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The Relationship of Black Ethnicity to Field Dependence and Adjustment

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THE RELATIONSHIP OF BLACK ETHNICITY TO
FIELD DEPENDENCE AND ADJUSTMENT

BY

THEODORE CONWAY SCHMULTS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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ABSTRACT

Witkin and his associates have done extensive work on the relation of various perceptual tasks to broader personality dimensions. An avenue opened by this research which was of particular significance to this paper concerns the relationship between field dependence-independence and the individual's sense of separate identity. The more articulated the cognitive style, the more there is a manifestation of a sense of separate identity which includes such things as an awareness of needs and feelings which the person recognizes as his own and as distinct from others. By contrast a global cognitive style which implies a diminished or lesser sense of separate identity is manifested by more reliance on external sources for definition of one's attitudes, judgments and view of oneself.

This study investigated the relationship between differentiation, ethnicity and adjustment as defined by Maslow.

It was hypothesized that more adjusted blacks would be more highly ethnic and field independent than less adjusted blacks, that adjusted blacks would be more ethnic than adjusted whites, that adjusted people would be more field independent than maladjusted people and that black maladjusted would be more field dependent than white maladjusted.

Two groups (Black American and Italian American) of young adult males were tested on dependency using the Embedded Figures Test, on ethnicity using the semantic differential and on adjustment using the Personal Orientation Inventory.

Adjusted blacks were found to be more highly ethnic than maladjusted blacks. Adjusted blacks were also found to be more highly ethnic than adjusted whites. The field dependency hypotheses were not confirmed.

The theoretical and methodological issues, which may have affected the results, were discussed. It was concluded that in blacks a high degree of ethnic consciousness contributes to adjustment and self-concept. Implications for future research were discussed, including the difficulties associated with using blacks as subjects and the recommendation that a future researcher be black himself.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Witkin's field dependence-independence construct (Witkin et al., 1962) is one of the most carefully explored dimensions of cognitive style. The higher order construct is called psychological differentiation and this is understood to infer articulated perceptual and intellectual functioning, an articulated body concept, a sense of separate identity and structured specialized defenses.

Witkin and his associates have done extensive work on the relation of three kinds of perceptual tasks to broader personality dimensions. The tasks require the subject to deal with part of an organized field independently of the field. In the rod and frame test the subject, seated in a darkened room, adjusts to the upright position a tilted luminous rod centered within a tilted luminous frame while the frame remains tilted (Witkin, 1948; Witkin and Asch, 1948). In the body adjustment test the subject is seated in a tilted position within a tilted room and adjusts his chair to a position that he perceives as upright, the room remaining tilted. In the embedded figures test the subject must recognize a simple geometrical figure within a more complex geometrical ground. All of these tasks require isolation of some characteristics of the stimulus situation from a deceiving background. A moderate

correlation ($r = .50$) supports the theory that each perceptual task is tapping the same basic personality dimension. Reflecting in each case the strong influence of the immediately surrounding field on the way that one of its parts is perceived, the person who tilts the rod far toward the tilted frame and who tilts his own body toward the tilted room is likely also to take a longer time to recognize the simple figure in the complex design of the embedded figures test.

The Relationship of Intelligence to Differentiation

An issue of some importance is the relationship that the three measures of field dependence-independence have with intelligence and IQ. Witkin (1962) found significant correlations between field independence and Stanford-Binet and Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) in a sample of 10 to 12-year olds. With the WISC there was a higher correlation with the performance scale than with the verbal scale. Goodenough and Karp (1961) factor-analyzed the subtests of the WISC as well as the three measures of field dependence.

Three major factors emerged which corresponded adequately to a previous factor analysis of the WISC (Cohen, 1959). Factor I was labeled "verbal comprehension" with substantial loadings on the Vocabulary, Information and Comprehension subtests. Factor II was labeled "attention concentration" and loaded on Digit Span, Arith-

metic and Coding. Factor III, labeled "analytical field approach", had substantial loadings for Picture Completion, Block Design and Object Assembly. The rod and frame test, body adjustment test and embedded figures test yielded high loadings on Factor III.

The question of how much Factor III is influenced by general intelligence (g) is somewhat obscure. Cohen's (1959) data did show that the three subtests which loaded on Witkin's "analytical field approach" also loaded heavily on general intelligence. Also, it must be pointed out that analytic functioning may not be as independent of verbal skills as Witkin claims. Crandall and Sinkeldam (1964), using 10 to 12-year olds, and Wachtel (1968), using young adults, found significant correlations between field independence and the three WISC subtests loading on the "verbal comprehension" factor. Note that Block Design, which is most closely related to analytic functioning, correlates between .27 and .54 with the Vocabulary subtest (Wechsler, 1949, 1967; Holtzman, 1965). Witkin rejects any bridge between the analytical function and the WISC verbal subtests. However, since it does appear that field independence is empirically linked with verbal IQ, it is necessary to control for IQ when relating field independence to other variables.

Several longitudinal studies (Witkin, Goodenough and Karp, 1967; Schwarz and Karp, 1967; Comali, 1965;

Shimack, 1968) were designed to test the development of differentiation. In the Witkin, Goodenough and Karp study, two groups, one 8 to 13 years of age and the other 10 to 24 years of age, were evaluated on the extent of differentiation in perceptual functioning. A progressive increase in the extent of field independence was evident up to age 17. Within this developmental trend, children showed marked relative stability in the extent of field independence and field dependence even over 14 years. At each age individual consistency of performance across tests of field dependence was found. Their results indicate that for the average child development of field independence (i.e., differentiation) is completed by age 17.

Sex Differences in Differentiation

Significant sex differences were found for the rod and frame test and the embedded figures test but not for the body adjustment test. There was progressive decrease in field dependence up to age 17. They concluded from available evidence that development of psychological differentiation tends to form a plateau in young adulthood. This leveling off was clearly evident when the effect of differentiation was assessed in the area of perceptual functioning. Schwarz and Karp (1967), using the three established tests (rod and frame, body adjustment and embedded figures), and Comali (1965), using rod and frame and embedded figures tests, found that a real return to

field dependence - probably signifying de-differentiation - does, in fact, occur but much later in life. Geriatric groups were found to be extremely field dependent and that this change toward dependency occurs at some point between age 24 and old age. Schwarz and Karp and Comali suggest that the change occurs during the late thirties, generally, and that de-differentiation accelerates thereafter. However, there continues to be a clear difference between field dependent and field independent groups despite the overall tendency toward de-differentiation. The employed geriatric group was more field independent than was the unemployed group. These longitudinal and cross-sectional geriatric studies suggest that it is a stable life situation in childhood that contributes to differentiation. This also suggests something about adjustment in old age.

A number of studies have demonstrated consistent sex differences in the field dependence dimension. Males from age 8 to late middle age tend to be more field independent than comparable groups of females. However, it should be emphasized that while these differences are consistent, they are also small, and that within-sex variation of field dependence is very substantial. Sex differences have not been reported in the 4 to 8 age range (Goodenough and Eagle, 1963; Maccoby et al., 1965). Sex differences have not been obtained in geriatric groups (Schwarz and Karp, 1967) nor occasionally in college age groups (Bieri, 1960). More males than females enter college and females entering college may

be more field independent than their non-college peers. Sex role identification has been used to explain between-sex variance.

Vaught (1965) used the rod and frame test with college students in conjunction with a femininity scale (Gough, 1952) to measure sex role identification and an ego strength scale (Barron, 1953). The most significant finding was that for males low ego strength was associated with field dependence (high ego strength with field independence) regardless of sex role identification. But for females high ego strength was associated with field independence in both low and medium feminine identification. The combination of high ego strength and high femininity showed extremely high field dependence. Bieri (1960) studied cross-sex identification with parents in relation to field independence. For males, greater field independence was found when low acceptance of authority was combined with mother identification, while females exhibited the highest level of field independence with low acceptance of authority and father identification. The fundamental point of these two studies is that a good part of the variance in field dependence unaccounted for by biological sex differences can be explained by psychological variables associated with sex role.

There is strong evidence that cross-sex typing contributes to field dependence in females; the evidence is less clear that cross-sex typing in males contributes

to field independence. Sherman (1967) argued for a social learning interpretation of sex differences in field independence, pointing out that males do better than females on spatial tasks because cultural sex typing provides males with more opportunities to practice spatial tasks. If girls had adequate training in spatial tasks he infers that there would be a decline in field dependence and globality. The most important evidence in support of Sherman's position is that, in studies done to date, sex differences are not evident at nursery school age; they emerge in the middle years of elementary school. However, contrary evidence is presented by Ferguson and Maccoby (1966). They used a sample of boys and girls with marked discrepancies in verbal, number and spatial abilities. This differential spatial ability was associated with cross-sex typing for both boys and girls. High spatial ability boys were characterized by a behavior pattern of low aggression and low masculinity while high spatial ability girls scored higher in overt aggressiveness. The paradox is that if high spatial ability is a reflection of distinctly masculine sex type activities, why did the boys judged least masculine have the highest scores on spatial ability? Likewise, why did high spatial ability girls show so much masculine-oriented behavior?

While the foregoing leaves the question unresolved, at this point small but consistent sex differences

have been shown in the United States and a number of western European countries (Andrieux, 1955; Bennett, 1956; Franks, 1956) as well as in Japan (Kato, 1965), Sierra Leone, Africa (Dawson, 1967a, 1967b) and Nigeria (Okonji, 1969).

Gross Cultural Studies of Differentiation

The more general findings of cross-cultural studies have been to lend clear support to the field dependency-independency construct. Recent data have been collected on a number of primitive, non-western cultures. The findings are of importance because they strongly support Witkin's claims about the influence of certain kinds of family life style and cultural sex role differences.

Dawson (1967a, 1967b), in a series of studies in Sierra Leone (Africa), found that the Temne tribe "place considerable emphasis on values of conformity, group reliance, maintenance of authority, polygamy and strict discipline". Such values should contribute to high levels of field dependence. Since the society is polygamous the mother assumes the primary role in the raising of children and is the primary disciplinarian while the adequacy of the father as a role model for the son is somewhat limited. Dawson had sons rate both parents as "very strict", "fairly strict" and "not so strict". Strictness was significantly related to field dependence for sons who felt that they had received very strict discipline from their mothers.

Dawson then compared the Temne with the Mende (another Sierra Leone tribe in which the mother is much less dominating, more permissive and more encouraging of individual initiative in her children). In comparing young adult males of the two tribes, the Temne were significantly more field dependent than the Mende on the embedded figures test (the only measure used). The conclusion is that the field independence of the son is facilitated or inhibited as a function of the degree to which the mother encourages individual initiative and independence.

Dawson (1967b) factor-analyzed the Sierra Leone data. One factor loaded positively in the field independent direction for embedded figures test, Kohs Blocks, three-dimensional perception of pictures, general intelligence and educational achievement. Maternal dominance and preference for traditional (as opposed to western) values yielded substantial negative loadings (i.e., field dependence). Intelligence and education seem to be confounding variables in this study.

Berry (1966) did a cross-cultural comparison of the Temne and the Canadian Eskimo. The Eskimo differs sharply from the Temne not only culturally but also by virtue of a vastly different ecological situation. The Temne live in a physical environment characterized by a diversity of vegetation. Their main livelihood is farming and they move through the bush on well-defined pathways.

The Eskimo inhabits an environment which is bleak and which is marked by minimal variations in color. Given such an environment of fairly uniform visual stimulation and a dependence on hunting as the primary source of food the Eskimo must, for survival sake, develop certain perceptual skills which will enable them to discriminate very slight variations in the physical environment. They must also develop a segmented and distinct view of open spaces in order to orient themselves relative to the objects around them. The Eskimo language uses more geometrical spatial terms than does the Temne language. In addition, the Eskimos are skilled in their well-known soapstone sculptures as well as in graphics and map-making, activities that are quite foreign to the Temne. Harris (1963) reports that Eskimo children produce figure drawings that appear to be more articulated than those done by a comparison group of American children.

There is a radical difference in the socialization practices of the two groups. The Temne place a strong emphasis on severe discipline and conformity. In the Eskimo culture, the children receive a high degree of unconditional love and approval. They are rarely punished and are able to manipulate their parents into granting their wishes. These two cultures, then, differ significantly in the forces which, according to Witkin, facilitate or inhibit differentiation. The Temne should show higher

field dependence levels and the Eskimo lower field dependence levels. Berry divided his two groups into traditional and transitional (i.e., toward a more western orientation mediated by education) groups. He added as a control group samples of rural and urban Scots. Comparable levels of formal education were maintained within the Temne and Eskimo traditional and transitional groups. Five age groups were sampled: 10 to 15, 16 to 20, 21 to 30, 31 to 40, and over age 40. Four spatial tests were used (embedded figures test, Kohs Blocks, Morrisby Shapes and Raven Matrices). The results yielded highly significant differences between the traditional and transitional groups on all four tests. In addition, there was a clear differentiation between Temne and Eskimo with little overlap in the scores. The Eskimo was significantly more field independent than the Temne and came close to matching the performance of the Scots. The tendency in the transitional Temne toward more field independence is consistent with the hypothesis. The paradox in the Eskimo sample is that the traditional (more ecologically determined) group was more field dependent than the transitional group. The transitional Eskimos have more formal education which also implies more highly developed test-taking skills and attitudes. One possible explanation may be the effect of experimenter expectation (Rosenthal, 1966). Another possible variation is that Witkin (1967) reports a selective migration

of relatively field independent persons to populated areas. Vernon (1965) claims that Eskimos from isolated Arctic communities performed better on spatial tests than those living in closer contact with whites. Obviously more research is needed on this particular point. But this would seem to have great significance for political leaders in developing nations to be able to predict who is likely to become dissatisfied and want to emigrate.

It is interesting to note the sex differences elicited in Berry's study. The Temne exercise firm control over women and children while in contrast the Eskimo allows considerable freedom to their women and children. Temne and Scot males were found to be considerably more field independent than females in their respective cultures. However, no significant sex differences were found in the Eskimo samples. The same results were found in another Eskimo sample by MacArthur (1967). The Berry and MacArthur studies appear to lend support to the proposition that sex differences in field dependence are a function of social role differences.

Results from cross-cultural investigations support the evidence of American investigations which have been concerned with the effect of parent-child interaction and sex role identification on the level of field dependence. It would appear that Witkin's classification of mothers as inhibitors or facilitators of differentiation is borne out

in more primitive and more homogeneous cultures. The development of field dependence in the Temne has adaptive survival value for them while adaptation and survival value for the Eskimo leads to more field independence. Each mode of differentiation fits the ecological requirements of each culture. The question to be asked is obviously what are the ecological requirements of our own society? At first glance, one would opt for field independence, yet the heterogeneity of our culture precludes such a simple answer. The relative ecological value of field dependence-independence in our culture will be treated later.

Personality and Motivational Correlates of Field Dependence-Independence

There is a growing body of evidence which suggests that global-articulated cognitive style is part of a broader psychological dimension. In an earlier phase of his work, Witkin conceptualized an "active, coping" versus a "passive, submissive" relationship with the environment which corresponds with perceptual field dependency and field independency. More recently, Witkin (1962) described the forms of activity which are related to field dependency. (Some forms of activity are irrelevant, such as activity due to a high energy level.) Hyperkinetic activity suggestive of poor impulse control would indicate a global field approach. No evidence is offered to support this view. Where activity is defined as a

striving or assertiveness toward well-defined goals, an analytic field approach is anticipated.

A Thematic Apperception Test assessment of activity scored for assertiveness and counteraction did not yield a stable relationship with field independence. The active-passive dimension was tested for body posture using photographs with the face blotted out. The photographs were scored on a four-point scale from active-assertive to passive. A significant correlation with field independence was found; i.e., those children with an analytic field approach appeared as more ready for action than children with a global approach. While these studies are not conclusive, it should in fairness be pointed out that Witkin is not postulating a one-to-one relationship between behavioral activity and the mode of field approach since activity in overt behavior is multi-determined and similar behaviors will have different psychological meanings.

Witkin also postulates a relationship between field approach and body concept through human figure drawings. Following Goodenough (1926), Witkin et al. (1962) employed the figure drawing solely to measure the level of primitivity-sophistication in the child's drawings. Assessment was based on the form level of the drawings, the extent of identity, sex differentiation and level of detailing. For 10 to 12-year old boys the results were highly significant with correlations found between sophis-

tication scale scores and perceptual scores (rod and frame, body adjustment and embedded figures). Sophistication of body concept was also significantly related to the WISC Factor III (analytic) but not related to the WISC verbal factor. The assumption here is the projective one that the child's figure drawing represents his concept of his own body. When Goodenough's intelligence scale was used in place of Witkin's sophistication scale, the same correlations were found. The two scales have a correlation of .74. It is possible to argue that figure drawings are really measuring a form of non-verbal intelligence. A number of similar studies (Corah, 1965; Karp, Silberman and Winters, 1969; Winestine, 1969) of articulation of body concept have shown that figure drawings by field dependent subjects tend to be global in character with little detail and unrealistic representation and proportioning of body parts. Sexual characteristics are minimal or non-existent. There are few attempts at role representation. By contrast, field independent children clearly articulate realistic proportions, detailed representation of body parts, clear representation of sex and attempts at role representation.

Another avenue of approach concerns the individual's sense of separate identity. The more articulated the cognitive style, the more there is a manifestation of a sense of identity which includes such things as an awareness of needs and feelings which they recognize as their own and

as distinct from others. By contrast, a global cognitive style, which implies a diminished or lesser sense of separate identity, is manifested by more reliance on external sources for definition of one's attitudes, judgments, sentiments and view of oneself.

One set of studies indicates that field dependent subjects look to the faces of people around them in order to define how they themselves should react. They both look more at other faces and are better able to remember faces (Crutchfield, Woodworth and Albrecht, 1958; Konstadt and Forman, 1965; Messick and Damarin, 1964). Konstadt and Forman used an experimentally-controlled setting (rather than the free play setting used in other studies) to determine the effect of field dependence upon dependency-related behavior. Fourth grade subjects were given a letter cancellation task under conditions of experimenter approval-disapproval. The experimenter gave oral approval or disapproval frequently during the testing situation irrespective of the subjects' actual performance. The dependent variables were levels of performance and orientation toward peers and experimenter. The results were according to predictions. There was a significant tendency toward poorer performance from field dependent children under the disapproval condition. No such tendency was observed in the field independent group.

In regard to how often the subjects looked at

someone else in the room there was significantly more looking behavior from field dependent subjects than from field independent subjects but only under the condition of experimenter disapproval. There was also an order effect in that the field dependent children did more looking when disapproval followed approval than when the order of conditions was reversed. A decrease in performance and an increase in looking behavior suggests that field dependents were more disrupted by a negative emotional climate than were field independents. The dependent group was more externally-directed in that their cognitive-effective behavior was differentially influenced by positive or negative social cues.

Etiology of Differentiation

Some of the antecedents of the global-articulated dimension have been mentioned above under the discussion of sex differences (Bieri, 1960; Sherman, 1967; Ferguson and Maccoby, 1966). Witkin (1962) and Dyk and Witkin (1965) interviewed mothers of boys under study. The mothers' characteristics as a person and the nature of her interaction with her son were the areas studied leading to an overall conclusion that it is the mother who fosters or inhibits differentiation. Significant correlations were found between the sons' perceptual index scores and the global rating of the mother. The conclusion is that mothers of field independent and field dependent boys

interact at least with their male children in a manner that fosters one form or another of differentiation.

In another study, Witkin et al. (1962) measured both mothers and sons on the embedded figures test and a figure drawing test and then subsequently retested the mothers two to three years later. No clear cut association between the mothers' and sons' scores was found to support the hypothesis that field dependent mothers produce field dependent sons. Witkin attributes the results to the difficulties associated with administering the embedded figures test under the special circumstances of the home. These results remain inconclusive.

In a similar study, Corah (1965) examined the field dependence levels of both mothers and fathers in relation to the field dependence levels of both sons and daughters. Thirty boys and thirty girls (ages 8 to 11) from sixty middle-class families were tested with the embedded figures test and figure drawings. There was a positive and significant correlation between the field dependence scores of mothers and sons and of fathers and daughters while the same sex correlations were non-significant. Corah proposed as an explanation of the cross-sex influence that it is the opposite sexed parent who fosters appropriate sexual identification in the child. This is in line with much of Biller's (1967) research on sex role identification and the effects of father presence-father

absence, although it might be argued that there is still no clear cut theoretical link between appropriate sexual identification and field independence.

Bieri (1960) provided some insight into the psychological mechanisms which may mediate cross-sex, parent-child associations with field dependence-independence. Barclay and Cusumano (1967) found that there was no difference in overt masculine identification between boys from father present and father absent homes when the Gough (1957) femininity scale was used to measure sex role identification. Barclay and Cusumano attributed this to a compulsive denial of feminine tendencies as a result of growing up in a matriarchal setting. However, when the same boys were tested on the rod and frame test, a significant relationship was found between father absence and field dependence.

Of particular interest for the purpose for which this study is being done, they found that there was a significant difference in field dependence for black subjects in relation to the white subjects who were more field independent. Race did not interact significantly with the father presence-absence variable.

Differentiation and Psychopathology

Witkin et al. (1962) indicated that there is a relationship between cognitive style and the nature of defenses. Persons who experience life in an articulated

fashion tend to use specialized defenses such as isolation. In contrast, those with a more global approach tend to use such defenses as massive repression and primitive denial. Pollack and Goldfarb (1962), with disturbed children as subjects, found that pathology ranged across the entire perceptual spectrum but that there was a tendency to cluster at the extremes of the distribution. Thus, psychopathology is less likely to develop among the intermediates than among the extremes. Field dependent children tended to suffer from identity problems, poor ego controls, strong feelings of inadequacy, passivity and helplessness. Those patients with an articulated field approach were outwardly aggressive, isolated and over-ideational in their thinking.

Fishbein (1963) found marked field dependency in clinical groups with serious dependency problems, such as asthmatic children. Witkin (1962) described the clinical picture of field dependent groups in terms of poor impulse control, serious identity problem, marked dependency, passivity, lack of responsibility and initiative, feelings of inadequacy and poor ego resources. The clinical picture of the field independent group is marked by well-organized neurotic defenses, rigid controls, over-intellectualization, circumscribed interpersonal relations, emotionally distant and paranoidal tendencies. Marked field dependency has been demonstrated in a number of clinical groups with

symptoms which are customarily associated with dependency problems. Alcoholics present a consistent picture of marked field dependency (Baily, Hustmyer and Kristofferson, 1961; Karp and Konstadt, 1965; Karp, Poster and Goodman, 1963; Karp, Witkin and Goodenough, 1965a, b). Other groups with marked field dependency are obese people (Karp and Pardes, 1965), enuretic children (Scallan and Herron, 1969), patients with functional cardiac disorders (Soll, 1963), patients with hysterical character structure (Zukmann, 1957) and catatonic schizophrenics (Jannucci, 1964).

Field independent persons exhibit different kinds of pathology including delusions, expansive and euphoric ideas of grandeur, outward direction of aggression, over-ideation and a continuing struggle for identity maintenance however bizarre the attempt. The articulated cognitive style has been found among many paranoids (Jannucci, 1964; Powell, 1964) and obsessive compulsives (Zukmann, 1957).

A final dimension of cognitive style has been designated "mobility-fixity" (Werner, 1957; Witkin, 1965). There is evidence to suggest that some field independent persons function consistently in an articulated fashion while others may vary more according to particular circumstances or their inner state. Although both kinds of people can function in a field independent manner, the "fixed"

always does whereas the one who is "mobile" may or may not. Mobility is restricted to field independents in that they presumably have available to them both a developmentally advanced mode of functioning (field independence) and a developmentally earlier mode (field dependence). One could speculate that this fixed-mobile dimension could be useful in explaining why fixed field independents may be more likely to develop psychopathology in that they have fewer real options available to them for coping with situational stress. Field independents as a group are more creative (Stevens, 1969). This may well be a function of the mobility of their field independence.

A common assumption is that a field independent cognitive style is to be more valued than a field dependent cognitive style. There is some reason to accept this assumption if one understands that the more articulated person benefits from more diversified resources for coping than does the less articulated and if one limits a positive value judgment to this one issue. Any broader application, however, must deal with the further issue of how one uses these resources in the adjustment process. Pathology is as likely to develop in either mode of differentiation. Where the highly differentiated person relies heavily on intellectualization as a typical defense, there is a concomitant danger that his emotional life may be severely underdeveloped. Many differentiated persons do spend their

entire adult lives in mental institutions. One can ask whether it is better to be a catatonic schizophrenic (the likely form of schizophrenia in field dependent persons) or a paranoid schizophrenic (the likely form in field independent persons).

Adaptive Value of Differentiation

A value for either form of cognitive style may better be found in relation to the environment in which the person lives. Evidence for this is cited in the cross-cultural studies where field dependence has adaptive value for the Temne and where field independence has adaptive value for the Eskimo. The field dependent person with less analytical ability and the personal characteristic of preferring to be with others and for cooperation with the peer group is both likely to favor and be well-suited for different occupations than the more analytical and more isolated field independent person (Barrett and Thornton, 1967). Maturity is usually defined as a combination of differentiation and integration. It is quite possible to be highly differentiated while lacking integration to the extent that would preclude maturity.

It has already been pointed out that superior ability on cognitive disembedding tasks correlates highly with Factor III on the WISC but that the correlations with Factors I and II (verbal comprehension and attention concentration) are correspondingly low. One cannot make the

assumption that field independent persons are more intelligent per se than field dependent persons. It has been shown that field dependent persons show greater incidental learning for social material than field independent persons but do not differ on non-social material (Eagle, Goldberger and Breitman, 1969). Likewise field dependent persons are better at remembering faces (Mesnick and Damarin, 1964). Groups of field dependent males are able to achieve a unanimous consensus in less time than was required by field independent groups (Wallach, Kogan and Burt, 1967). In sum, each mode of cognitive style has particular value for different situations and it would be incorrect to unilaterally value one mode over the other.

As indicated in this review of the literature, field dependency is a multi-faceted psychological model with numerous implications and applications in the interpretation of personality variables. This thesis will use the field dependency-independency construct in an effort to examine the relationship between ethnicity and the self actualized personality. In particular, this study has used a sample of the black American population as a means of focusing on the interaction between ethnicity and field dependency. Italian Americans were used as an ethnic control group.

Over the years there has been considerable investigation into the development of self-identity among black

Americans within the larger, predominantly white society. For the most part, this investigation has focused upon identity formation in young black children. There has been little research on the development of black self-identity in adolescence and young adulthood. This study has as its focus the young adult black male.

Development of Self-Identity in Black Americans

It is color that is the inescapable fact of life of the black experience in American society. For the black child color is inherent in his self-concept. As awareness of self becomes defined, it finds its definition in a social context in which color is valued or devalued. The child between the ages of three and seven gradually attains his concept of himself. The younger child (ages three to four) becomes aware of his color but has little understanding of the value placed on color by society.

Traditional experiments have delineated the development of racial awareness in children. Experimenters have used white and black dolls or pictures of white and black children to determine racial awareness. The ability to make racial distinctions begins about age three in both races (Clark and Clark, 1947; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Stevenson and Stevenson, 1960). This ability grows through age seven at which time virtually all children make accurate identifications. There is some evidence that there may be a predisposition to early ethnic awareness by virtue of

membership in a minority group (Radke et al., 1949). Radke found that Jewish children between ages five and nine were more aware of their group membership than were Protestant or Catholic children. Goodman (1952) found that northern black children became aware of racial differences earlier than did white children. By contrast, Morland (1958) and Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found that in Virginia and Texas white children reached racial awareness at an earlier age than did black children. It is possible that in the latter studies black children refused (rather than were unable) to make racial identifications on the doll task.

Racial identification necessitates racial evaluations. Kenneth Clark (1955) says, "The child cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race" (p. 23). Consistent results have been found in a series of studies which have measured racial evaluations (Clark and Clark, 1947; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Radke and Trager, 1950; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1962). When black and white children were given a choice between a black and white doll, the majority of both races chose the white one. Morland (1962) found that while 60 percent of black children preferred to play with children of the other race, only 10 percent of white children so preferred. Goodman (1952) found hostility directed toward their own

race in 24 percent of the black children in her study while only 9 percent of these children directed hostility toward whites. For whites in the same study 33 percent were antagonistic toward black children but none were hostile toward their own group. Thus, in the past history of the black American experience, the effects of racism have been to produce a climate in which many blacks internalized the attitudes of the larger society leading to feelings of racial inferiority and self-hatred. This phenomenon can be seen in such behaviors as "passing" and "hair straightening", which are, in essence, a denial of one's racial origins.

Parker and Kleiner (1965) focused their research on the issue of "passing" or "turning white" and found that in their review of the literature that "almost every study of psychopathology among Negroes indicates that the Negro who is not identified with other members of his own group, or who aspires to be white, is relatively more prone to manifest various forms of mental ill health" (p. 157). Blacks in psychiatric hospitals were found to be strongly identified with their own group or strongly non-identified with their group, while community-based blacks tended to be ambivalent about their racial identification. They suggested that ambivalence may be adaptive but that extreme reactions in either direction, i.e., "polarization of racial identification", may be psychopathogenic. They defined the psychiatrically healthy black as one with conflicts about his racial

identification. The mentally ill person tries to remove the conflict from conscious awareness. The psychiatrically healthy black person basically identifies with blacks, but is aware of and realistic about his status in the larger community. Another form of identification is the extreme defensive or reactive one in which the individual denies that there are problems in being black.

A number of studies have focused on the conflicts that contribute to self-identity. Rainwater (1966) saw the family as the "crucible of identity". The black urban lower-class forms a distinct subculture which has originated as a reaction to discrimination and guarantees survival, but which paradoxically makes it difficult for its members to function in the working or middle-class world (Rainwater, 1966; Drake, 1965). The matriarchal pattern of family life has its effects on the child's self-concept (Frazier, 1962; Drake and Clayton, 1962). Rainwater (1966) estimated that two-thirds of lower-class urban black children do not live in a family headed by a man and a woman during their first 18 years of life. The attitude of these mothers toward their children may be one of ambivalence or indifference leading to the early development of peer group contacts for lower-class children (Ausubel and Ausubel, 1958).

Today, however, we are seeing a reversal of these old attitudes and an emergence of racial pride and group identity with various manifestations (Black Power, Black

Is Beautiful, Afro-American Studies) and which all center around concepts of solidarity and brotherhood within the black community. The question which arises is whether this development of a strong group identification gives rise to a stronger sense of self or a diminished sense of self.

Traditionally, the literature would indicate that strong identification with one's ethnic, religious or racial group, with its constrictions and submergence of individual identity to group values, would give rise to a more field dependent personality. The hypothesis of the present study is an opposite one in regard to the black population. As a group they have in the past experienced a lack of group pride and awareness with a resultant poor self-image and identity formation. This new group solidarity should give individual blacks a greater sense of self (rather than a diminished sense of self). Therefore, those blacks who identify strongly with their ethnic group will more likely be proactive rather than reactive, more internally directed than externally directed, and consequently more field independent than those blacks who evidence little group identification.

Recent studies which give support to this hypothesis have focused on the concept of black power. Black power ideology as originally conceived was a political and economic strategy for achieving black liberation as well

as an antidote to the destructive self-image held by blacks (Franklin, 1969; Pinderhughes, 1969). Lessing and Zagorin (1972a, 1972b), using a Black Power Ideology Scale, found that black college students who scored in the Black Power direction saw the black person as closer to the ideal person than did those blacks who scored below the median on the ideology scale. In a further study (Lessing, 1973), high school students were tested on the Black Power Ideology Scale and confirmed the hypothesis that black students, high in black power orientation, would have a more positive self-concept than low endorsers of black power.

II

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The primary purpose of this study was to determine the relationship of ethnicity to both field dependency and adjustment. Ethnicity for this study was defined as finding meaning, value and self-identity in one's ethnic origins and cultural traditions. Ethnicity for the purpose of this study is not to be confused with ethnic or racial militancy or political ideology. Adjustment was defined in terms of the self-actualizing person of Maslow.

The predictions were:

1. Black field independents are more likely to be highly ethnic than black field dependents.
2. More adjusted blacks will be more highly ethnic than maladjusted blacks.
3. Adjusted blacks will be more highly ethnic than adjusted whites.

An additional purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between adjustment and field dependency.

The predictions were:

4. Adjusted people are more likely to be field independent than maladjusted people.
5. Black maladjusted will be more field dependent than white maladjusted.

The major pragmatic value of this research is to present an alternative view to the prevalent view of

ethnocentrism which tends to present ethnics as constricted personalities.

III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

The subjects were eighty-eight males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. This age group fit the author's definition of "young adult", and the literature suggests that an age difference within this range would not be a confounding variable. Socio-economic status and general intelligence level were determined by self report (Appendix A) and while this method lacks some precision it was the author's intention to do a "street study" within the general guidelines of a laboratory. This was not a random sample nor was it intended to be. The sample was chosen to demonstrate compatibility between high ethnicity and adjustment as defined in this study. A more random sample would be needed to generalize the findings beyond this study.

The Black American group ranged in age from sixteen to twenty-one with an average age of 17.6 years. Seventy-three percent labeled themselves as belonging to the working class and 25 percent called themselves middle-class while one subject (a minister's son) identified his family as professional class.

Sixty-five percent judged their intelligence to be average, while 25 percent checked above-average and 10

percent checked superior. In response to the grade that they usually received in school, 48 percent answered mostly C, 48 percent answered mostly B, and 4 percent gave mostly A as their answer. It was the author's intention to sample an "average" population and the age and intelligence distribution of this group was accepted as homogeneous enough to provide a representative sample. Sixty percent of the sample came from the Fox Point and South Side Boys' Clubs in Providence. Thirteen percent were members of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Providence and the remaining 27 percent were college students (one from Brown University, one from Providence College, and the remainder from the University of Rhode Island).

The Italian American group (control) ranged in age from eighteen to twenty years old with an average age of 19.2 years. Forty-three percent identified their homes as working class homes, 41 percent as from middle-class homes, and 16 percent as from professional class homes.

Sixty-two percent estimated their intelligence as average, while 36 percent checked above-average, and 2 percent checked superior. In response to the grade that they usually received in school, 38 percent answered mostly C, 52 percent answered mostly B, and 10 percent answered mostly A. The majority of the Italian American group (70 percent) were University of Rhode Island students; the remainder were from Rhode Island Junior College.

Socio-economic status and general level of intelligence are presented in Table I.

Potential subjects were either contacted directly by one of the experimenters (see Procedure) in this study or arrangements were made by the author with a sponsoring organization, such as the Fox Point Boys' Club, the South Side Boys' Club, and the Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Apparatus

A Background Information questionnaire (Appendix A) was used to collect socio-cultural data. The primary purpose of the questionnaire was to form an estimate of the cultural class to which each subject belonged as well as an estimate of his intellectual ability.

Ethnicity was measured by the Semantic Differential (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957) using concepts "Me", "Black Americans", and "Italian Americans" (Appendices B, C, D). Twelve scales which were used with each concept are good-bad, kind-cruel, clean-dirty, beautiful-ugly, sacred-profane, important-unimportant, strong-weak, hard-soft, powerful-powerless, active-passive, quick-slow, and excitable-calm. For each set of words (e.g., good-bad) there were seven intervening spaces and the subject's task was to make a check mark on the space which reflects his best judgment about the concept in question. The spaces, while not so marked, were scored +3, +2, +1, 0, -1, -2, -3. The scales were counterbalanced so that positively and

TABLE 1

Characteristics of the Subjects by Social Class *
Intelligence and Grade Most Often Received in School

Group	Social Class		
	Professional	Middle	Working
Black Americans	2%	25%	73%
Italian Americans	16%	41%	43%
	Intelligence		
	Superior	Above-Average	Average
Black Americans	10%	25%	65%
Italian Americans	2%	36%	62%
	Grade Most Often Received In School		
	A	B	C
Black Americans	4%	48%	48%
Italian Americans	10%	52%	38%

* By self report

negatively loaded words appeared randomly in the left column. One score was obtained for each concept by simply adding the pluses and minuses. The group scores for the ethnic concept were then divided at the median to produce a high ethnic group and a low ethnic group.

Each subject was tested only on the concept which was appropriate to his ethnic group. The scores for the concept "Me" were not calculated since the primary purpose of this task was to familiarize subjects with the task.

The Group Embedded Figures Test (Oltman, Raskin and Witkin, 1971) was used as a measure of field dependence-independence. This test is an adaptation of the Embedded Figures Test (Witkin, 1950). The two tests correlate well ($r = .82$) for males. The task in this test is to separate as quickly as possible a simple form from a complex field in which it is incorporated. The test booklet is arranged so that the simple forms appear on the back cover of the booklet and all test items are on the right-hand page of the booklet. This permits the subject to look at the simple form as often as he wishes but he cannot compare the simple form with the complex figure simultaneously. There are three sections to the test. Section One is a practice session, and while it has a time limit of two minutes in this study the experimenter gave extra time and verified that each subject could identify each of the forms in Section One accurately. Sections two and three have nine

items each which are of increasing complexity and each section is timed at five minutes each. The subjects were told that these two sections were timed. Higher scores reflect relatively field independent functioning and lower scores relatively field dependent functioning.

The Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1965) was used as a measure of adjustment (POI). The POI has been validated using nominated groups such as factory supervisors, student nurses, service organization volunteers, college juniors and seniors, entering college freshmen, high school students, hospitalized psychiatric patients, delinquent males, alcoholic males and psychopathic felons (males). Concurrent validity was also tested through correlations with other measures of similar traits such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, Eysenck Personality Inventory, Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, Study of Values, Authoritarian Scale and Dogmatism Scale. Reliability coefficients for the major scales of Time Competence and Inner Direction are .71 and .77 respectively. Time Competence measures the degree to which a person lives in the present as opposed to the past or the future. The time competent person is oriented to the present time with full awareness of his situation and full emotional response to it while the time incompetent person is more oriented to the past with its guilts, regrets and resentments or

toward the future where he is concerned with goals, plans, expectations and fears. The inner or self-directed person is guided for the most part by his internalized principles and motivations while other directed persons are influenced to a greater extent by their peer group or other situational forces. High scores on these two scales are indicative of adjustment and low scores of maladjustment.

The POI manual recommends that these two scales be used as an estimate of adjustment and that for statistical purposes it is better to use the raw scores on these scales rather than the ratio scores due to the statistical complexities of the ratio scores. This study has followed that recommendation. The test itself comprises 150 items involving a forced choice. Sample items are given in Appendix E.

Procedure

Two experimenters were used to administer the tests. Both were twenty-year old male psychology majors at the University of Rhode Island. One was a Black American and the other was an Italian American. These experimenters were trained in test administration by the author and conducted the testing either with individuals or with groups. In any group testing session in which the author participated, the experimenter held the major role of test administrator while the author restricted himself to the minor role of passing out and collecting papers and pencils.

Since the major focus of this study was the relationship between ethnic consciousness and adjustment, the two experimenters served to increase congruence between the experimenters and their respective subjects and thus provide more optimal conditions in which the subjects could respond with maximum freedom.

The order of presentation of the tests was: background information, followed by the semantic differential for the concept "me", embedded figures test, personal orientation inventory, and finally, the semantic differential for the ethnic concept, "Black American" or "Italian American". The total testing time varied between sixty and seventy minutes according to the size of the group. Standard instructions were read by the experimenter and time was kept for the embedded figures test which alone had a time limit.

As had been announced in the initial contact, all subjects were paid \$2.00 each for their time and cooperation. Arrangements have been made to provide the sponsoring organizations with the general findings of the study when it is completed. Subjects themselves were given a short debriefing in which the hypotheses and expected results were explained.

IV

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1, that black field independents would be more likely to be more highly ethnic than black field dependents, was not confirmed. The t score for this hypothesis is presented in Table 2. A scatter plot of the data is presented in Appendix F.

Hypothesis 2, that more adjusted Black Americans would be more highly ethnic than maladjusted Black Americans, was confirmed for both Time Competence and Inner Direction. Means, standard deviations and t scores are presented in Table 3. Scatter plots of the data are presented in Appendices G and H.

Hypothesis 3, that adjusted Blacks would be more highly ethnic than adjusted whites, was confirmed for both Time Competence and Inner Direction. Means, standard deviations and t scores are presented in Table 4.

Hypothesis 4, that adjusted people would be more likely to be field independent than maladjusted people, was not confirmed. The chi-square analysis is presented in Table 5.

Hypothesis 5, that the black maladjusted would be more field dependent than the white maladjusted, was not confirmed. The chi-square analysis is presented in Table 6.

TABLE 2

Ethnicity Data For Black Field Dependents
And Black Field Independents

	Groups							
	Black Field Dependents			Black Field Independents				
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	t	
Ethnicity	11.5	8.85	20	15	7.04	24	.68	NS

TABLE 3

Ethnicity Data For Black Adjusted
And Black Maladjusted On Time Competence
And Inner Direction

Groups								
	Black Adjusted on Time Competence			Black Maladjusted on Time Competence				
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	t	
Ethnicity	16.9	7.17	22	10	8.17	22	2.98	<.01

Inner Direction								
	Inner Direction			Inner Direction				
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	t	
Ethnicity	16.5	8.14	22	10.45	7.64	22	2.55	<.02

TABLE 4

Ethnicity Data For Black And White
Adjusted Subjects On Time Competence
And Inner Direction

Groups								
Black Adjusted on Time Competence				White Adjusted on Time Competence				
Mean	SD	N		Mean	SD	N	t	
Ethnicity	16.9	7.18	22	12.5	6.79	22	2.13	<.05

Inner Direction				Inner Direction				
Mean	SD	N		Mean	SD	N	t	
Ethnicity	16.5	8.14	22	11.23	5.83	22	2.48	<.02

TABLE 5

Chi-Square Test Of Significance
Between Differentiation And Adjustment

DIFFERENTIATION			
	Field Dependent Field Independent		
High Adjusted	<table border="1"><tr><td>22</td><td>29</td></tr></table>	22	29
22	29		
Low Adjusted	<table border="1"><tr><td>20</td><td>17</td></tr></table>	20	17
20	17		

degrees of freedom = 1

Chi-Square = 1.056 Non-Significant

TABLE 6

Chi-Square Test Of Significance
Between Differentiation And Mal adjustment
For Blacks And Italian Americans

DIFFERENTIATION	
	Field Dependent Field Independent
Black Maladjusted	14 11
Italian American Maladjusted	4 9

degrees of freedom = 1

Chi-Square = 2.19 Non-Significant

V

DISCUSSION

The main intention of this study was to examine a cross-section of the normal black population (specifically young adult males). The literature has specified the debilitating effects that racism has had on the self-identity and psychological adjustment of black children. The basic premise from which the hypotheses were developed was that the past twenty years have seen a resurgence of black pride, and while economic advances and full integration may seem agonizingly slow to many Blacks, today's young adults have spent their entire lives in a growth fostering emotional and psychological climate which should have resulted in profound differences in self-concept between this generation of young men and previous generations of Blacks.

One of the expected profound differences concerns the effect on emotional adjustment. This author chose not to use clinical definitions of normalcy because in general the clinical model concerns itself with maladjustment and normalcy is typically considered to be absence of maladjustment. Maslow's concept of self-actualization was chosen as a model since it concentrates on the proactive aspects of personality, in which the healthy adjusted personality is defined "as one who lives in the present with a minimum of concern for the past as well as a

minimum concern for the future". Such a personality finds his source of motivation to be in his own wants and desires, i.e., he is proactive rather than reactive and is directed by his own inner standards and concept of self rather than looking to external sources for meaning and motivation.

The confirmation of Hypothesis 2, that more adjusted Blacks are more highly ethnic than maladjusted Blacks, indicates that there is compatibility between a relatively high degree of ethnic pride and adjustment. One can perhaps assume according to the definition of adjustment (living in the present and inner directed) that the adjusted subjects have more psychic time in which to deal with themselves as they are. The maladjusted by this definition would expend more energy on past personal and/or group grievances or else devote so much energy toward future goals that they have relatively less time for current concerns. They would use their time and energy in dealing with a self-image that finds its source in society's evaluation of them as individuals and as a group. Such an understanding would fit well with the traditional explanations of racial awareness that are found in the classical racial evaluation studies of Clark and Clark (1947), Stevenson and Stewart (1958), Radke and Trager (1950), Goodman (1952), and Morland (1962).

These studies in general have led to the conclusion that the effects of racism have been to produce a climate in which many Blacks internalized the attitudes of

the larger society, leading to feelings of racial inferiority and self-hatred. One could assume that the same variables are present in this study's sample of maladjusted Blacks.

The positive finding of the hypothesis, however, would seem to indicate that a change has been taking place and that there is a population of young adult Blacks who are better equipped psychologically to deal with the effects of racism. One must be cautious and not overstate the case. This adjusted sample is not necessarily seen as happy and carefree. That would be to fall into one of the old stereotypes of Blacks. However, at this time and in this sample, they seem to draw strength and positive identity from within their own group rather than relying on the larger society for definition of their identity and value as persons. Feelings of racial inferiority and self-hatred are being replaced by feelings of racial pride and acceptance of self. It is not necessary for them to psychologically "become white" in order to have a positive self-image. On the contrary, they accept being black and this serves to reinforce their personal sense of identity which includes their racial awareness as a source of pride.

It is interesting to compare this seeming equivalence of adjustment and ethnic pride with Farker and Kleiner's (1965) research in which psychopathology was seen to be the result of over- or under-identification by Blacks with their own group. Parker and Kleiner found that extreme

reactions in either direction to ethnicity were found among Blacks in psychiatric hospitals. They defined the healthy Black as one who is ambivalent and conflicted about his racial identification but who basically identifies with Blacks and is aware of and realistic about his status in the larger community. While the models of psychiatric health and self-actualization are different, it would appear that the sample in this study does demonstrate that the combination of racial pride or high ethnicity and adjustment is readily available in the general black community.

Lessing (1973) and Lessing and Zagorin (1972a, 1972b) examined the relationship between Black Power Ideology in college and high school students and found that those subjects with a high black power orientation had a more positive self-concept than low endorsers of black power. While black power in their studies is not equivalent to high ethnicity in this study, it seems reasonable to equate their finding of a more positive self-concept with adjustment as it was defined in this study.

Hypothesis 3 indicates that adjusted Blacks are more highly ethnic than adjusted whites. This would seem to be congruent with the previous discussion of Hypothesis 2. It would appear that in Blacks ethnic consciousness is an integral part of their adjustment while this is less so in the Italian American sample.

One must proceed with caution here since it would appear that comparing the two groups only as "ethnic" groups is a common fallacy. There is some validity to the comparison but there are also essential differences between the two groups. If one looks at the two groups as ethnic groups who have both been subject to the effects of prejudice from the larger society, then from this perspective today's young adult Blacks are experiencing a close approximation to what young adult Italian Americans (or Irish or Polish) experienced two generations ago. At that time, some thirty to forty years ago, the Italian Americans were a first generation group, were clearly labeled and subject to prejudice as "foreigners" and one supposes had a higher degree of ethnic consciousness than does the sample in this study. One could hypothesize that as a first generation phenomenon, ethnic consciousness not only comes from within the individual but is also elicited by the reaction of others (i.e., prejudice). The young men in the current sample are removed from that climate by two generations, and should be seen as examples of a third generation ethnic group. They have been integrated into society and ethnic consciousness while still evident is not as much a pervasive influence in their lives as it was for their grandparents' generation. This ethnic consciousness can easily be elicited today. Examples that come to mind are the popularity of the movies The Godfather I and II, and the response elicited by Joseph Columbo when

he organized the Italian American League in New York City in the late sixties.

The young adult Black Americans in this study can, in one sense, be defined as a first generation sample. The beginning of the civil rights movement in the early 1950s would, by analogy, be similar to immigration from another country and the sample in this study, like a first generation sample, would have spent their entire lives feeling the weight of the past and simultaneously experiencing hope about the future.

There is some overlap between Parker and Kleiner's definition of the healthy black personality as one with some conflicts about his racial identification and the current study's definition which uses self-actualization as a model. Assuming Parker and Kleiner to be correct, the young adult Blacks in this study do feel some conflict while for the young adult Italian American that conflict is part of his family's history but is no longer a present and direct concern to him.

The fallacy inherent to this equal ethnic group comparison is two-fold and involves two issues - color and the historical experience of slavery in America. Color is an essential rather than accidental difference between the groups. The fact of color adds a significant dimension to the equation and as such precludes any simple answers or hopes for the future. As Kenneth Clark (1955) has said: "The child cannot learn what racial group he belongs to

without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race" (p. 23). From this point of view, considering color as a unique characteristic that neither the group nor the larger society can easily disregard, it would appear logical that ethnic consciousness would always be at a higher level in Blacks than in other non-black ethnic groups. Another way of saying the same thing is that at some point in time for a white ethnic group, ethnic consciousness can become a relatively subliminal phenomenon, available when elicited but otherwise quiescent. For an ethnic group that is distinguished by color, it would seem likely, even necessary, that ethnic consciousness be always supraliminal.

Another reason for regarding any one-to-one comparison between Black Americans and any other white ethnic group as fallacious is found in the history of the black experience in America and involves significant differences in ethnic consciousness from the time of arrival in this country. Other ethnic groups have managed to transplant their original cultures and religious practices into the existing social fabric so that a strong continuity was maintained between the old world and the new world. While prejudice made the transition difficult, the difficulties were surmounted by these groups in and through their existing cultures. The Jews, whether in the

ancient diaspora or in the historically more recent immigrations to America in the early 1900s, were able to find and maintain a source of ego strength and self-identity in their Jewishness. Likewise, the Italian Americans who came to America at the same time transplanted their old culture into new surroundings. Despite external prejudice it was relatively easy to maintain a sense of ethnic consciousness and self-esteem.

Black Americans have had an experience radically different from other ethnic groups; an experience that is radically different even from that of the Chinese in California in the last century and the Japanese in California in the present century. It is slavery which makes their experience specifically unique since slavery involved a systematic destruction of their pre-existing African culture.

Slaves were not allowed to marry and establish family units which could transmit culture from one generation to another. They were not allowed to continue their religious practices openly and for the majority this meant absorbing both the alien culture and the religion of the larger society. The reality was that they were physical property and were treated as such. When one considers today's Black Americans in the light of their history, one must be cautious in assuming that one knows what is meant by ethnic consciousness at all. While in

a sense one can speculate in terms of "first generation" while other ethnic groups have passed that stage, it is equally possible - and perhaps even probable - that we are witnessing the generation of a brand new ethnic consciousness in the new freedom which only recently has developed since the initial break with their African culture and after three hundred years of absorption of an alien culture.

A further analysis of the data was conducted on the relationship between scores for the concept "Me" and the ethnic concept for both blacks and whites on the semantic differential. There were no significant differences in responses between the two concepts for Blacks ($t = .94$, NS) or for the Italian Americans ($t = .67$, NS). Means, standard deviations and t scores are presented in Table 7. The interpretation here is the expected one that there is a healthy integration of one's feelings about one's ethnic background into one's self-concept.

The only specific trend visible in this ethnic data is on the scale "ugly-beautiful" on the concept "Black Americans". Fifty-six percent of the Black subjects checked the +3 space while the remaining 44 percent spread their scores from -1 through +2. A histogram of the data is presented in Figure 1. A significant chi-square value of 40.32 was found, which is significant (at the .001 level for 4 degrees of freedom the chi-square value is 18.5). The interpretation here is that the Black Americans

TABLE 7

Test For Significance For The Concept "Me"
 And The Concepts "Black Americans"
And "Italian Americans" On The Semantic Differential

BLACK GROUP

Concept "Me"			Concept "Black Americans"				
Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	t	
15.0	7.2	44	13.4	8.3	44	.94	NS

ITALIAN AMERICAN GROUP

Concept "Me"			Concept "Italian Americans"				
Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	t	
10.5	5.7	44	11.4	6.2	44	.67	NS

Fig. 1. Histogram showing frequency distribution of scores for the scale "ugly-beautiful" for the concept "Black Americans".

Chi-Square = 40.32, $< .001$

degrees of freedom = 4

were responding to the slogan "black is beautiful". On the other scales for either group there was no discernible trend.

The failure of the three hypotheses concerning field dependence-independence involves both theoretical and methodological considerations.

Theoretical Considerations

The theoretical basis for all three hypotheses was found in the field dependency research which gave strong indications that field dependent personalities are more subject to a diminished or lesser sense of separate identity which is manifested by more reliance on external sources for definition of one's attitudes, judgments, sentiments and view of oneself. Studies such as that of Konstadt and Forman (1965) suggested that field dependent subjects are more disrupted by a negative emotional climate than are field independents. Field dependents were more externally directed in both cognitive and affective behavior.

The literature of black history and self-identity lend support to the idea that a negative valence existed in being black in American society, and consequently one would expect Blacks to score lower on dependency because of less opportunity for ego development. Those relatively field independent Blacks would be more internally directed and consequently less susceptible to the larger society's

negative value and influence and thus experience more freedom in their own self-evaluation and self-worth. That is the logic which led to the hypothesis that field independents would be more highly ethnic than field dependents.

Hypothesis 4 followed from the above logic that adjusted people (Time Competent and Inner Directed) would be relatively more field independent than the maladjusted (Time Incompetent and Other Directed) and by extension one would expect among the maladjusted that Blacks would be more dependent than whites which is Hypothesis 5. For the latter hypothesis, there is the evidence from Barclay and Cusumano who found that there was a significant difference in field dependence for the black half of their subjects in relation to the white subjects who were more field independent. A supplementary t-test was used to test the hypothesis that there would be a difference in differentiation between Blacks and whites. A t of 1.08 was not significant. The means, standard deviations and t score are presented in Table 8.

One possible explanation for the failure of the field dependence-field independence hypotheses may be that ethnic consciousness and the ego-building effects of this consciousness have so completely been adopted by the black community that one can expect to find ethnic pride irrespective of field dependence-independence. These hypotheses may well have been valid one to two decades ago, but are no

TABLE 8

Dependency Data For Blacks And Whites

	Groups						
	Black			White			t
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Dependency	8.09	4.84	44	9.75	5.38	44	1.08 NS

longer viable. Unfortunately, there is no way to test this.

The literature on field dependency suggests that those people who are particularly susceptible to external influences for definition of self would be relatively more field dependent. The external environment in the case of Blacks was clearly negative. The assumption in this study was that racism and prejudice in American society would effect field dependents in such a way as to produce low scores on an ethnic identification task, i.e., they would assimilate the negative attitudes and prejudices toward their ethnic and racial group and chose not to identify strongly with it and in some cases to disassociate entirely from the group as is discussed in the Parker and Kleiner study.

Conversely, it was hypothesized that field independent Blacks who should not be as susceptible to external influences for definition of self would be more open to developing a positive self attitude which incorporates their ethnic and racial origins. The assumption was made here that there was a significant correlation between definition of self and ethnic pride for Black Americans.

The results of this study would suggest that this direct cause and effect relationship is not valid, at least in a cross-section of Rhode Island young adult Black Americans. It might hold true for an older generation here which would have been raised in a different social climate.

Perhaps, also, the hypothesis would hold in other areas of the country where prejudice might be more overt than it is here.

Methodological Considerations

Zigler (1963a, 1963b), Wachtel (1972) and Vernon (1972) have advanced the thesis that intelligence both confounds and limits the interpretation of test performance. Where Witkin argues that tests of field dependence are measuring factor III of the WISC (Picture Completion, Block Design and Object Assembly), Wachtel feels that it is the full scale IQ which correlates best with the tests of field dependence. If Wachtel is correct, then level of education was not controlled for in this study and may have been a confounding variable.

Perhaps the most important variable which may have contributed to the failure of Hypothesis 1, 4 and 5 was the relatively small number of subjects. Originally, the intention was to use a larger N. However, serious and significant difficulties were encountered in the search for subjects. These difficulties were of two kinds. First, this kind of research about Blacks elicited a great deal of resistance among various administrators who would normally be expected to cooperate in this type of study. The subject of black ethnicity was seen by many administrators as a source of bad publicity and bad public relations. In two Catholic high schools approval was given for the

study but when it came time to actually contact subjects and arrange for parental consent, the whole issue was considered "too sensitive" and regrets were offered. The same process obtained in a large urban school system which was asked to provide Italian American control subjects. Once again, the issue of sensitivity was given as the reason for not being able to offer cooperation but here it was a question of Italian American sensitivity.

The other difficulty arose from a community ethnic which in substance said that Blacks should not take tests under any circumstances. This issue was hard to deal with as an issue. Two black administrators were contacted and turned out to be reluctant to offer even minimal assistance. One refused outright to meet with the author (after several requests for an appointment). The other, after much persuasion and argument about the issue of testing Blacks, did agree to cooperate, but then said that he had no way to make subjects available. This case was particularly disappointing because the author felt that this was the only person who met the issue directly. The principal of a large urban high school, while unable to help because of his school system's policy, was most encouraging about the study itself and spent several hours with the author discussing his own views about the relationship of ethnicity to personality. A colleague who is a personal friend of a black administrator in a black university in the midwest was unable to secure his friend's cooperation.

These difficulties much reduced the N in the study and probably resulted in a subject pool which was relatively rather than absolutely field dependent or field independent. Another consideration that may have possibly biased the results is the effect of sampling from a Boys' Club and black church population rather than from the larger, more heterogeneous population available in the public schools.

Conclusions and Implications for Future Research

The major finding of this study is that there exists a population of well-adjusted Black Americans who are highly ethnic. This aspect of the study bodes well for the future of race relations in America as well as for the personal and individual growth of Blacks. While racism itself is perhaps not in a decline, its effects on its past victims would seem to be drawing to a close.

One could also consider extending the implications of these findings to women's groups and other minority groups who are trying to develop more "ethnicity". The aphorism "in unity there is strength" may gain a wider meaning with implications for the development of personality as well as its usual political implications.

A number of theoretical and methodological issues have been discussed on the issue of the relationship of the differentiation construct to ethnicity. Most were inconclusive and there remains the possibility that field

dependency-independency may still be considered a viable way of approaching the problem. From the findings of this study, however, one must conclude that there is no primary causative relationship between field dependency and ethnicity.

Future research should concern the laboratory model, using a much larger number of subjects and it is suggested that more than one test of psychological differentiation be used. The laboratory model could be expected to clearly identify samples of field dependent and field independent subjects and more meaningful results could be produced.

Future researchers should take note of the difficulty the author faced in recruiting subjects. This was conceived as a "street" study and the author experienced many "real world" problems in his search for subjects. Ideally, a future researcher would himself be Black and would have some direct source of subjects on which to exercise some benign coercion.

VI

APPENDICES

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. The purpose of the questions is to control for educational and social differences.

NAME _____ How old are you? _____

City or town where your family lives _____

Has your family moved here from any other part of the country? _____ If yes, from where _____

How many years ago _____

Is your mother still living? _____

Is your father still living? _____

Do they live together? _____

How many brothers do you have? _____ Sisters? _____

Are you the first, second or third child etc.? _____

Put an X in the space that best describes your family

_____ Professional class (lawyer, doctor,
college professor, etc.)

_____ Middle class

_____ Working class

Do you go to school? _____ Where? _____

Please give a guess as to how intelligent you are in comparison with other people your age

_____ Superior

_____ Above-average

_____ Average

_____ Below average

If you are in school now or when you were in school, were your marks

_____ Mostly As

_____ Mostly Bs

_____ Mostly Cs

APPENDIX B

"ME"

Here are a group of words that most people use when they talk about themselves and other people. Place an X on the space which shows best where you think that YOU YOURSELF fall on the pairs of words.

GOOD	_____	BAD
STRONG	_____	WEAK
PASSIVE	_____	ACTIVE
KIND	_____	CRUEL
HARD	_____	SOFT
SLOW	_____	QUICK
DIRTY	_____	CLEAN
POWERFUL	_____	POWERLESS
SACRED	_____	PROFANE
EXCITABLE	_____	CALM
UNIMPORTANT	_____	IMPORTANT
UGLY	_____	BEAUTIFUL

APPENDIX C
BLACK AMERICANS

Here are a group of words that most people use when they talk about themselves and other people. Place an X on the space which shows best where you think that BLACK AMERICANS fall on the pairs of words.

GOOD	_____	BAD
STRONG	_____	WEAK
PASSIVE	_____	ACTIVE
KIND	_____	CRUEL
HARD	_____	SOFT
SLOW	_____	QUICK
DIRTY	_____	CLEAN
POWERFUL	_____	POWERLESS
SACRED	_____	PROFANE
EXCITABLE	_____	CALM
UNIMPORTANT	_____	IMPORTANT
UGLY	_____	BEAUTIFUL

APPENDIX D
ITALIAN AMERICANS

Here are a group of words that most people use when they talk about themselves and other people. Place an X on the space which shows best where you think that ITALIAN AMERICANS fall on the pairs of words.

GOOD	_____	BAD
STRONG	_____	WEAK
PASSIVE	_____	ACTIVE
KIND	_____	CRUEL
HARD	_____	SOFT
SLOW	_____	QUICK
DIRTY	_____	CLEAN
POWERFUL	_____	POWERLESS
SACRED	_____	PROFANE
EXCITABLE	_____	CALM
UNIMPORTANT	_____	IMPORTANT
UGLY	_____	BEAUTIFUL

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE ITEMS FROM THE PERSONAL ORIENTATION INVENTORY

1. a. I am bound by the principle of fairness.
b. I am not absolutely bound by the principle of fairness.
2. a. When a friend does me a favor, I feel that I must return it.
b. When a friend does me a favor, I do not feel that I must return it.
3. a. I feel that I must always tell the truth.
b. I do not always tell the truth.

APPENDIX F

Fig. 2. Scatter plot of ethnicity and dependency scores
for Blacks

Figure 2

APPENDIX G

Fig. 3. Scatter plot of ethnicity and time competence-adjustment scores for Blacks

Figure 3

APPENDIX H

Fig. 4. Scatter plot of ethnicity and inner direction-adjustment scores for Blacks

Figure 4

VII

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