological dimension that still exists in third and fourth generation members of ethnic groups.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis is that persons of the same

ethnic heritage have similar self-concepts.

The second hypothesis of this study is that persons of the same ethnic heritage have similar ideal self-concepts.

The third hypothesis is that persons of the same ethnic heritage will perceive their parents of the same sex as having similar self-concepts.

The fourth hypothesis is that persons of the same ethnic heritage from a homogeneous family will have self-concepts which are more similar than persons from families which are ethnically heterogeneous.

For the purposes of this study, the term "persons of the same ethnic heritage" shall mean persons who have at least one parent of Italian-American descent. The term "self-concept" is operationally defined as those perceptions and beliefs an individual holds about himself as measured by the Activity Vector Analysis, a well established and universally used assessment technique. The term "ideal self-concept" is operationally defined as those perceptions and beliefs an individual holds about the description of an ideal person as measured by the Activity Vector Analysis. The term "similar self-concepts" is operationally defined as self-concept patterns which cluster together, or correlate positively at at least the 69 level. (See the section on measurement for further explanation). The term "ethnically homogeneous

family: is operationally defined as a family in which both parents of the subject were of Italian-American descent. The term "ethnically heterogeneous family" is operationally defined as a family in which only one parent of the subject is of Italian-American descent.

The use of the term "third generation" throughout this study refers to any member of an ethnic group whose grandparents were born in a foreign country and migrated to the United States. Accordingly, the first generation is defined as that generation which was the generation that migrated to the United States.

METHODS

Subjects

In order to carry out this study it was necessary to acquire a large sample of subjects who were ethnically of Italian-American descent. Also, it was important that the subjects be predominantly third and fourth generation members of their ethnic group (i.e., third and fourth generation Italian Americans) in order that the sample not be contaminated by either Italian-Americans who were born and lived in Italy or who had parents who had spent most of their lives in Italy. The reason why it is preferable to have third and fourth generation subjects is that it is the contention of this study that the relationship between ethnicity self-concept persists; to show that Italian-Americans of the first and second generations have self-perceptions different from other Americans would not indicate that ethnicity persists since a group of first and second generation ethnic group members is not far removed from the culture of their country of origin.

Finally, it was important to obtain a sample which was similar in every way to the ethnic population except for the variable of ethnicity itself.

For all of the reasons cited above, it was decided

that a college student population offered the best possibility of acquiring both the level of generation needed and the homogeneity of ethnicity needed for the comparative sample. In order to obtain the large Italian-American sample needs for this study, it was decided that it would be most advantageous to draw the sample from the University of Rhode Island which is known to have a large Italian-American student population.

Subjects were recruited from nearly all the undergraduate courses in the Psychology and Italian departments. Students were asked to participate either immediately after class or at some other designated time and place.

The sample was comprised of 289 students; this being the number of students who voluntarily chose to complete the measurement scales as part of this study. Of the sample, 117 revealed themselves as Italian-American while the remaining 172 belonged to ethnic groups other than Italian-American. From the 172 non-Italian-American students, a comparative sample of 117 was selected randomly to be used as the comparative sample with the Italian-American sample. A comparative sample numbering 117 was selected in order that the comparative sample have the same number of subjects in it as the Italian-American sample.

Of the 117 Italian-American subjects, 67 had two parents of Italian descent (i.e. were ethnically homo-

geneous) while the remaining Italian-American subjects (N = 50) had at least one grandparent who was not of Italian descent and were therefore considered to be ethnically homogeneous (see Table 1).

Of the 117 Italian American subjects, 56 or 47% were male while 61 or 53% were female (see Table 2).

Generational differences were represented in the Italian-American sample with a majority of the sample being of the third and fourth generation. Subjects who were third generation descendants on both their mother's and father's side of the family comprised 41% of the sample. Subjects were of the third generation on one parent's side of the family comprised 10% of the sample. In sum then, third and fourth generation subjects accounted for 70% of the Italian-American sample (see Table 3).

The median age for Italian-American subjects was 20 years old with an age range from 18 to 50 years.

Membership in class was also considered for each subject of the Italian-American sample. Assignment to class was based on the education and occupation of the subject's parents. In the Italian-American sample 24% were from the working class, 68% from the middle class and 24% from the upper middle class.

The comparative sample of 117 non-Italian-American

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN
SAMPLE: HOMOGENEOUS VS. HETEROGENEOUS
PARENTAGE

	Homogeneous Parentage	Heterogeneous Parentage
Male Ss	35	22
Female Ss	32	28

TABLE 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ITALIAN-
AMERICAN SAMPLE: GENDER
DISTRIBUTION

Males Females

56

60

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ITALIAN-
AMERICANS SAMPLE: DISTRIBUTION OF GENERATIONS

Generation On Both Sides of Family	Per Cent of Ss
First/First	.00
First/Second	.01
Second/Second	.09
Second/Third	.07
Third/Third	.41
Third/Fourth	.19
Fourth/Fourth	.10
Fourth/Fifth	0
Other	.13

college students were drawn from the same university population and are similar to the Italian-American population, except for their different ethnic background and having a somewhat higher percentage of females.

Of the 117 subjects in the comparative sample, 42 or 36% were male while 75 or 64% were female (see Table 4).

Generational differences were represented in the comparative sample with a majority of the sample being of the third or fourth generation. Subjects who were third generation descendants on both their mother's and father's side of the family comprised 31% of the sample. Subjects who were of the third generation on one parent's side and fourth generation on the other parent's side comprised 16% of the sample. Subjects who were of the fourth generation on both their mother's and father's side of the family comprised 16% of the sample. In sum then, third and fourth generation subjects accounted for 63% of the comparative sample (see Table 5).

The median age for the comparative sample subjects was twenty years old with an age range from eighteen to forty-four years.

Membership in class was also considered for each subject of the comparative sample. Assignment to class was based on the education and occupation of the subject's parents. In the comparative sample, 21% were from the working class, 62% from the middle class, and 17% from the upper middle class.

TABLE 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMPARATIVE
(NON-ITALIAN-AMERICAN) SAMPLE: GENDER
DISTRIBUTION

Male	Female
42	75

TABLE 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMPARATIVE
(NON-ITALIAN-AMERICAN) SAMPLE: DISTRIBUTION
OF GENERATIONS

Generation On Both Sides of Family	% of Ss
First/First	.00
First/Second	.00
Second/Second	.02
Second/Third	.05
Third/Third	.31
Third/Fourth	.16
Fourth/Fourth	.16
Fourth/Fifth	.05
Other	.25

Measures

The Activity Vector Analysis (AVA) is an instrument of measurement used to assess self-concept, ideal self-concept, and social self-concept. The instrument consists of an 81 word adjective checklist which subjects are asked to complete. The subjects may be asked to check the words which they feel describe the ideal person; or to check the words that they feel honestly describe themselves; or to check the words they believe honestly describe how people see them.

Scoring is based on profiles which are generated from the adjectives the subject has checked. The profiles in the AVA are called "pattern shapes." These pattern shapes are presented as four numbers such as 3192. Each one of the four numbers in the pattern shape represents a vector. A vector represents the potential for behavior of a specific personality dimension. In the example given above (3692) the number 3 represents the degree and magnitude of vector 1; 6 represents the degree and magnitude of vector 2; 9 represents the degree and magnitude of vector 3 and 2 represents the degree and magnitude of vector 4.

Each vector (1 through 4) expresses a specific personality dimension. Vector #1 expresses the degree of Aggressiveness; Vector #2 expresses the degree of Sociability; Vector #3 represents the degree of Emotional

Stability; and Vector #4 represents the degree of Social Adaptability. The vector may have a score from 1 (lowest) to 9 (highest). The vectors are unipolar, not bipolar. Therefore, the vector measures the magnitude of a single dimension; a low number on a vector does not indicate the opposite of that dimension. It is assumed that every vector will have a number of at least 1 since some of our psychic energy is expressed on each vector according to the underlying theory of AVA (see Appendix A for more complete explanation of AVA theory).

The four vectors expressed together (such as 3691) represent a pattern shape. For mathematical reasons, each pattern shape must have a 1 or a 9 in it, and the four vector numbers in the pattern shape must total 20. According to the theory underlying the AVA, any pattern shape such as 3691 is one of 258 possible shapes. These pattern shapes can be plotted on a universe of all the possible 258 shapes. Pattern shapes which reflect similar types of self-concepts are close to each other on the universe of all the possible pattern shapes. Therefore people who generate pattern shapes which are similar would - when these pattern shapes were plotted on the universe of all possible pattern shapes - yield what is termed a "cluster". A cluster of pattern shapes simply means pattern shapes which reflect similar self-concepts are close together on the pattern universe. The mathematical criterion for belonging to a cluster depends on whether a

given pattern positively correlates .69 with a pattern shape which has been chosen as the center of the cluster. A pattern shape is chosen as a possible center of a cluster if, from viewing the plotted pattern shapes on the pattern universe, it looks as if one pattern shape is at the center of a group of pattern shapes. In determining the center of cluster, one tries to choose a pattern shape with which the largest number of other pattern shapes will correlate at the .69 level. The correlation of one pattern shape with another has been previously determined mathematically and is available as part of the scoring procedure.

The normative sample of the AVA

The normative sample of the AVA is based on a sample size of 1199. From this sample, the AVA generated a distribution of 1199 profiles (pattern shapes) and plotted them on the AVA Universe. The distribution of these profiles on the universe represents the distribution for the general adult population.

The sample used to compile the normative data ranged in age from 16 to 65. The mean age for men was 37.85 years with a S.D. of 11.04 years. The mean age for women was 32.76 years with a S.D. of 11.83 years. The sample was comprised of 65% male and 35% female. The sample also includes a cross-section of occupational levels (Clarke 1973).

Validity and reliability in the AVA

Several studies have been done demonstrating the reliability of the AVA. Reliability is the consistency of the scores obtained from the same individual when re-examined with the same instrument at a later date.

Mosel (1954) administered the AVA twice to a sample of 52 adults with an intervening interval of two weeks. He reported reliability for Role-self of .74 and for Self of .73.

Merenda and Clarke (1959) reported on the four-factor profile reliability. They employed five independent samples. The number of subjects in these five samples ranged in number from 29 to 263. After an interval of 12 months between testings the average test-retest reliability was .75 for Role-self .72 for Self and .77 for Image-self.

After a minor revision in the scoring procedures of AVA, Hasler and Clarke (1968) examined the test-retest reliability following a month interval. They found the reliability coefficient to be .78 for Role self and .78 for Self.

Beside reliability, several studies have also been conducted which indicate the construct validity of the instrument. Construct validity is the extent to which an instrument measures a theoretical construct.

Musiker (1958) was able to relate the 10 C Scores obtained on the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament

Scale to the four factor on the AVA scale. The subjects used were forty male veterans.

Hammer (1958) tested the validity of the AVA for his doctoral dissertation. He used as his subjects 38 college students. Each subject was evaluated three ways: a Q-sort of behaviorally descriptive statements was completed by an AVA analyst to describe each subject. These descriptive statements were based on information obtained from a blind analysis of the AVA results; three graduate students in psychology performed the same Q-sort on each subject based on extensive personal information these students had concerning the subjects' background; and thirdly, close friends or persons who had close contact with each subject also completed the Q-sort. A significant relationship was found among all three methods employed.

Procedures

Each participant was handed a packet of 5 pieces of paper. There was also a cover sheet which carried the following message to the participant:

You are participating in an investigation of the area of self-concept. Your participation is voluntary and all of the data collected in this experiment will be kept confidential. Please complete the material in the order that it is presented (do not skip around) and try to be as honest and complete as possible.

If you wish a copy of the findings of the study, please leave your name and address with the administrator of the test material and a copy of the completed study will be sent to you. Do

not write your name on any of the material given to you.

Thank you for your cooperation; it is greatly appreciated.

Each participant then opened to the first page which contained a list of the 81 words of the AVA.

The directions on this page read:

1. Place an X before those words which you believe describes the ideal person. Draw a line through any word you do not understand.

On the next page was presented the same list of 81 words only on this page, the directions read:

2. Now place an X before every word which you honestly believe is descriptive of you. Draw a line through any word you do not understand.

On the third page, the participant was asked his or her sex; age; city or town in which he or she spent most of his or her life; the name of their neighborhood if it had a name; street or street address; and ethnicity of the neighborhood.

The participants were then asked questions regarding the ethnicity of their four grandparents and questions regarding mother's occupation and education.

On page four, each participant was asked questions concerning his or her father's education and occupation, and a series of questions pertaining to the number of generations their mother's and father's side of the family had been in the United States. Finally, on this page, they were asked questions concerning their religion

and the religion of their parents and finally a question as to what ethnic group they consider themselves to belong to.

On page 5, the last page, they were then presented again with a list of 81 words from the AVA and given these directions:

3. Now, place an X before every word that describes your parent who is the same sex as you. Draw a line through any word you do not understand.

Results

Before reporting the results, a brief explanation in the statement below will elucidate the concept of the profile which is generated for each subject.

"In the AVA system, the profiles are plotted on the surface of a personality spheroid, a model which is consistent with the theory underlying its development and application. For the sake of efficiency, these ipsative profiles are coded on a nine point scale with median value set equal to 5. The highest positive ipsative score is assigned the value 9, and the lowest 1. Restrictions exist in the coding schema to the extent that if a profile is not perfectly balanced, there must be at least one value of 1 or one value of 9, in the direction of the imbalance, assigned to the profile, and the sum of the four coded values must equal 20. With these restrictions, the total number of profiles which are possible are limited to 258. For convenience sake the profiles are plotted on mercator projections of the spheroid (Merenda et al., 1972, p. 76).

Results will be presented in the same order as were the four hypotheses. The test used for determining statistical significance is the Chi square.

The findings pertaining to the self-concept profiles of the Italian-American sample indicate two distinct

clusters (see Figure 2). The first cluster was around profile 2549 and contained 38 of the subjects. That means that 38 of the self-concept profiles correlated at least at the .69 level with profile 2549. While this cluster contained 32% of the sample, it was heavily weighted with female members of the sample. While females comprise 52% of the total sample, they comprise 66% of this cluster. People in this cluster are often considered charming and interested in "doing the right thing". A more comprehensive picture of the person in this cluster is offered in Table 6.

When contrasted to the general adult population, that is the normative sample, this cluster was significantly different in that a significantly greater number of the subjects generated profiles in this cluster than would be generated in the adults population ($\chi^2 = 37.32$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).

When contrasted to the comparative sample; that is other college student of similar characteristics except for ethnicity, the cluster is not significantly different. For the comparative sample, this cluster contained 39% of all the comparative sample subjects. As with the Italian-American sample, the cluster was weighted with females, which comprised 82% of the subjects from the comparative sample who were in this cluster. Although there are more females in the total comparative sample (62%), this cluster is still

Figure 2. Self Concept Clusters for All Italian-American Subjects

TABLE 6

WORD DESCRIPTION OF PROFILE PATTERN 2549

Basically friendly and charming, this person feels a strong need to help others, to 'do good' for his or her fellow employees and friends. More fearful than his or her appearance would indicate, he or she avoids friction and endeavors to keep things running smoothly. An inclination to be over enthusiastic results from his inability to cope with difficult or problem situations. He enjoys a work situation where he can be of service to others. He has difficulty asserting himself in a direct or definite manner. Preferring to use a diplomatic situation. He generates enthusiasm for new projects. Interested and dependent upon people, he is effective in social circles.

(Clarke, 1955a, p. 34)

weighted toward females.

The second distinct cluster found among the Italian-American sample was the cluster around profile 4925. This cluster contained 33 of the subjects self profiles; that represents 28% of the sample. Males and females were weighted in this cluster in almost the exact same proportion as they appear in the total sample. People in this cluster are highly social, outgoing, and friendly. A more comprehensive picture of this person is offered in table 7.

When contrasted with the normative sample (i.e., the general adult population) this cluster of Italian-Americans is significantly different in that Italian-American self-concept profiles appear much more frequently in this cluster than would be expected from the distribution of profiles in the normative sample ($\chi^2 = 32.81$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).

When contrasted with the findings in the comparative sample of non Italian-American college students, these findings remain significantly different. That is, this cluster of Italian-American self-concept profiles is different from the general adult population and also different from the sample of other college students who are not Italian American. The self-profiles of Italian-Americans appear significantly more frequently in this cluster than in the same cluster of either the general population or the comparative population. For the

TABLE 7

WORD DESCRIPTION OF PROFILE PATTERN 4925

Very sociable and gregarious, this person can use inter-personal relationships to his or her own advantage. Cheerful, friendly, self-confident and poised, he or she has a personal magnetism and charm which is attractive to other people. This person tends to develop a network of influential friends and then work through them. This person is necessarily considered superficial however, because he or she is still interested in "doing the right thing" and may be somewhat dependent on others for social approval and therefore may be willing, at times, to defer to others.

comparative population the statistical significance is as follows: ($\chi^2 = 15.05$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).

The ideal self-concept

Results pertaining to the ideal self-concept indicate that persons of the same ethnic heritage do not have an ideal self-concept different from either the normative sample or the comparative sample. In fact, all of these three groups have ideal self-concepts which are similar. These findings support research done in other cultures and in American society regarding the ideal self-profile.

In this study the ideal self profile for both the Italian-American and comparative group clustered around profile 4952. This profile correlates highly with other ideal self-concept profiles obtained in other studies. Table 8 indicates the inter-correlation between the profiles obtained as ideal self profiles in seven other studies. Correlations provided are correlations with this study and also the correlation of each study with each other. The seven previously completed studies on ideal deal self concepts were done by Merenda (1964), Merenda and Mohan (1966), Merenda and Clarke (1967), Merenda et. al. (1970), Merenda et. al. (1971) and Merenda et. al. (1975).

Profile 4952 represents a person who is very sociable and interesting with a great deal of personal appeal and a gracious manner. He is also friendly, self-

TABLE 8

THE INTERCORRELATION OF IDEAL SELF CONCEPT
PROFILES AMONG EIGHT CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-	.75	1.00	.87	.75	.75	.75	.69
2		-	.75	.87	1.00	.95	1.00	.96
3			-	.87	.75	.75	.75	.69
4				-	.87	.96	.87	.72
5					-	.95	1.00	.96
6						-	.95	.84
7							-	.96
8								-

Study #1 (Merenda, 1964)
 Study #2 (Merenda and Mohan, 1966)
 Study #3 (Merenda and Clarke, 1967)
 Study #4 (Merenda et. al., 1970)
 Study #5 (Merenda et. al., 1971)
 Study #6 (Merenda et. al., 1975)
 Study #7 Results of data collected
 in this study

confident and poised. Interested in others, he makes people feel comfortable with him. This profile also indicates a warm and sympathetic, easy-going person.

Parents

Results of profiles of parents' self concept as perceived by the subjects indicated no significant clusters. These plotted profiles of the subjects' perceptions of the parent's self-concept can be seen in Figure 3. Self concepts in homogeneous vs. heterogeneous families.

Italian-American ethnic families vs. heterogeneous families indicated no significant differences in results. In cluster 1, 53% of the profiles which comprised that cluster were from subjects having both parents of Italian-American descent. The remaining 47% were from subjects with homogeneous families. This composition is similar to the composition of the whole sample which was comprised of 57% of the sample from homogeneous families and 43% from heterogeneous families (see Figure 4 and Figure 5).

Results in cluster #2 were comprised of subjects from heterogeneous and homogeneous families in almost the same proportion as the sample as a whole. In this cluster, 60 of the subjects who generated profiles were from families of homogeneous Italian-American ethnic background while the remaining 40% were from heterogeneous

Figure 3. Self Concept Clusters for All Italian-American Males from Both Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Families

Figure 4. Self Concept Clusters for All Italian-American Females from Both Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Families

Figure 5. Profiles of Perceptions of Parents by Italian-American Subjects from Both Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Families

● = Homogeneous Δ = Heterogeneous

background.

The most important result from the data collected however, is that Italian-Americans of third and fourth generations cluster significantly on two major clusters. These profiles in one cluster were shown to be significantly different from the normative and comparative sample and in one cluster different from the comparative sample. What has been concluded in the results then is that third and fourth generation college students of Italian-American descent have incorporated an ethnic set of perceptions into their own self-concepts and self-perceptions and that these ethnic perceptions have shaped the framework through which these subjects see themselves, interpret the world and act in the world.

DISCUSSION

In this discussion, the focus will be on the findings in the results which indicate that an Italian-American identity continues to be a meaningful framework for the development of self-perceptions even in third and fourth generation Italian-American students. Specific self-concepts profiles, different from those of the normative population, indicate not only that the self-concept profiles themselves are different from the normative sample, but also that these different self-concept profiles will provide a framework of self-perceptions which will cause the individual to act in a certain way in relating to the environment. It is part of the underlying theory of the AVA that people who check certain adjectives and therefore generate certain profiles are likely to act in a certain way in the environment. Therefore, not only do the results indicate certain self-concept clusters of Italian Americans, but also indicate that these people are likely to go out in the world and act in certain ways in given situations. As these people act in this way, they are reinforced, especially by the immediate environment and therefore, these ways of interacting with the world become reinforced and perpetuated.

The transition through which these ethnic perceptions become self-perceptions take place through the early processes of adaptation and identification. That which is ethnic, or part of one's ethnic heritage becomes incorporated into the perceptions a person has of him or herself and also therefore affects his or her perceptions of the world. These ethnic perceptions become very stable as self-perceptions and perceptions of the world and are then passed on to the next generation through the same processes of identification and adaptation.

A person then is ethnic if he or she maintains a belief system and perceptions of the world and himself or herself that are similar to others in the ethnic group. To the degree that person is or is not ethnic then has more to do with the early environment vis-a-vis the processes of identification and adaptation than it has to do with the sociological concepts of assimilation or amalgamation.

Since ethnicity here is seen as a set of beliefs about the world and ourselves that become part of our self-concept, then it can be seen how a person will go into the world and interact with the world from the point of view of those self-perceptions and set of beliefs about the world. In doing this, it is said that the person is proactive. The person does not react to the environment based only on the environmental situation,

but he or she affects the environment based on the perceptions of the environment and the immediate situation. It is the person's perception of the environment and his or her beliefs about himself or herself that are critical variables here then, not what is occurring in the environment per se. Since ethnicity strongly affects the beliefs a person has about the world and himself or herself, then ethnicity has an extremely important role in determining how a person will behave in the environment.

The clusters which were indicated in the results section are important in and of themselves, because these clusters do give us some insight into the kind of self-perceptions Italian-American college students have about themselves. However, the critical point to this thesis is that there was clustering at all. Presumably, it could be argued that the first cluster although it was significantly different from the normative sample, could be more of a "female" cluster than an Italian-American cluster. Even if this were so, there still exists another cluster significantly different from both the normative sample and the comparative sample. This is a striking finding if one considers that this population of college students is so homogeneous in almost every other way except for their ethnicity.

The lack of clustering on the profiles of parents indicates that the students' perceptions of their parents

do not cluster although one would expect that if the parents themselves were to complete the measure their self-concept profiles would cluster if they were members of the same ethnic group. Concerning this particular question of self-concept among parents and children of the same ethnic heritage, further research is needed in which both the parents and children fill out the measures and then a comparison of those profiles be made.

The finding of no significant difference between homogeneous and heterogeneous Italian-American families may have resulted for several reasons. Firstly, in the sample, any subject who was in the homogeneous family group had to have descended from four grandparents who were Italian-American. Any other subject, even those with three Italian-American grandparents were placed in the heterogeneous family sample. Also, since ethnicity is a set of perceptions and beliefs incorporated into the self-concept, it is possible that subjects from heterogeneous families may still have been exposed to a very "ethnic" homogeneous environment as a child. This could be particularly true of a child who was raised with only one parent of Italian-American descent but raised in an ethnically homogeneous (Italian) neighborhood in an urban area. Another possibility for the lack of significant difference between homogeneous and heterogeneous families is that perhaps one parent is more influential in transmitting of ethnic heritage. This parent may differ

depending on, for example, the sex of the child. All of these questions regarding the transmission of ethnicity in homogeneous vs. heterogeneous families are open for further research.

The conclusion that ethnic heritage provides a meaningful framework through which a person develops his perceptions of himself and the world is relevant to psychology from both a clinical and theoretical perspective. It is relevant to all areas of psychology primarily, because the conclusion is stating that ethnicity is a psychological dimension that becomes incorporated into the very core of our personality; our self-concept. For the research psychologists, these conclusions indicate that ethnicity as a variable must be considered when investigating theoretical systems pursuant to the development of self concept, normal adjustment, psychopathology, etc. These findings are important to clinical psychology because the conclusion is stating that in assessing how a person views himself or herself and his or her place in the world, one must consider the variable of ethnicity.

The conclusions indicate that there are a set of perceptions that are ethnic; that these ethnic perceptions become incorporated into our self-perceptions; that a person's behavior in the world is determined largely by his or her self-perceptions; and that as the behavior is acted out, it is reinforced thus strengthening it and

perpetuating the perceptions and beliefs which initiated that behavior. Since many of these perceptions and beliefs are ethnic in origin, to disregard ethnicity is to deny an important psychological dimension in the development of self-concept and increases the risk of drawing both incorrect clinical and incorrect theoretical conclusions. Psychologists who study self-concept should study further the phenomenon of the clustering of self-concept profiles within ethnic groups.

APPENDIX A

THE ACTIVITY VECTOR ANALYSIS

Theory of Activity Vector Analysis (AVA)

The AVA was developed in 1948 by Walter V. Clarke essentially from the four factor theories of temperament and/or personality.

Clarke (1955) viewed the organism as possessing innate energy or activity which Clarke called "Activity." Clarke viewed this concept of energy as similar to concepts such as libido, elan vital etc. This energy could be directed in only two ways in the environment by the person: a person could either approach a situation or not approach. That is, the person may behave either actively or passively. Support for theorizing was found in the physiological proposition concerning the functional dichotomy of the autonomic nervous system. According to this model two continuums of action exist: cholinergic-adrenergic. The parasympathic portion of the Autonomic Nervous System (cholenergic) leads to negative submissive behavior, while the Sympathetic System (adrenergic) leads to assertive behavior. These two basic physiological ways of acting were also postulated by Jenkins (1955). Jenkins used the terms Adrenergic and

Cholinergic, while Clarke used analagous factors called "positivistic" and "negativistic".

Theoretically also, any situation in the environment may show the environment to be either antagonistic or positivistic (friendly).

What results then is a four fold classification. The person can either approach or avoid the situation, while the situation itself (the environment) may be either antagonistic or positivistic (i.e., friendly). These four possible combinations were assigned adjectives to represent their activity, and the combinations themselves are called vectors. Each vector expresses both magnitude and direction and all vectors are independent of each other.

Figure 6 illustrates the four factor classification. V-1, for example, has a magnitude which represents the amount of energy being used approaching a situation that is perceived as antagonistic. The amount of activity or magnitude of activity would actually yield a score; a score indicating the amount of activity being expended. The direction of V-1 is toward approaching an antagonistic situation in the environment. The behavior itself is called "aggressiveness." The next cell (V-2) is labelled "sociability" and represents the person approaching a positivistic environment. V-3 is called "emotional stability" and describes the energy used in avoiding an environment perceived as friendly.

Figure 6. The Basic AVA Model

		<u>Environment</u>	
		Antagonistic	Positivistic
<u>Person</u>	Approach	V-1 (Aggressiveness)	V-2 (Sociability)
	Avoid	V-3 (Social Adaptability)	V-4 (Emotional Stability)

The last vector (V-4) is termed "social adaptability" and indicates avoidance of an environment that is perceived as antagonistic. It should be mentioned here parenthetically, that the AVA now has a fifth vector (V-5) which is a measure of foresight and planning. That vector was not used in the study as it was not necessary for our purposes.

This four factor theory of personality which Clarke used in establishing the AVA model descended from a four factor model postulated by Marston (1928, 1931) who was a professor at Columbia University in the 1920's and 1930's when Clarke was a student at Columbia.

Clarke was a student of Marston who with his colleagues were investigating physiological concomitants of emotional behavior. Particularly, they were interested in studying the emotions of "love" and "hate." From his work, Marston evolved a four factor theory which was termed D-I-S-C. D-I-S-C stands for Dominance, Induciveness, Submissiveness and Compliance. Those terms represent the four dimensions that Marston advocated. Eventually Clarke would use this four-factor concept to establish the AVA. Also at Columbia at that time, was theorist Prescott Leaky (1945). His work and studies concerning self-concept and self-consistency were very influential on Clarke's work.

The self-concept in AVA theory

The self-concept is central to the AVA theory.

As is stated by Clarke (1973) in the AVA manual;

One of the most important functions of the human is the ability to recall past experiences. As experiences accumulate, choices of response based on past experiences accumulate, choices of response based on past experience are available. This process of choice is what is called "thinking." When actual previous experiences are used, the thinking is called "operational" and "factual." As time passes, thinking tends to become more verbal and abstract since accumulated experiences become generalized into verbal concepts at a more abstract level. This becomes the conceptual world.

Of major importance in determining behavior are those images, both verbal and operation, of the self. These are known as the self-concept (p. 4-12).

The self-concept is seen as being comprised of several sub-concepts, many of which are determined socially. To say that they are determined socially means that they are created by the expectations and perceptions of ourselves by others. This expectation may be seen as our social role.

An individual then has a self-concept which is what a person believes about himself or herself. These things he or she believes may or may not be correct, but they reflect his or her self-concept for him or her. There is also the set of beliefs which the person thinks other people hold about him or her. This is considered his or her social role because it essentially reflects a kind of role the person feels other people expect him or her to play. In a person's

everyday behavior, it is assumed that a person acts by using a combination of his or her self-concept (what he or she believes about himself or herself) and his or her social role (how other people think he or she should be). In the AVA, this is called "image" and reflects a composite of both self and role.

This idea of the self and the social self used in the AVA can be traced back to the later part of the past century. As long ago as 1890, William James in his Principles of Psychology wrote "In its widest possible sense, a man's self is the sum total of all that he can call is, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputations and works, his lands and horses and yacht and bank account" (Newcomb, 1954, p. 316).

James also at that time spoke of the "social self," which he termed "the recognition which he gets from his mates" (Newcomb, 1954, p. 316). James felt that a person had more than one social self, depending on the number of people an individual might encounter. The social self was important to the extent that the person who had an opinion of another person was important to that other person.

James' view was reinforced by Charles Cooley who came after James early in this century. Cooley (1902) believed that a person's self-concept, no matter how

personal a thing it might be, was still essentially a social entity. Cooley has said "In what sense is "I" a social conception? The answer to this is apparently something as follows: "I" is social in that the very essence of it is the assertion of self-will in a social medium of which the speaker is conscious" (Newcomb, 1954, p. 317).

In elaborating on James' concept of the social self, Cooley spoke of the "looking glass self". The following passages reflect the ideas of Cooley:

In a very large and interesting class of cases, the social references take the form of a somewhat definite imagination of home one's self - that is, any idea he appropriates - appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self.

"Each to each a looking glass
Reflects the other that does pass."

As we see our face, figure and dress in the glass, are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer to what we should like them to be; so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it.

A self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification. The comparison with a looking glass hardly suggests the second element, the imagined judgment, which is quite essential. That thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind.

This is evident from the fact that the character and weight of that other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference with our feeling. We are ashamed to seem evasive in the presence of a straightforward man, cowardly in the presence of a brave one, gross in the eyes of a refined one, and so on. We always imagine, and in imagining share, the judgment of the other mind. A man will boast to one person of an action - say some sharp transaction in trade - which he would be ashamed to own to another.

The self that is most importunate is a reflection, largely from the minds of others. This phase of self is related to character very much as credit is related to the gold and other securities upon which it rests. It easily and willingly expands, in most of us, and is liable to sudden, irrational, and grievous collapses. We live on, cheerful, self-confident, conscious of helping make the world go round, until in some rude hour, we learn that we do not stand so well as we thought we did, that the image of us is tarnished. Perhaps we do something, quite naturally, that we find the social order is set against, or perhaps it is the ordinary course of our life that is not so well regarded as we supposed. At any rate, we find with a chill of terror that the world is cold and strange, and that our self-esteem, self-confidence, and hope, being chiefly founded upon opinions attributed to others, go down in the crash. Our reason may tell us that we are not less worthy than we were before, but dread and doubt do not permit us to believe it" (newcomb, 1954, p. 318).

Aside from James and Cooley, two other early theorists Mead (1934) and McDougal (1926) contributed to the early formulation of the concepts of "self" and "social self" as those terms apply to the AVA.

Prescott Lecky (1945) later did considerable theorizing concerning the self and self-concept. His principal contribution vis-a-vis the AVA might be seen as his contention that the self-concept is the critical core of personality development and that the best and

most competent way of investigating personality is to obtain information on self-concept. This idea is central to the AVA and to this study. It is the contention of this study that by obtaining information on the self-concepts of these subjects, information on their personality in the psychology context of the word is being obtained. The information regarding self-concept of an individual should be viewed as reflecting that core of personality and construed as merely information regarding how a person behaves in only one or two dimensions.

Beside the "self" and "social self", the AVA is also interested in looking at the "ideal self." The ideal self is simply an indication by the subject of what kind of person the subject believes to be the ideal person.

Related to the self-concept, social self-concept (role), and ideal self-concept, is the issue of congruency. Congruency may be seen as the consistency between the self and social self or self and ideal self, depending on what is being investigated. The extent that a person's self-concept and social self-concept is congruent, we are afforded more information about his personality. While it is preferable to have a high degree of congruency for proper functioning, congruency that is too high or nearly total, indicates a person who might be rigid, and unwilling to develop

While low congruency may indicate a high degree of stress, congruency that is too high may indicate someone who will interact poorly with society in that he will be unwilling to bend.

In concluding this discussion of theoretical positions related to the AVA, one last contributing theorist, Raymond Cattell (1950) must be included. Cattell investigated the existence of personality clusters and dimensions of personality similar to the work being done by Clarke with the AVA. The original version of the AVA had only one measure; that of self-concept. Due to the work done by Cattell, Clarke expanded the AVA to include the concepts of ideal self and social self. Cattell's belief in the three selves (i.e., real-self, social-self, and ideal-self) can be seen in the following quote which includes a poem used by Cattell to express the three selves:

The moment we examine, even casually, an individual's idea of himself, we find a duality -- the self he would like to think himself to be and the self he has to admit himself to be, in his most realistic moments. As the poet laureate Masefield expresses the matter:

'And there were three men went down the road
As down the road went he
The man they saw, the man he was
And the man he wanted to be'

The second and first of these are respectively the structural self and the social reputation or social stimulus value. The third is part of the contemplated self: it is the second part discussed above, namely, the self he would like to think himself to be. For it is obvious that though the individual has a more or less

accurate idea of his actual self, e.g., he does not attempt work for which he is by ability unfitted or choose companions for whom he is socially unfitted, yet he also has a conception of what he would like to become and perhaps may reasonably hope to become. This aspired ideal self is determined in its moral aspects by the conscious superego, but other aspects are determined by ambition and wishful thinking (Cattell, 1950, p. 647).

Environment in AVA theory

Since no person lives in a vacuum, behavior is seen as the tendency to act under certain environmental conditions. The behavior manifested in reaction to the environment is seen as affecting the environment itself and thus changing the situation. A kind of cyclical continuum of behavior is then established.

In any environmental situation, the person acts in terms of how his own self-concepts tells him that he can best act. This information is based on predispositions, talents and experience with similar past situations. When the person acts in a rational way, he is seen as behaving based on his beliefs of how he should act. Therefore, his behavior is seen as reflecting his self-concept. Much of the information of how he should act comes initially from the environment in that he has had previous experience in it.

The AVA as a mathematical model

The full mathematical model of the AVA is complex and related to the integration of the four vectors which

describe the personality of the subject (Clarke, 1958).

However, some excerpts at this time will give some insights into the salient points of the model:

"Extensive analysis has revealed four mutually [independent] factors or clusters within the eighty-one words. They form the four vectors and are integrated by the use of vector addition to a resultant direction on a slightly ablated sphere representing temperament. Thus, the resultant vector of behavioral tendency is the complex result of the various interactive effects of the four vectors that comprise it.

The four basic vectors are mutually [independent] in the three dimensional sphere, and thus separated by an angle of 110° as opposed to the angle of 90° which represents orthogonality in two-dimensional space. The resultant vector from the integration of the four can exit the surface of the sphere at any point providing, an infinite number of personality descriptions formed the four vectors. In fact, the number of possible model personalities is limited to a total of 258 through the quantification of scoring each vector on a scale of from 1 to 9, requiring that each pattern contain at least one 9 or one 1, and further requiring that the scores of the four vectors sum to 20.

Each of these resultant 258 model personalities, in turn, represents a different integration of the four basic vectors, and gives a separate or model representation of either the real or role-self, depending on the instructions employed to check the eighty-one words.

Since the model self is determined by the point at which the resultant vector exits the surface of the sphere, it is possible to get the geometric distance or relationship between any two selves on the surface by measuring the cosine of the angle between the two resultant vectors that determine the two selves. This is the same process that is carried out in obtaining a Pearson Product Moment Coefficient in two dimensional space, only here it is in three dimensional space (Morrow, 1974, pp. 36-37).

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

To The Participant:

You are participating in an investigation of the area of self-concept. Your participation is voluntary and all of the data collected in this experiment will be kept confidential. Please complete the material in the order that it is presented (do not skip around) and try to be as honest and complete as possible.

If you wish a copy of the findings of the study, please leave your name and address with the administrator of the test material and a copy of the completed study will be sent to you. Do not write your name on any of the material given to you.

Thank you for your cooperation; it is greatly appreciated.

1. Place an X before those words which you believe describe the ideal person. Draw a line through any word you do not understand.

1....matter-of-fact	28....amusing	55....analytical
2....good mixer	29....leisurely	56....calm
3....stable	30....tranquil	57....theatrical
4....lenient	31....gregarious	58....unselfish
5....anxious	32....fussy	59....forceful
6....graceful	33....aggressive	60....frank
7....bold	34....tense	61....admirable
8....ingenious	35....willing	62....composed
9....appealing	36....attractive	63....defensive
10....cautious	37....apprehensive	64....romantic
11....smooth	38....enterprising	65....brave
12....patient	39....enchanted	66....opinionated
13....fearful	40....practical	67....polished
14....punctilious	41....hesitant	68....compliant
15....competitive	42....courageous	69....considerate
16....sociable	43....meek	70....innocent
17....relaxed	44....prudent	71....direct
18....charming	45....deliberate	72....interesting
19....gentle	46....delightful	73....agreeable
20....self-conscious	47....devout	74....serene
21....industrious	48....argumentative	75....impetuous
22....personality-plus	49....quiet	76....just
23....shy	50....dependent	77....tactful
24....decisive	51....magnetic	78....dominant
25....skeptical	52....easy-going	79....poised
26....mature	53....submissive	80....accommodating
27....solemn	54....determined	81....witty

2. Now place an X before every word which you honestly believe is descriptive of you. Draw a line through any word you do not understand.

I really am . . .

1....matter-of-fact	28....amusing	55....analytical
2....good mixer	29....leisurely	56....calm
3....stable	30....tranquil	57....theatrical
4....lenient	31....gregarious	58....unselfish
5....anxious	32....fussy	59....forceful
6....graceful	33....aggressive	60....frank
7....bold	34....tense	61....admirable
8....ingenious	35....willing	62....composed
9....appealing	36....attractive	63....defensive
10....cautious	37....apprehensive	64....romantic
11....smooth	38....enterprising	65....brave
12....patient	39....enchanted	66....opinionated
13....fearful	40....practical	67....polished
14....punctilious	41....hesitant	68....compliant
15....competitive	42....courageous	69....considerate
16....sociable	43....meek	70....innocent
17....relaxed	44....prudent	71....direct
18....charming	45....deliberate	72....interesting
19....gentle	46....delightful	73....agreeable
20....self-conscious	47....devout	74....serene
21....industrious	48....argumentative	75....impetuous
22....personality-plus	49....quiet	76....just
23....shy	50....dependent	77....tactful
24....decisive	51....magnetic	78....dominant
25....skeptical	52....easy-going	79....poised
26....mature	53....submissive	80....accommodating
27....solemn	54....determined	81....witty

3. Now place an X before every word that describes your parent who is the same sex as you. Draw a line through any word that you do not understand.

My parent who is the same sex as me really is . . .

1....matter-of-fact	28....amusing	55....analytical
2....good mixer	29....leisurely	56....calm
3....stable	30....tranquil	57....theatrical
4....lenient	31....gregarious	58....unselfish
5....anxious	32....fussy	59....forceful
6....graceful	33....aggressive	60....frank
7....bold	34....tense	61....admirable
8....ingenious	35....willing	62....composed
9....appealing	36....attractive	63....defensive
10....cautious	37....apprehensive	64....romantic
11....smooth	38....enterprising	65....brave
12....patient	39....enchanted	66....opinionated
13....fearful	40....practical	67....polished
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16....sociable	43....meek	70....innocent
17....relaxed	44....prudent	71....direct
18....charming	45....deliberate	72....interesting
19....gentle	46....delightful	73....agreeable
20....self-conscious	47....devout	74....serene
21....industrious	48....argumentative	75....impetuous
22....personality-plus	49....quiet	76....just
23....shy	50....dependent	77....tactful
24....decisive	51....magnetic	78....dominant
25....skeptical	52....easy-going	79....poised
26....mature	53....submissive	80....accommodating
27....solemn	54....determined	81....witty

QUESTIONNAIRE

Do Not Write Your Name On The Questionnaire

1. Your age: _____
2. Your sex: _____
3. Please indicate the name of the city or town in which you spent most of your life: _____.
4. Please indicate the name of the neighborhood or the name of the section of town in which you spent most of your life: _____.
5. Please indicate the street address at which you spent most of your life: _____.
6. Please answer the following questions about the neighborhood in which you spent most of your life:
 - 6a. Was the neighborhood in which you spent most of your life populated predominantly by people of one ethnic group? Yes or No. (Ethnic group here is defined as Italian, Irish, Black American, Polish, Jewish, Jamaican, Anglo-Saxon, etc. Please note that "American" is not an ethnic group unless you are an American Indian. In that case, you should indicate "American Indian".)
 - 6b. If your answer to 6a is "yes", what was the predominant ethnic group in your neighborhood?

7. Please indicate the ethnic group of your mother's parents below:
 - 7a. Ethnic group of your mother's father: _____
 - 7b. Ethnic group of your mother's mother: _____
8. Please indicate the ethnic group of your father's parents below:
 - 8a. Ethnic group of your father's father: _____
 - 8b. Ethnic group of your father's mother: _____
9. Please indicate the highest grade in school completed by your mother: _____.
10. Please indicate your mother's occupation: _____

11. Please indicate the highest grade in school completed by your father:_____.

12. Please indicate your father's occupation:_____

13. On your mother's side of the family, who was (were) the first persons to come to the United States from some other country or part of the world? (Check one below). If you were born in a foreign country, and are the first person from your family to come to the United States, leave this question blank.

_____ your mother

_____ your mother's parents

_____ your mother's grandparents

_____ any generation before your mother's grandparents

14. On your mother's side of the family, where did the first person or persons who came to the United States come from? What country, region, town, etc. Please be as specific as possible. _____

15. On your father's side of the family, who was (were) the first persons to come to the United States from some other country or part of the world? (Check one below). If you were born in a foreign country, and are the first person from your family to come to the United States, leave this question blank.

_____ your father

_____ your father's parents

_____ your father's grandparents

_____ any generation before your father's grandparents

16. On your father's side of the family, where did the first person or persons who came to the United States come from? What country, region, town, etc. Please be as specific as possible. _____

17. Please indicate:

your religion: _____

your mother's religion: _____

your father's religion: _____

18. What ethnic group do you consider yourself to belong to? _____

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