THE SELF-CONCEPT OF PREADOLESCENTS IN THE

HELLENIC CONTEXT

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SUMMARY

The study examined the self-concept of preadolescents within the existing Greek sociocultural context. It was hypothesized that the specific milieu with its own psychosocial, sociocultural and economicosocial processes operating would shape the way preadolescents perceive and evaluate themselves. The self-concepts of Athenian children (n=754), rural children (n=320) and children from rapidly changing milieu (n=380), considered as lying at three distinct points on the continuum of social change, were compared. In addition to the contextual impact upon self-concept an historical perspective was also considered.

Since this study was the first attempt in Greece to measure self-concept, a new device was developed; self-concept was viewed from the perspective of real, ideal and social self. The factors which composed self-concept were determined by factor analysis while multiple regression analysis was used to determine the relative effect of SES (father's education and father's occupation), children's I.Q. and achievement on self-concept factors.

Results suggested wide differences on all three levels of self-concept among the three population groups and between sexes. The findings indicated that the task of forming a stable self-image and identity, a comparatively simple task in low complexity milieux, becomes a much more complex process in high complexity milieux. Confusion and conflict characterize the self-concept of preadolescents who live in a rapidly changing milieu. School achievement and to a much lesser degree I.Q., were found to be the best predictors of the particular academic self-concept factor, while SES was found to have no effect on any self-concept factor.

In closing these acknowledgements, my mind and heart turn back to Mania Seferis, to whose memory this dissertation is dedicated. Mania, a wonderful scientist and a warm friend, discussed with me and reacted to preliminary versions of this project but did not live long enough to see it finished.

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INTRODUCTION

"The era of disciplinary isolationism and intellectual ego-centrism is passing in the social sciences," state Lerner and Spanier (1978, p.1). This challenging remark is implicitly acknowledged by social scientists in their increasing recognition that events described at one level of analysis can only be fully understood by reference to other levels of analysis. As Lerner and Spanier contend, social scientists must go beyond their own disciplinary training to achieve this goal. Indeed, new theoretical and empirical developments seem to buttress this idea. Newell (1972) and Cronbach (1975) claim that the special task of the social scientist in each generation is to point up the contemporary facts. Lerner and Ryff (1978) argue that processes which had previously been conceptualized exclusively from the perspective of psychology are now being understood from the points of view of both social change and affective and cognitive development. Elder (1974) has drawn on ideas derived jointly from historical as well as from sociological and psychological analysis.

The apparent usefulness of integrating ideas simultaneously from numerous disciplines has resulted in the development of a multidisciplinary approach. Indeed, as Wilden (1980) contends, unless we adequately integrate the contributions of literature, psychology, communication theory, philosophy, anthropology, history, biology, ecology and economics, we will not be in a position to arrive at an understanding of mankind as a developing entity.

The subject of the present study is self-concept. Self-conception, says Turner (1968), begins with values and aspirations and continues to be represented in these terms. In early childhood there is a 'naive' merging of self with valued models. Whatever the child accepts as admirable or likeable, he is; the personal charac-

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teristics of those to whom he is attracted become his own. Only
after this fusion of self with values has been overcome can the
individual be said to have started acquiring a self-conception. But
a photographic self -- a combining of self-images -- does not re-
place the existing models and values. They remain the core of
self-conception, the self-images serving to edit rather than replace
the prevailing values. Sperry (1977), in discussing the strategic
controlling power of human values and their functioning as universal
cerebral determining forces in all social decision making, maintains
that "from the standpoint of brain function, it is clear that a
person's or a society's values directly and consistently shape its
actions and decisions. Any given brain will respond differently to
the same input and will tend to process the same information into
quite diverse behavioural channels, depending on its particular
system of value priorities. In short, what an individual or a
society values determines very largely what it does " (p.238). Con-
sequently, in this sense the self-concept serves in editing societal
values, representing the consciousness of the group or the epoch
that it belongs to.

Greece as a country is undergoing very rapid, and in many re-
spects devastating, transformations as a result of urbanization and
industrialization. If there is a single major change that has taken
place in the quality of social life, this is its increased complexity.
These transformations could not but be evident in the value-system
and consequently in the self-concepts of the people. "Selves do not
exist, except in a field of social environment from which they cannot
be separated " (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1968, p.320).

Smith, in his presidential address at the A.P.A. meeting in 1978,
dealing with selfhood, declared that selfhood is self-transforming

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but is also historical. "Selfhood," he said, "as it has emerged through the millennia of biocultural evolutions is always phrased in the terms of a particular, temporally dated culture, and these historical-cultural versions of selfhood, as of the world, may be radically different...(p.1056). The trans-historical perspective merges with the cross-cultural one in reminding us that the very nature of selfhood, not just its context, is historically and cul- turally conditioned, because selfhood is an historical emergent in a changing world of cultural diversity " (p.1057). Smith holds that there are common points of reference which arise from common features of the human condition in all times and cultures, and these are crucial to the attempt to gain a degree of interpretative understand- ing of selfhood in other times and places. Otherwise, men would be totally isolated in their own time and place by an absolute barrier. Smith strongly believes that however much other aspects of psychology may fit the historical ideal of Newtonian and post-Newtonian science, psychological accounts of selfhood have to be framed in a historical context if they are to be scientifically adequate.

In order to gain a sound knowledge of a specific social milieu, the investigator must familiarize himself with its economic struc- ture, the ecological conditions prevailing, and the cultural, socio- historical, and political backgrounds. For these components, in interacting, set up certain constraints and offer certain opportuni- ties for the satisfaction of the basic human needs. It is these social constraints and opportunities which are reflected in the value system of any given social group.

Since selfhood is historically and culturally conditioned, this study aims at selectively presenting the major sociohistorical, sociocultural and most important of all the consequent socioeconomic transformations in the Greek milieu, in order to provide the con-

textual background against which the research findings of this
particular study will gain greater clarity and understanding. It
has been deemed necessary to identify the historical conditions
which originally gave rise to specific cultural patterns observed
in particular milieux today, what needs they were originally design-
ed to meet, the extent to which these needs still exist and, finally,
how changes in needs are being met today. This study also attempts
to identify the relationship of self with the sociocultural hard-
ships the Greek people have faced.

The following chapter attempts to provide the contextual back-
ground of the study, while Chapter 2 places the self-concept in its
psychological context. Chapters 3 and 4 contain discussion of the
methodological issues encountered in the assessment of self-concept
in general and the particular methodological procedures followed in
the present study. The processing of the data, the procedure followed
in analyzing each set of data, and the results which emerged from
the analysis are presented in Chapter 5. Finally, the findings are
discussed in the last chapter.

1.   THE GREEK REALITY AS THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1.   The Sociocultural Heritage of the Past

The community has for centuries been the smallest system that could survive as a functioning system in the traditional milieu. The term 'community' refers to this social institution in the context of which men would face together the small or great life problems that they were confronted with, or the dangers that they were threatened by. The community as an institution has been a significant concept for sociologists for a long time (Wirth-Marvick and Reiss,1933) for it has denoted a series of phenomena ranging from the division of labour to collective action, from group life to individual behaviour. Historically, the term 'community' denotes emphasis on the unity of the common life of a people.

As with every social creation, the community developed over a period of time and was subject to certain influences which led to changes in its structure and in its form, changes which depended on its internal dynamics and on the external conditions that surrounded it. In the transition from a type of social organization based on kinship, status, and a crude division of labour, say Wirth-Marvick and Reiss (1933), to a type of social organization characterized by rapid technological developments, mobility, the rise of special interest groups, and formal social control, the community has acquired new meaning and has revealed new problems. The community has been operational insofar as its main goal was to secure survival for its members. Within its boundaries, goals were set; its members were mobilized in attaining those goals; values emerged delineating what is good and what is bad, what must be enhanced and what must be depreciated;and, in general, an ideology developed which guided community members to adjust to the existing reality—in other words, to achieve the integration of ideology and reality.

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The community as an institution in Greece has often been studied, its historical roots have been determined, and its gradual evolution has been traced. The life of communities in Greece reaches far back to the ancient independent city states (Paparrigopoulos, 1932). This same institution never ceased to exist but adapted to new realities during the Byzantine era and later under the Ottoman conquest (Brehier, 1949; Voyiatzidis, 1957; Pantazopoulos, 1958; Vacalopoulos, 1973).

The cornerstone of the Byzantine Empire (330-1453 A.D.) was the freedom and autonomy of the small-scale agricultural production units. Vacalopoulos (1976) contends that it would not be an exaggeration to say that on these communities the Byzantine Empire based the whole of its existence. Byzantium, like most Eastern empires, was organized on the basis of a dual social structure: the small farmers organized in a family and community system in the countryside, and the centralized administration in the cities. Taxation was the link which connected these separate worlds. The obligation of tax payment was a collective responsibility. For better distribution and collection of taxes, the Byzantine administration, following an old tradition, had adopted a system of grouping together the various small owners, thus forming communities, who were jointly responsible for tax payment (Zakynthinos, 1948). At the same time, there is plenty of available evidence that during the Byzantine period, as well as during more recent years, there had existed communal lands, fields and woods (Vrekosis, 1930).

The Ottoman conquest (1453 A.D.) deprived the people of the ownership of their land, but since serfdom was prohibited by Islamic law, the peasants remained in a way land tenants -- their only obligation being tax payment. Taxes were all fixed in advance according to the state's needs, but at the same time there was another tax levied

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on each region, on the basis of its economic potential. In
the same fashion as during the Byzantine period, taxes were once
more charged to the community as a whole. If one member of the
community could not meet his tax obligations, the others were re-
quired to help make up the sum to be collected (Pantazopoulos, 1967).
As a result, a communal solidarity which was directly related to
the development of a centralized government in the cities developed
in the countryside. As long as the community paid its taxes to the
state, it managed to maintain a degree of self-government, exer-
cising judicial, religious, economic and political power over its
own members.

The communities established in certain inaccessible unconquer-
able regions evolved into cooperative enterprises, integrating the
production and processing of local resources. Their production
often resulted in monopolies and the ensuing trade helped the communal
institutions to grow and flourish (Pantazopoulos, 1958; Mavrogiannis,
1975; Zakynthinos, 1976). The economic cooperatives were also one
of the prime factors in the establishment and growth of the Greek
communities abroad, while an economic ruling class gradually started
to develop and social differences and a certain class hierarchy made
their appearance. This new urban class came to birth within the
structure of the Ottoman Empire but in close connection with the
economy of Europe and the wealthy élite which sprang from it. How-
ever, while the Greek urban class followed its own upward course,
parallel with that of its European counterparts, it displayed ten-
dencies different from theirs and motives and ideals of its own --
ideals which, as Zakynthinos (1976) and Protopsaltis (1977) claim,
strove for the attainment of power by an enslaved nation and not by a
social class.

In the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, the halting of the

Ottoman Empire's westward expansion into Europe struck at the very
roots of an imperial system based on   military expansion and coloni-
zation. The loss of territory in Europe resulted in a serious loss
of manpower and tax revenues which aggravated the already serious
economic problems facing the Empire. One consequence of this de-
velopment was the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as a unitary state
and the growth of a new provincial and often ruthless élite (Clogg,
1973). However, there were changes inflicted upon the taxation system.
Whereas taxes in the past had been proportionate to the amount of
production, now they were determined by the needs of the Empire.
This resulted in irrational rises as well as rigid collective tech-
niques. However, even within this new context, land cultivation re-
mained a purely family enterprise. It is indicative that at no
point during the Ottoman Empire did the ciftliks expand to occupy
more than 1/15 to 1/20 of the agrarian population (Hristov, 1959).
The farmer was not a hired hand; he cultivated together with his
family the same piece of land from year to year and from generation to
generation, giving the landowner up to 50% of the produce in return
for the land use. The landowner had no right to expel the farmers
from the land nor could he monopolize the returns from an increase in
the land production (Vergopoulos, 1975). The landowners, as the
Porte -- the central administration -- had done before them, collect-
ed the revenues from each village, rather than from individual farm-
ers.

In summary, the agrarian production system from the time of the
Byzantine Empire (330-1453 A.D.), through the Ottoman rule (1453-
1821 A.D.) and up to the beginning of the modern Greek state in 1830,
was characterized by the freedom allowed to peasants, the family system
of land cultivation, the cohesiveness and autonomy of the rural com-
munities and the absence of social class stratification.

These economicosocial developments, together with the fact that Greeks were an enslaved nation which for four hundred years resisted the conqueror, contributed to the strengthening of the community and of family ties, of the patriarchic style of life as well as of relevant customs, proverbs, myths and religious practices. The members of the family gathered around its leader who was highly respected and directed what had to be done. It is only through this powerful cohesion that the members of the community could confront effectively the misfortunes and the calamities of so many centuries (Vacalopoulos, 1973; Pantazopoulos, 1958).

1.2.   The Modern Nation

The new Greek State, which was created in 1830, followed in general terms the typical course of the politically and economically 'dependent' nations which were late in developing and found themselves subservient to other 'developed' countries. This course, marked by successive structural entanglements, prevented Greece from joining the 'developed' capitalist countries (Tsoukalas, 1977). Until 1977, the United Nations statistics placed Greece within the 'underdeveloped' world and it is only very recently that it has come to be characterized as a 'developing' country (Centre of Planning and Economic Research, 1983).

The subsystemic nature of the Greek state under the suprasystem of World Powers which set their own priorities determined, and is still determining, for one and a half centuries, the processes of political, social and economic development. As Campbell and Sherrard (1968) noted: "Greece, endowed with frontiers which condemned her to military and economic weakness, but inheriting ideals which forced her into irredentist ventures and were the only source of internal unity in a politically fragmented society, was compelled to become the client of the power, or powers, which favoured her claims. The same choice earned her the hostility of others, and the humiliation of cynical interventions by their armies and navies " (p.91).

In the course of the time that elapsed from the foundation of the modern Greek State up to the present, Greece as a whole, and the rural milieu in particular, have been through several major crises. Wars, dictatorships, internal struggles, the rise and fall of the monarchy, waves of refugees, earthquakes and continuous instability characterize this period. As Vassiliou often states: "For centuries the only stability has been instability " (G. Vassiliou, personal communication).

Yet despite the dramatic changes brought about — urban development, the progressive industrialization of the country, the massive invasion of western values—the traditional form of rural production and consequently the basic structure of the rural Greek milieu have retained a significant degree of continuity. The small rural family not only has survived but has prevailed as the economically viable form of agricultural enterprise par excellence, and the village community, although depleted of much of its legal and administrative authority, has remained all-important in regulating the normative behaviour of its members in the social sphere.

The transition of part of the Greek world from a peripheral province of the Ottoman Empire, subject to its particular forms of decentralized administration and communal self-government, to a small nation-state on the European model, fundamentally affected certain aspects of the social structure. The introduction of a centralized government and bureaucracy submitted both the community leaders and the peasants to a common dependence on the local representatives of a distant and unsympathetic authority. Administration was now centralized and inflexible. The local representative of the new Greek state did not come from the local community of which he might have had no previous knowledge or experience; he came as the representative of an alien and 'Frankish' form of government whose tyranny was all the more insupportable since it claimed to act in the name of the nation (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968). The more active the administrative supervision of the countryside, as far as the very difficult communications allowed, the more secure was the government's control of the country. The reactions of individuals and factions in protecting their interests from interference by government officials resulted in a search for patrons with political influence as protectors, which inevitably weakened the traditional solidarity of the

community (Ibid.).

The fashion in which the state was divided up administratively added to this weakening of local institutions, which had been divided into arbitrary administrative units, usually made up of a number of villages and often with a history of long-standing hostilities (Ibid.). Karavidas (1931) and Pantazopoulos (1967) offer trenchant criticisms of the administrative division of the country. They claim that it was set up in disregard of the very long Greek tradition and copied French and German policies; that it was an artificial, restrictive and superficial construction, characterized by extreme centralization and had nothing to do with the vitality and initiative of the Greek people -- a transfer but not transformation of a foreign institution, imitating foreign nations without taking into consideration the historical and sociological implications affecting the nation's character. The new State, under the influence of the Western concept of progress, intervened in the affairs of the communities and villages, in a manner which brought disproportionate frustrations and few improvements. This state of affairs can once more be attributed to the fact that the adoption of new institutions functioned subsystemically without allowing decision-making processes to be developed. The community as an institution was no longer functional in facing the complexity of the new demands. Thus a more differentiated and flexible institution emerged. Communities broke down into smaller functioning units, the ingroups. This phenomenon will be covered extensively later in the chapter.

1.2.1. Continuity and Change in the Rural Milieu

During the Ottoman rule, the largest part of Greek land was owned by the Turks. According to the treaty which recognized the independence of the Greek state, the lands that belonged to the Turks

were proclaimed 'national property'. This state-owned property represented more than half of the arable area of the country and thus included the most fertile lands that once belonged to the Turks. The Greek State decided to exploit this land by renting it out to farmers on a long-term lease. In return, the land tenants were expected to give the State first 25% and later 15% of their crops. In actuality, however, the collection of this tax could never be fully realized since the peasants' poverty and the state's mismanagement significantly reduced the actual revenues. At the same time, the state did not interfere in the way the farmers exploited their land. In this regard, these tenants of 'national property' were de facto land owners; they decided on the type and the manner of cultivation and any losses were borne exclusively by them. Moreover, they were not threatened by expropriation since their rights were hereditary and inviolable (Tsoukalas, 1977).In other words, the majority of the rural population gained the economic, and gradually the legal, proprietorship of the land, especially in the areas where the dominant properties were the small ones (Ibid.).

For several reasons which are historically documented (Vergopoulos, 1975; Tsoukalas, 1977), the system of small family-owned agricultural enterprises operating all during the Byzantine era and under the Ottoman rule was once more active in the rural milieu not as a relic of the past, but as the most suitable mode of rural production within the framework of rising urbanization and industrialization.

At the time of the foundation of the modern Greek state agricultural production in the majority of villages had the character of a closed economy geared primarily to self-sufficiency. Goods were exchanged among the families in the community or among neighbouring villages. There was a definite absence of commercial transactions (either in currency or in goods) between the provincial communities

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and the urban centre (Stavrianos, 1958; Campbell and Sherrard,1968).

The transition from this closed type of economy to a trade-oriented agricultural production was brought about quite gradually. New types of cultivations designed for the market made their appearance.The farmers began to grow more grain, tobacco, grapes and olives. Of these commodities, first currants and later tobacco were produced even for export to the European market (Dakin, 1972). Tsoukalas (1977) mentions that these new cultivations were developed mostly in areas where small proprietorship prevailed.

With the gradual development of trade, some bank capital given to the farmers in the form of loans made its appearance in the rural sector. These financing procedures are intimately related to the penetration of capitalism in Greece. However, sociohistorical sources confirm the fact that the small family rural enterprise continued to be the most widespread form of land ownership and cultivation. "It is a surprising stability that characterizes the small family enterprise," Tsoukalas states (1977, p.95).

The small family rural enterprise operated in the context of strong cultural norms which reinforced interdependence and cooperation. The considerable fragmentation of land holdings due to various economicosocial processes -- dowry customs, inheritance and land reform -- has also contributed to cooperation among villagers (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968). Where the land is considerably fragmented, the use of modern machinery and technical improvements is difficult. Moreover, fields are small, irregularly shaped and often enclosed by other fields with no direct access. Consequently, without the cooperation of neighbours, it may be impossible to use farming implements.

In summary, the rural conditions as described have been intimately connected with institutions of land tenure, inheritance,

family and community, which originally existed to support a family honourably and frugally by the crops it grew, or the services it gave, within a world of local boundaries and sanctioned values.

1.2.1.1.   Rapid Social Change

However, the recent outflow of population from many rural areas to the urban centres has affected   agrarian enterprise. Areas of mechanized or intensive cultivation have been left relatively untouched by the decreasing number of hands, while in less fortunate communities human resources have been reduced below the level required to maintain output. Moreover, investment in industry implies, on the one hand, that the capital available for agriculture will continue to be inadequate, and, on the other hand, that industrial employment is created, which accelerates the attraction of men from the land. At the same time, governments have long been encouraging farmers to cultivate more labour-intensive crops of cotton, fruit and vegetables which, they hope, will increase the value of agricultural exports. The contradictions in policy are many and possibly unavoidable (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968).

Gradually in some areas the interests of villages have started transcending both local and provincial boundaries and the introduction of city ways and goods into the villages has started changing, to a lesser or greater degree, the style of life. To the above-mentioned economicosocial processes which have influenced the way of life, the rapid rise in tourism should also be added. Many rural areas are exposed to totally new modes of behaviour. The norms of reason and efficiency which are important for the farmers are not of equal importance to all subgroups. Among adolescent girls, for example, newer norms dealing with appearance have become most important, followed in emphasis by emerging norms dealing with less obvious aspects of

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behaviour, such as the position of women in relation to men, sexual relations and housekeeping. For women, electrical appliances are associated with newer norms of efficiency, but also reflect physical comfort and social status (Photiadis and Ball, 1976; Therianou and Mandouvallou, 1973). The major change, Photiadis (1967) contends, starts the day women realize that they can secure employment in the city. Data from some Greek villages (Ibid.) indicate that norms have started becoming less clear, representing a rising lack of normative consensus and sociocultural consistency. Thus Greece is found at a stage where, during the past ten years or so, accelerated social changes have greatly affected certain parts of the rural area while other parts remain relatively unchanged.

1.2.2. Migratory Movement of the Population

Although the gradual expansion and improvement of agriculture went a long way in enabling Greece to support her growing population, that expansion alone was not sufficient to avert disaster.

The Greek population, like the population elsewhere in the Balkans, had increased rapidly in the second half of the 19th century. By 1912, the total population, which in 1829 had been only 750,000, had risen to 2,750,000, but the territory of Greece had increased only from 18,346 to 24,558 square miles. In effect, the population had increased nearly threefold, as is shown by the increase in the density figures from 41 per square mile in 1829 to that of 114 in 1914 (Tsoukalas, 1977).

Many scattered regions throughout the whole of Greece were so poor and famished that the young men began to emigrate. Between 1895 and 1912 Greece, a country with a population of 2,700,000, lost about 215,000 through emigration. Males ranging from 12 to 30 years of age, that is, one third of the total male population or approxi-

mately 8% of the total population, left (Tsoukalas,1977). In the villages, which suffered most, the womenfolk did the work required. Men consistently left their wives and children behind because they thus felt they were keeping stronger ties with home. The steady flow of emigration from the rural villages towards the cities and abroad is one of the determining factors that have helped shape the Greek milieu in general, and the rural communities in particular. The ties between the emigrants and their homeland were strong. The emigrants sent large remittances home, which enabled families to redeem their mortgages, pay off other debts and even invest in land or other enterprises (Dakin, 1972). The steady flow of income which poured into the rural population was one of the main factors perpetuating small farm ownership (Tsoukalas, 1977).

It has been confirmed by several researchers that the Greek migratory movement assumed a temporary character (Dendias, 1919; Tsaousis,1971). Migration was created by ephemeral causes and as soon as these causes disappeared, the Greeks were ready to return to their homeland. Both Polyzos (1945) and Mitsos (1970) argue that the Greeks were not emigrating in order to settle permanently abroad, as was the case with a considerable number of emigrants from countries of central Europe. Rather, they emigrated to amass a small fixed amount of money and then return.*

Some of the emigrants who returned were relatively wealthy men who gave money for schools, libraries, orphanages and public buildings. Consequently, along with members of their families the whole community benefited from the established link between the village and the prosperous emigrant (Dakin, 1972).

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*The yearly remittances sent home by Greeks amounted to $50 per person as compared to $32 for the Italians, $28 for the English and Irish, and $4.05 for the Germans (Saloutos, 1964).

However, during the period of rapid emigration which occurred in Greece in the late 1950s, the emigration as a process started weakening the cohesion of the community. The rural social system started diminishing as interaction and communication with larger external societies intensified (Photiadis and Ball, 1976). Regardless of physical, cultural and mental suitability or preparation for city employment, within less than two decades the majority of young adult men and women left their villages for either the Athenian or the Western European labour market. At the same time, migration developed much more rapidly than city employment could absorb and people were pulled out of their communities -- regardless of preparation or fitness for city life -- for a precarious future. This exodus pattern is common today in a number of developing countries (Photiadis and Ball, 1976).

Yet, in spite of the fragmentation of the old social relationships and new problems of interaction and communication which migration and related conditions have produced, Photiadis and Ball (1976) maintain that there exist basic factors which still produce considerable integration within the rural Greek communities. Besides opportunities for mutual interaction, another factor favouring normative cohesion is the possession of relatively similar value orientations.

1.2.3.   Urban Growth and its Socioeconomic Structure

Virtually no towns were formed in the period of formation of the independent new state. Before the revolution of 1821, the vast majority of the Greek population, at least 80%, lived in rural settlements.

The rapid rise of the present capital, Athens, is the most impressive example of the country's urban growth. There is no long tradition of metropolitan life in Greece. The precise turning point

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in the urban history of Athens is 1834, when it was chosen to be the capital of the new State. Athens at the time was only a deserted village in ruins with 6,000 inhabitants (Biris, 1966).

During the 19th and 20th centuries, Athens went through several significant transformations. Besides its spectacular demographic and economic growth, its role and internal structure were changing along with the transformations of the Greek mode of production (Leontidou-Emmanuel, 1981). During the mid-19th century, the Greek economy, as already mentioned, was going through a stage of comprador precapitalism extraneous to European capitalism, and was dominated by a peasant and simple production of commodities. After the liberation, a bourgeois class continued to develop outside the national boundaries; thus the absence of indigenous capital accumulation deprived Greece of the impact of an industrial revolution. The 1880s marked the beginning of capitalist penetration in Greece, as well as the repatriation of the comprador bourgeoisie, which tended to improve its competitive position in Europe (Moscov, 1972). As the bourgeoisie began to invest in banks, mines, shipping and commerce, it participated in the process of modernization of the infrastructure (Tsoukalas, 1977).

Urban growth was speeded up throughout the country at that time, but the forces were also created which soon destroyed the relative regional balance. Athens received priority over all Greek areas in railway works, and fan-shaped lines centralized in the city reinforced its primacy. After 1880 the contrast between a growing capital and stagnant towns was even more accentuated (Moscov, 1972). For example, in a survey of 15 Greek towns the cumulative population increase between the years 1889-1907 was 7,000 inhabitants, while for Athens alone it was 102,000 (Tsoukalas, 1977). Greek urbanization approached a strong centripetal pattern. The centralism characterizing the new

State led to a non-productive economy in the capital, a very strong characteristic of the urbanization process in Greece up until 1920 (Ibid.). The civil service and the state functions seemed to be the main sources of employment of the urban immigrants (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968).

It is the turn of the century which marks the transformation of Athens' social, economic and spatial structure and the emergence of an early industrial or 'transitional' city. As the Greek economy recovered from the difficulties it faced during the first years of the 20th century (a number of irredentist wars, political instability, the first World War), the social structure passed into a period of transition from pre-capitalism to capitalism. Athens at the time was literally transitional, since it was flooded with temporary populations in transit between rural Greece and America. Rural immigrants came to the capital to work as labourers, servants or street vendors, and if they did not manage this, they left for some job opportunity outside Greece (Leontidou-Emmanuel, 1981).

At the same time, Athens was transformed by industrialization, and a proletariat emerged. The number of workers grew from 70,000 in 1907 to 130,000 in 1914 after the annexation of Macedonia, and the number of factories grew from 415 to 2,185 between 1901-1917 (Charitakis, 1927). Industrialization followed a speeded-up urbanization. Population in the capital grew to around 500,000 by 1920 and rates of growth accelerated* (Table 1.1). Finishing trades were established where a large population concentration afforded them a sizeable market and a pool of labour. In the Greek capital,

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*Already by the end of the 19th century Athens was the largest city in the Balkans (with the exception of Constantinople) despite the fact that Yugoslavia had double, and Roumania triple, the population. Between 1800-1920, the population of Athens multiplied 45 times, that of Bucharest 9, Belgrade 4, and Sofia 3 times (Weber, 1968).

these were easily combined with access to transport. Athens was therefore the first region to experience the changes brought about by industrial capitalism (Leontidou-Emmanuel, 1981). The early 20th century was actually the first period when the presence of labourers was felt in Athens. Urbanization, poverty and the indifference of the state and employers towards housing created urban misery. As in other transitional cities, exploitation in the sphere of work, long working days and subsistence wages went hand in hand with housing misery, overcrowding and landlessness (Ibid.).

Athens abruptly passed to a new stage of development after 1922. In fact, it deteriorated and resembled the urban centres of underdeveloped countries. The major event affecting such a transformation was the arrival of 1,300,000 Greek refugees, who entered the country after the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor. The urban population doubled between 1920-1928, growing at an average annual rate of 7.4%, a rate never equalled before or since. The presence of refugees in Athens was very significant: 33.23% of residents were refugees; as a result, a conurbation of over 1 million people was created. This was conducive to development, but also created poverty and marginality. Athens was transformed into a variant of the typical model of the Third World City. By 1940 Greater Athens represented over 15% of the Greek population, a concentration never reached before, despite the narrow boundaries of Greece in the 19th century (Leontidou-Emmanuel, 1982).

Inter-war Athenian society consisted of workers and casual labourers rather than a large middle class acting as a buffer between the rich and the poor (Mouzelis, 1978). The polarization of the interwar society was also reflected in the urban spatial structure. For the first time in the history of the city, deliberate segregation of social classes was introduced. The refugee settlement policy created

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TABLE 1.1

URBANIZATION IN GREECE - 1853 - 1981

	Greek area Km²	Greek population	Population of Capital of Greece: Athens-Piraeus-Kallithea	Greater Athens	% of Greece population in: Towns over 10,000 inh.	Towns over 20,000 inh.	Cities over 100,000 inh.	Capital of Greece
1853	47,516	1,035,527	36,024		6.9	3.5	-	3.48
1861	47,516	1,096,810	47,750		8.7	4.3	-	4.35
(Ionian islands ceded 1864)								
1870	50,211	1,457,894	55,473		9.4	5.3	-	3.80
1879	50,211	1,679,470	87,117		17.7	9.4	-	5.19
(Thessaly added 1881)								
1889	63,606	2,187,208	144,589		21.2	10.4	6.61	6.61
1896	63,606	2,433,806	173,340		15.0	10.7	7.12	7.12
1907	63,211	2,631,952	242,328		23.9	13.5	9.21	9.21
(Macedonia and islands added 1913)								
1920	150,176	5,531,474	430,658	453,042	20.4	16.4	11.30	8.19
1928	129,281	6,204,684	730,880	802,000	29.9	25.4	16.70	12.93
1940	129,281	7,344,860		1,124,109	32.8	23.8	19.09	15.30
1951	131,990	7,632,801		1,378,586	37.7	32.9	21.98	18.05
1961	131,990	8,388,553		1,852,709	43.3	37.5	27.81	22.18
1971	131,990	8,768,641		2,540,241	53.2	50.2	36.70	29.00
1981	131,990	9.740,151		3,027,331	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	31.08

Source: Leontidou-Emmanuel (1982) and final 1981 census data (N.S.S.G., unpublished tables).

distinct popular and working class areas (Eddy, 1931; Pentzo-
poulos, 1960). By 1925, however, the situation had already exceeded
the scope of the planners. The refugee settlement communities were
immediately encircled by unauthorized settlers, who came to squat
at their fringes. The volume and degree of the urban sprawl and
the population growth of these communities were entirely out of the
control of either the Refugee Settlement Commission or the government.
The process of spontaneous popular colonization had begun; the human
geography of the Athens basin was radically transformed.

At first, whole districts emerged out of nowhere in a provisional
form later becoming more 'solid.'   With a population increase of
148.1% in 1920-1940, Greater Athens expanded its area by 255.4%.
By 1940 urban sprawl had reached its maximum in the history of the
city. And the authorities were unable to change the process of
urban expansion. Uncontrolled urban growth has continued through to the
present time on a much larger scale; settlement in Athens has almost
always preceded the inclusion of areas into the official master
plan (Leontidou-Emmanuel, 1982).*

As Campbell and Sherrard (1968) note: "By the late sixties, the
city of Athens expanded in an unplanned, haphazard fashion: the whole
urban complex had spread in all directions as far as the lower slopes
of the mountains surrounding the plain. The aesthetic impression of
these changes on the outskirts of the city is generally unpleasant;
the new settlements in the periphery consist of square, flat-roofed
cubes of brick and concrete with one or two rooms only. Very often

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*A similar situation occurs in Turkey, where one of the most acute
problems is the mass migration from rural areas to cities which lack
the facilities to absorb the incoming population. The gecekondu areas
are thus formed where dwellings rise illegally, which at election times
are legalized by politicians who want the votes of the population ar-
riving from the rural areas (Kongar, 1976).

they stand desolate in a small bare plot of red brown earth, un-
finished for lack of funds, but occupied nevertheless. The narrow
strips of earth in front of the houses bear some remote resemblance
to a street as they wind across ditches and piles of rubble " (p. 364).

The early 1950s represented the period of fastest urbanization.
The safety-valve of emigration had not yet opened up at the time, and
rural migrants flooded the city. The rate of influx was almost equally
rapid during the early 1960s, when the process of rural exodus had
reached alarming dimensions (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968; Tsaousis,
1971). A survey in 1960 found that 56% of the Athenian population
were migrants who arrived during the postwar period (Leontidou-
Emmanuel, 1982). What was, however, even more exceptional in the
growth of Athens was its proportion of the national population which
rose from 15.3% in 1940 to 29% in 1971 and 31% in 1981 (N.S.S.G., 1981).

Massive population movements thus took place during the late
1960s into an area built as a city of 40,000 inhabitants in the
19th century. This created unprecedented problems of congestion in
the inner city, which were felt throughout the urban fabric. The
middle classes saw their areas encircled by dense residential quarters.
Suburbanization thus began and an ideology of anti-urbanism was in-
tensified, especially during the past four years of environmental
pollution. A process of dilapidation of some inner city areas is
already under way. The working class is increasingly confined to the
oldest housing stock and multi-storey apartment houses in dense and de-
graded areas. Such buildings have been erected for profit with the
minimum of care. Air and noise pollution were the outcome of the
erection of buildings on almost every open area in the central city,
along with the rising density of car ownership and the ageing of
factories.

Intense exploitation of central urban areas, the expansion of
urban capitalism, the suppression of precapitalist housing within the

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Athens basin, and industrial decentralization outside this basin
affected the social urban structure in a radical manner. These trends
have also been coupled with intense consumerism. In 1972 the per
capita income was $1,370, while in 1980 it had gone up to $4,210.
In 1971 the OECD observer mentioned that 10 out of every 1,000
inhabitants in Greece owned a television set, while today, in 1983,
ownership has increased to 440. In 1971, 30 out of every 1,000 inhabitants
owned a car; the number has increased up to 147 in 1982. (Greek Centre of
Planning and Economic Research, 1983).

The Athenian working class today, as Christea-Doumanis (1978)
puts it, is a marginal population exposed to all the negative con-
sequences of an urban technological society but having limited access
to all its benefits. It is a population in transition, fluctuating
between its rural heritage and urban reality. Rural by origin,
it tries to rise socially above its rural ancestors, adopting an
urban way of life and emulating, to the furthest extent possible,
the life style of the nouveaux riches middle classes. The continuous
effort to make ends meet in the midst of social, economic, political
and psychological insecurity drains all their resources and reduces
their life-style to a day-to-day coping, precluding any long-term
planning. They have no class or collective consciousness and no
loyalty other than to family and friends.

1.3.   Psychosocial Parameters Related to Milieu-Complexity

Despite the important changes in agricultural production, the
accelerated growth of the merchant class, and the migratory move-
ment   (both emigration of workers abroad and repatriation of
refugees), the structure of land ownership has basically remained
unchanged. The community and the rural family structure display a
remarkable continuity, having shown a striking ability to adjust,

adopting with the greatest ease all means of possible advancement
while retaining, on the social level, the traditional kinship struc-
ture. What are the sociopsychological processes responsible for this
continuity?

Notwithstanding the variety of climate, geographical conditions
and crop patterns in different parts of Greece and although the quality
and detail of social life are clearly different, as Campbell and
Sherrard (1968) maintain, there are still certain institutions and
aspects of village life which are sufficiently widespread to justify
a generalized description. The community, (the smallest system
surviving as a functioning system for centuries, as shown above) has
been the social group in which men, through experience, have learned
to place their trust, given the uncertain conditions that have pre-
vailed throughout Greek history. Whether because of need for security
and water or as a result of Ottoman taxation and administrative ar-
rangements, villages, although often small in size, were always compact
settlements. Even the physical layout of the village reveals that
the villager, after his own individual house, looks to the community
rather than to selected components of it. Since the family was seen
to exist in the context of the community, and since it was the commu-
nity that men looked to confirm their identity, it was the community
members who held the right to know and pass judgement on what goes on
in everyone's backyard (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968; du Boulay, 1974).

The community can be conceptualized as an organized system that
is composed of three subsystems in order of increasing organized com-
plexity: the individual, the nuclear family, and the ingroup. If one
conceptualizes the community in such a way, according to one of the
fundamental principles of the General System Theory (von

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Bertalanffy, 1967; Buckley, 1967; Boulding, 1972), any system-environment relationship which faces problems of inflexibility results in the destruction of the system, unless it can adapt by changing structure in order to survive. Similarly, when the community, which progressively grew larger and larger, started facing serious problems of inflexibility it had to change its structure and break up into small subsystems in order to survive. The new social structure formed was the ingroup.

1.3.1.   Structure of the Ingroup

In the numerous social, psychological and anthropological treatises on the Greek traditional milieu, certain themes which are central to the structure of this social environment, frequently recur. One such theme is the ingroup-outgroup division of social reality (Friedl, 1962; Campbell, 1964; Lee, 1966; Sanders, 1962; Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1973; Triandis and Vassiliou, 1967; Kenna, 1976). It is operationally defined as "people showing concern for me with whom I can establish interdependencies" and it basically includes the immediate family,   relatives, friends, friends of friends and neighbours.

Research regarding Mediterranean culture has repeatedly shown the value and power of kinship relations, whether in Morocco (Seddon, 1976), Tunisia (Abu-Zahra, 1976), Turkey (Kongar, 1976; Benedict, 1976), Lebanon (Peters, 1976), South Italy (Davis, 1976), Albania (Whitaker, 1976) or Greece (Campbell, 1964). International research has shown (Heller and Quesada (1977) that family systems organised around extended-kinship orientation can be expected to manifest a number of behavioural and attitudinal characteristics. First, individuals will tend to view geographic mobility for better occupational opportunities as something to be undertaken only under extreme

circumstances, because mobility involves leaving the security of the extended kinship system. Second, individuals will possess strong emotional attachments to each other. Third, individuals will manifest attitudes and behaviours in line with the familistic notion that mutual help and other forms of interaction with kin are obligatory role commitments. These commitments include helping other members in times of need, and emotional and identity support through informal day-to-day associations. Fourth, extensive kin interaction should lead to marriages among extended kin. Finally, since extended kin form the boundaries of an exclusive 'we' group, community and social activities with non-kin members will be perceived as potentially threatening to kin-group solidarity. Yet each culture has its own particularities and it would be arbitrary to apply specific traits characterizing family and kinship in one particular culture to another one. There are many similarities but there are also many differences. Consequently, the concept of ingroup-outgroup will thus be discussed in its Greek context since what is important is the idiosyncracies of each specific culture.

The Greek ingroup is not based on static criteria and fixed attributes of individuals. In this sense it is not like the Italian _familia_ which is a unit based on blood relationships. It is an entity in process, whose size and definition depend on the situation; with any indication of inexcusable lack of concern, the individual is shifted to the outgroup. Concern should be shown by clearly expressed love, care, active interest in others' affairs, readiness to help, and constant availability. From the moment this concern is manifested, an interdependent relationship is established, a relationship characterised by absolute honesty, loyalty, trust and unlimited giving (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1973).

There are norms which govern behaviour within the ingroup that are different from those that govern behaviour toward the outgroup. Within the ingroup, interrelations are ruled by interdependence and the enactment of the Greek concept of philotimo (love of honour). The individual member of the family is expected to invest all his abilities in the service of the ingroup's goals. In much research concerned with Greek culture, the most important element in the Greek self-concept has been found to be philotimo. When a representative sample of Greeks were asked to describe themselves, 74% considered philotimo a basic element of their personality (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972). "Philotimous" behaviour implies that the person behaves properly according to ingroup norms, is honest, respectful, loves and helps others (Lee, 1955; Friedl, 1962; Sanders, 1962; Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1966; Triandis and Vassiliou, 1967; du Boulay, 1974). Vassiliou and Vassiliou (1973) probed systematically into the concept of philotimo, analyzing its cognitive structure by the use of the antecedent-consequent technique. They found that Greeks associated the concept of philotimo with such concepts as: honesty, respect, love, conscientiousness, morality and duty; while on the other hand philotimo is seen to lead to respect and obedience, honesty and sincerity, success, progress and humaneness. Through his or her philotimo each member contributes to the family's honourable status and by his diligence and through self-discipline and free incentive (Lee, 1955) he contributes to the family's progress.

Diligence and philotimo are perceived as the two most important characteristics of the good Greek (Vassiliou, 1966). Honour and progress are two basic goals for the ingroup. Most concepts are thus seen in the traditional milieu in terms of collective goals, and individuals are evaluated in relation to their family memberships (Campbell, 1964). The individual's success is not as important as

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the family's and ingroup's success and progress. However, the in-
group is operational because it functions as an open system;
individuals having common goals are permitted to act independently,
constructively and self-reliantly as long as the main objective of
the individual is to serve   common goals (Katakis, in press). At
the same time, the perceived antecedent of both success and progress
is cooperation (Triandis, 1972). Cooperation was found to be, as
ever, the way of life which is characterized by interdependent prac-
tices, whether at the level of the community, family or peer group
in the traditional milieu (Polemi-Todoulou, 1981).

Toward the outgroup, on the other hand, antagonism and deception
are possible forms of behaviour (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1967). The
social atmosphere is less intimate, full of suspicion and hostility.
The attitude to outgroup authority becomes defiance, resentment and
undermining, while the reaction to ingroup authority is warm accep-
tance, submission and self-sacrifice. Ingroup authority is 'nurturant
and benevolent' and is expected to monitor one's effort, give good
advice and protect through restriction. The help of authority, together
with one's own effort, is perceived as necessary for one's achievement
(Triandis, Vassiliou and Nassiakou, 1968).

The identity of the individual in the traditional milieu is
determined by his or her position and role within the community, both
of which depend on the status of his or her ingroup. Consequently,
self-identity is firm because it is a function of the interdependence
of his or her ingroup members, which is strong (Vassiliou and Vassiliou,
1982).

1.3.2.   Structure of the Traditional Family

In the traditional milieu, marriage was planned through the
efforts of the ingroup with as its main objective the socioeconomic
betterment of the ingroup, while at the same time individual needs were

met. Marriages were nearly always arranged and the married couple
and their children continued to live in the context of either the
husband's or the wife's ingroup in constant interrelation and
interdependence with their community.

The traditional family is not only a domestic association of
individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship; it
is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and
of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not
the owner (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Friedl, 1962). The members
of the family work the land together. Men and women have their
segregated tasks but they are a complementary team and when necessary
they will work together at the same task. In wheat-growing, the ploughing
is done by the men, the hoeing and weeding generally by the women.
This is also the case in the cotton fields. Irrigation of cotton and
other crops is men's work. In tobacco cultivation, men do the plough-
ing but women tend the small plants which must be handled delicately;
and where crops must be hand-picked women do the collecting, while the
men weigh and lift sacks onto trucks and mules. The division of
labour appears to follow a simple sexual symbolism. Men do the tasks
which require organization and strength; women the work where nurturing
and care are needed. For this reason, too, men have no part in
domestic work or carrying water, which would be regarded as degrading.
The basic unit of economic enterprise is invariably the family
(Campbell and Sherrard, 1968).

Thus, roles in this society are limited and clearly defined.
There is no doubt in the minds of the community about what is proper
and what is improper action and, as a result, behaviour within these
roles is strongly sanctioned. Thus, a strict conformity of be-
haviour relating centrally to the family is achieved (du Boulay, 1974).
The roles of the man and of the woman are complementary and clearly de-

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lineated. Thus conflicts and role confusion are prevented. Consequently, in the case of the growing child no difficulties are encountered in developing the proper identification (Spinelli, Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1970).

Research has shown that in the Greek milieu all roles seem to be either superordinate or subordinate (Triandis, Vassiliou and Nassiakou, 1968). There has been found a tendency for high-status ingroup persons to show high superordination while the low-status ingroup members do not hesitate to show the proper subordination. The male role seems to be the dominant and the superordinate, while the woman is expected always to take a subordinate position. At the same time, empirical research has shown that positive affect is exhibited when high-status persons interact with low-status persons, in the context of the ingroup. In this case, superordination is perceived as nurturant and benevolent and is associated with behaviours such as 'He teaches,' 'He advises,' 'He helps' the subordinate (Ibid.).

For the woman, her individual interests are synonymous with the interests of the group and by attending to the needs of others she thus satisfies her own needs. For example, by bearing a child to the family she gives the family strength and hope for the future and secures to herself status and prestige (Vassiliou, 1966).

Among the various family roles that have been studied in Greece (Triandis, Vassiliou and Nassiakou, 1968) the least intimacy is attributed to the husband-wife role. Additionally, Vassiliou (1966) has found that a successful and happy marriage is seen by Athenians as dependent on mutual understanding and mutual concession rather than on 'love'. In a study conducted by Katakis (under publication) when couples who belonged to the traditional milieu were given Watzlawick's task: "Out of the millions why did you two get together?" (Watzlawick, 1969), they consistently answered that: "Marriage is man's ordained

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destiny." Moreover, up to a few decades ago the primary group was mainly, sometimes even exclusively, the meeting ground of the two sexes.

The central family role seems to be that of parent-child, and mainly the mother-son role, which is viewed as more reciprocal than other family roles. The woman whose role has not changed considerably by becoming a wife, changes dramatically by becoming a mother. From the moment she assumes that role she is highly idealized and considered 'holy'. "Despised and suspected as a woman, she is revered, trusted, respected and obeyed as a mother " (Vassiliou, 1966).

Doumanis (in press) notes that the ingroup works for the rural women as a continuous 'encounter group' where minor problems are brought forward and handled not only in verbal form but in toto. Alternative solutions are tested and individual comparisons made as to their effectiveness. In this context, child-rearing problems are faced in a very creative manner by pooling together various approaches to the problem for the most effective one to be singled out; with the implicit reservation that what works today may not work tomorrow and what works for one child may not work for another.

The Greek family in general emerges in a variety of studies as a child-oriented one (Vassiliou, 1966; Spinelli, Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1970; Katakis, 1978; Christea-Doumanis, 1978). It is in this sense future-oriented also, since a great part of its activity and planning aims at securing the means for the child's advancement, on which the family advancement is based. Through education, the family indirectly directs the upward social mobility of some of its members. Thus, planning in regard to the education of one or more of its offspring becomes a 'family affair', for the prestige of an educated son will reflect on the social position of the entire family. When there is no son, the daughter is used as a substitute for the fulfilment of

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the family's ambitions (Friedl, 1962; Spinelli, Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1970; Laskou-Nassiakou, 1977; Katakis, 1978; Georgiou-Nilsen, 1980). Due to a number of variables, social advancement is much more feasible for a boy than for a girl. As can be expected in such a case, a son is preferred over a daughter. In most rural areas the word 'child' is synonymous with 'boy'. The reasons for such a preference are not only clearly psychological but also strongly socioeconomic.

A summary and some concluding comments about social relations in the traditional milieu seem necessary at this point. The social milieu of the rural traditional environment was, and can still be, characterized as a milieu of low and slowly developing complexity, exhibiting slow social change. People in such a milieu are socially organized on the basis of a central and entirely concretized principle: that of interdependence. The availability of operational goals shared in common by adults and children, goals which can be fulfilled optimally under conditions of interdependence, keep the children in harmonious relationship with the rest of their family.

1.3.3.   The Individual in the Traditional Milieu

It would seem inadequate to limit the term "traditional milieu" to the rural environment,   in terms of geographical determinants. It is rather the specific boundary-structuring of the system that defines the extent to which a given milieu would be characterized as traditional or not (Kiountouzis and Vassiliou, 1981). Boundary-structuring refers to the values, goals, information processing and decision-making mechanisms which are characteristic of every system (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1980). In the traditional community where the ingroup is the all-important social unit, the values and goals set are shared by all ingroup members. Information is process-

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ed and decisions are made always in the context of the ingroup.
The ingroup can thus be characterized as a self-boundered system.

The individual has been socialized in such a way that he is
ready to accept the values, goals and mode of behaviour
already adopted by the ingroup. His internal structure—who he
thinks he is, what he thinks he wants, who he thinks the other is,
and so forth—is a product of life-long interdependence; it is
a subsystemic structure. The principle of interdependence is what
guides personal evaluation, relating to the individual's place in
the family and,through the family,relating to his place in society
The individual acts on the basis of an ideology that determines
allegiance to the ingroup since he knows that as part of the ingroup
he will survive,while outside it he would perish. He does not even
dream of deciding to pursue his own goals since the ingroup provides
him with restrictions that offer security and protection.

In the traditional milieu where the system of self-sufficient
economy has prevailed for centuries and where the mode of production
is by definition cooperative, and interdependence is a presupposition
for survival and growth, the individual mobilizes all his strength
in order to serve,in the best possible way,his personal interests
through constantly serving the interests of his ingroup. He never
acts solely out of self-interest, neither does he remain inactive
and helpless,waiting to be taken care of by the others. In this milieu,
roles and 'proper ways' of behaviour are in harmony with those of the
family and the wider social group.

1.3.4.   The Family and the Individual in the Technological Milieu

In the technologically complex milieu, the scene has changed dras-
tically. Industrialization, rapid and increased urbanization, deser-
tion of the stable land for more uncertain sources of income, sudden

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tourist   development, vast spread of mass media and consumerism
propagated as a way of living all lend to the social milieu a
high degree of complexity.

In the technological milieu where the mode of production is
by definition individualistic and competitive, the individual's
goal is his personal advancement. Man is involved in a greater pre-
occupation with his own self and diminished concern with the needs
of others. This trend has sometimes been labelled as 'the new nar-
cissism' or 'the "me" decade' (Lasch, 1979; Wolfe, 1976). The pro-
cess of socialization, right   from the child's very early years, is
a process of incorporation in a lonely world, similar to the socio-
economic conditions prevailing. Roles, ways of behaving and values,
are no longer uniform, uniconceptual and sequential, because they no
longer represent a collective value-orientation and normative be-
haviour.

A number of international studies (e.g. Kerr et al, 1960; Kahl,
1968; Inkeles and Smith, 1974), which have studied value-change as a
function of industrialization in Brazil, Mexico and other nations,
provide a substantial basis for arguing that industrialization gives
rise to a syndrome of values which can be termed "modern" and that this
syndrome comes into being in a similar manner in various parts of
the world, involving similar structural changes wherever it occurs
(Parsons, 1964; Feldman and Moore, 1965; Meyer et al, 1975). Fliegel
(1976) distinguishes the term 'industrialization' from the term 'indus-
trialism', arguing that 'industrialism' permits one to direct one's
attention not just to the concentration of people in a factory, but
to the cultural implications of organizing production and distribution
systems. Nevertheless, whatever the term is, it refers to a process
which often has been implicitly used to subsume a variety of subpro-
cesses including both structural changes and the presumed cultural

consequences of those changes. Industrialism, contends Toffler (1980), created not only a new reality for millions but a new way of thinking about reality. "Clashing at a thousand points with the values, concepts, myths and morals of agricultural society, industrialism brought with it a redefinition of God, of justice, of love, of power, of beauty. It stirred up new ideas, attitudes and analogies. It subverted and superseded ancient assumptions about space, time, matter and causality " (p. 110). This world view of industrial society is called by Toffler indust-reality and is spread over nations regardless of the type of political system. "Moreover, industrialism broke society into thousands of interlocking parts. It broke the line of command between church, state and the individual. It broke knowledge into specialized disciplines. It broke jobs into fragments. It broke families into smaller units. In doing so it shattered community life and culture " (Ibid., p.75). It brought a change from a relatively high degree of local self-sufficiency to a delicate and unstable, equilibrated, international interdependence (Reiss, 1964), an interdependence which has nothing to do with the human interdependence characterizing the traditional milieu.

At one level, the industrial revolution created a marvellously integrated social system with its own distinctive technologies, its own social institutions, and its own information channels. Yet, at another level, it ripped apart the underlying unity of society, creating a way of life filled with economic tension, social conflict and psychological malaise, claims Toffler (1980). At the same time, empirical research (Kerr et al, 1960; Kahl, 1968; Inkeles and Smith, 1974) amply demonstrates that in general people exposed to an industrial way of life tend to value achievement as a criterion of status over the traditional emphasis on ascribed status characteristics; they tend to be open to new ideas and new ways of doing things; they

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tend to judge actions and events on the basis of universalistic rather than particularistic criteria; and they tend to value individual initiative and mobility over reliance on kin and local group action.

Industrialism and urbanism may not have the same empirical referents but there is clearly some conceptual overlap, argues Fliegel (1976). From the period of 1915-1940 the writings of the Chicago School (Park, Burgess, McKenzie) maintain that where urban centres increase in size and density, social disorganization and personality disorders ensue. Cities with high concentrations of heterogeneous populations have weakened interpersonal ties resulting in high levels of alienation and normative dissension, while rural places with small homogeneous populations exhibit the opposite (Janowitz, 1967). Conger in his presidential address delivered at the A.P.A. meeting in 1981 stated that, "Most of us would agree that urbanization and geographic mobility have altered the face of America and the nature of her social institutions to a rather astonishing degree since the turn of the century and they are continuing to do so " (p. 1475).

This phenomenon, which started in America at the turn of the century, made its appearance in Greece not more than two decades ago. The social organization of the ingroup did not, and could not, any longer shoulder the socialization process of its members, while many traditional normative patterns of behaviour have been rendered disfunctional. Socialization is now left to be assumed by the nuclear family — the group hierarchically immediately below the ingroup — and mainly by the mother. In the absence of a close social circle, interdependence becomes an empty, if not a disfunctional concept; it survives only as a pattern of 'depending on others' (Vassiliou, Katakis, Vassiliou, 1968; Christea-Doumanis, 1978; Vassiliou, 1982).

In their new environment, parents and children are thrown into a small apartment of a crowded building, in a densely populated but impersonal neighbourhood, in the immense urban centre of Athens with millions of people who have neither the time nor the opportunities and the means to become psychologically and culturally 'urbanized' (Emmanuel, 1976). In most urban surveys which are concerned with changing attitudes of migrants to urban centres, using the Mediterranean as a context, the observation is made that a shift from extended to nuclear family structure accompanies the shift in residence from rural to urban settings (Peristiany, 1976). "The mark of our time," as N. Ackerman (1970) wrote, "is the peculiar disharmony of the individual's relations with the wider society ... there is a very clear trend toward a sense of lostness, aloneness, confusion of personal identity, and a driven search for acceptance through conformity."

The man, still 'father-provider', simply produces money through wages -- something which anyone in the family could do, in the newly formed reality. In the traditional environment where the administration of the family property was collective, the interests of all members were taken into consideration but it was the man of each nucleus who represented and negotiated the interests of his wife and children. The husband's contribution to the family budget enhanced the wife's prestige and position, who was greatly dependent on her husband's material support and protection both within the family and towards the community (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968). Research has shown that Athenian children perceive their father as the person whose sole mission in life is to bring money home, expressing at the same time their regret at this situation (Isambert and Hourdakis, 1975). In reality, the father is cut off from the psychosocial and socio-economic transactions he was involved in, in the traditional community.

The new reality demands of him that he find a new role which will meet the demands of the new complexity.

The mother, on the other hand, is now faced with a number of drastic changes of her own, the most important being that she is left with the socializing task on her hands and the search for a new social identity. Christea-Doumanis (1978) eloquently illustrates the conflicting coexistence of traditional and modern elements through the Athenian mother's perception. The majority of Athenian mothers find themselves in a position where they invest all their hopes in their children and shoulder all the responsibility for their development. Like all traditional Greek women, they have no choice as to their life goals, for womanhood is synonymous with motherhood; so they invest exclusively in their children for the justification of their lives. By so doing, they give up some pleasures and some personal freedoms which are possible and acceptable in Athens. In addition, they must withdraw from the society of colleagues (fellow workers, classmates, etc.) to the seclusion of the nuclear family. They must perform their child-rearing role unguided and unsupported and they must bear all the responsibility for the rearing of the child. Conger (1981) similarly mentions that for many modern parents geographic separation from the support of family members, as well as from life-long friends, has significantly increased the stresses of childbearing and other family responsibilities.

It has already been mentioned that the Greek traditional rural family is a child-oriented one. Yet research has shown that the child is more the focus in the urban family than is the child in the traditional rural milieu, receiving the whole of the family's attention (Katakis, 1978; Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1982). Shorter (1975) has observed in The Making of the Modern Family that the nuclear family is as much a state of mind as it is a formal structure.

In contrast to other family forms, the nuclear family of the West tends to be child-oriented and to emphasize the family as a centre of nurture and affection rather than as a means of economic survival. However, research findings indicate (Katakis, 1978) that when 12-year-old Athenians' T.A.T. stories were analyzed according to Arnold's Story Sequence Analysis(Arnold,1949; Vassiliou, 1963), interpersonal relationships were described as difficult and conflictual, expressing insecurities and doubts. Children in Athens, in the same study, expressed indecisiveness, immobilization, ambivalence or reluctance towards active effort.

The children 'imprisoned' within the four walls as well as within the mother-child relationship (prison of love) are entirely cut off from any kind of 'community'. They are loved, protected, endlessly provided with goods and comfort. However, the child has no responsibility towards his ingroup's needs and in spite of the fact that the child receives the whole of the family's attention, being deprived of all group participation (both in the social and family context) which could foster his psychosocial differentiation, he is left as an isolated unit (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1982). It seems that the child's only responsibility is to play the role of the pillar which holds the family together. The 'father-provider' produces money through wages, the mother is either doing the same or is wrapped up in her household responsibilities, while the child consumes the parents' earnings and is 'being educated'. His sole responsibility is to achieve, and the more he achieves the stronger the pillar supporting the family. In the technological milieu, Campbell and Sherrard, (1968) contend, the younger age groups who scarcely know of their parents' traditional world are exposed through the press, through intensive advertising and television to an unreal and deracinated version of Western materialism in which the delights of consumption

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predominate over the problems of production.

In school, children are thrown into antagonistic relations, in the context of an overemphasized academic competition which inhibits their emotional differentiation. The child, says Katakis (under publication) for at least a quarter of a century does not seem to live, but rather is preparing himself for life, his only qualification being his diplomas. Success at school has been shown to be strongly related to family happiness. His success at school plays a primary role in the intrafamily relations and causes the happiness or unhappiness of his parents (Katakis, 1978; Georgiou-Nilsen, 1980). Competition for a place in the universities and other similar institutions is intensely pressured. This is achieved through writing entrance examinations where the success of one means the failure of the other. Repeated research data reveals that the university degree, for both children and parents, is conceived of as the only way leading to success. Anything less than that would fill a life-long dream with bitterness and an intense feeling of failure*(First Conference on Education, 1980).

The husband-wife relationship is also drastically changing. The traditional 'distance' between spouses is operational in the rural milieu. There each one of them, from his or her 'post', is striving for a common goal: the survival of the family. This is no longer either possible or desirable in the urban reality. In Christea-Doumanis' (1978) research, it is interesting to note the centrality of the child in the mother's fears and aspirations for the future, in contrast to the importance attributed to the husband. Although

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*The day the entrance examination results are announced is more festive and important than any national holiday. Results are transmitted by all national radio channels simultaneously, and people react in mass hysteria.

Athenian mothers emphasize that happiness for a woman is to be found
in a loving family, the most important relationship in the family
appears to be that of mother-child, while the husband-wife bond appears
to have a secondary importance. Doumanis (in press) believes that
this seeming paradox -- that is, the fact that in the urban context
where women have lost all their supportive social framework, they
have not turned to their husbands for intimacy and support -- is
an outgrowth of the rural tradition.

In most cases, within the 'four walls' of the apartment build-
ing, when the husband attempts to come closer to his wife, he will
usually 'bump' up against the traditional pre-existing mother-son
commitment. This situation is further aggravated by the fact that
the children are now, in the urban milieu, given over to the sole
responsibility of their mothers. The bounded, closed mother-son
relationship has a two-fold effect; it makes it impossible for the
two spouses to achieve a close relationship but also it arrests the
development of a father-son relationship, a relationship which in
the rural environment developed in the area of the coffee shop and
within the community, rather than at home (Vassiliou and Vassiliou,
1982). In the urban milieu, the lack of intimacy between spouses is
bound to leave the women somewhat lonely and frustrated (Doumanis,
in press).

It has already been mentioned that traditional couples would re-
spond to the Watzlawick task by saying that:"Marriage is man's or-
dained destiny." In the context where the urban family proliferated
this answer was replaced with:"We got married because we wanted chil-
dren." However, in cases where the urban family was also breaking up,
couples revealed that they had rejected the child-centred family. In
these cases, further analysis showed that young couples had no clear
purpose with regard to their marriage. They were left with no shared

orientation, and their relationship, from being a means to an end, became a goal in itself (Katakis, Prattos and Tsounnakis, 1980).

On her side, the daughter of the nuclear urban family, contrary to her rural counterpart, is offered a very inadequate female model for identification. She sees her mother having shifted away from the traditional role of obedience and attendance to her husband's needs towards a vague and unclear perception of her role. Consequently the mother looks unhappy as a housewife, and seems to feel exploited, victimized and useless. Mother, as career-woman, looks equally unhappy with herself. Accomplishment of her new goals is far from complete, and there remain strong pockets of resistance from women as much as from men. Mother seems torn between the competing demands of her husband, her children, her career and society at large. She seems to be feeling as if she is unfairly treated so that her stress becomes unbearable (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1982; Conger, 1981; Christea-Doumanis, 1978). Furthermore, in the urban context the daughter is deprived of her traditional ingroup space and finds it very difficult to develop the peer girl-to-girl relationships which in the rural culture were the corridor to group participation (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1982).

In sum, this long account has shown that in Greece the past fifteen years have been a period of intense and pervasive sociocultural changes. The old and the new still co-exist and intermingle -- a phenomenon unusual in more developed societies. One is thus given the opportunity of studying the whole spectrum and finding trends relevant to a changing identity and self-concept structure. What has been described extensively in the present chapter is that the Greek child's functioning in the traditional milieu is regulated by norms which are an aspect of the sociocultural process, and in this sense group-identification facilitates self-identification.

In contrast, in the technological milieu this sociocultural process has been disrupted. The child is faced with inadequate parental models. Relations in the context of the family are distant between the parents, while being very emotionally loaded between parents and children. However, these are feelings which, instead of breeding interdependence, foster dependence. The growing girl has no maternal model to identify with since mother is caught in the trap of social change and is trying to find a new role. The same holds true for father. Children are pushed towards academic excellence leaving no room for real group-participation which could foster their emotional differentiation. A growing disparity between interdependence and the capacity to act as a unit has led the Greek child to frequently-encountered impasses.

The above survey has attempted to put the results of this study in context and to identify an emerging pattern in a changing world of cultural diversity; it is hoped that a clear framework has been established within which to present the later research findings. The next chapter deals with the way self-concept was approached in its long but 'somewhat rocky' history in psychology, as described by Vallacher (1980).

2.   SELF-CONCEPT AS PRESENTED IN THE LITERATURE

The idea of self-concept is fairly recent to the extent that
psychology, as currently defined, is itself a recent phenomenon,
while the idea of self is as old as philosophy itself. The pressing
question:'Who am I?' is reflected in the ancient Greek dictum:'Know
thyself.' The first systematic empirical research on self-concept
was conducted by Raimy in 1948, and as Gergen (1971) mentions, in
the succeeding two decades nearly 2,000 studies on the subject were
conducted. However, despite the volume of work it is disturbing that
investigators are as far as ever from agreeing on what self-concept
is and what it includes, let alone on how to measure it.

2.1.   Problems of Definition

One problem in defining anything, including self-concept, is
the matter of agreement. Only when perceptions overlap can people
agree on a definition. A vast number of reviewers and investigators
of self-concept seem to agree that the attempt to derive a fairly
rigorous definition of self-concept (or of its parallel constructs)
is likely to be frustrated by the current state of vagueness and
fragmentation (Wells and Marwell, 1976; Burns, 1979; Rosenberg, 1979;
Combs, 1981; Bills, 1981). Dealing scientifically with such a 'psycho-
logical' idea involves a number of complex issues in the philosophy of
science as well as those of a more methodological and technical nature;
it is obvious that confusion at the conceptual level would
necessarily manifest itself in equal or greater confusion at the
methodological level, says Wylie (1974). Most psychological inves-
tigators of self-concept have pursued their own direction oblivious
of the directions of others. Many instruments have been constructed
purporting to measure self-concept and although some of these measures
agree to a small degree with each other, there is little reason to

believe that they measure the same construct, claims Bills (1981).
Wells and Marwell (1976) maintain that, as it is used, self-concept
is a hypothetical construct formed by social scientists to summarize
certain features of human behaviour, and in that sense it shares all
the difficulties that people have encountered with such scientific
abstractions.

Reliance upon common sense definition and upon the deceptive
impression that everyone already knows what self-concept is tends to
regard the concept as an independent 'given', rather than as an
articulated aspect of a larger theory. The notion of self is in itself
deceptive; it has an intuitively obvious meaning, yet it is used
in such a confusing number of ways that its meaning seems to have no
single simple core. Self seems to be one of those words which, be-
cause of its indispensability, is virtually impossible either to dis-
card or to specify unambiguously. Hilgard in his A.P.A. presidential
address in 1949 argued that the idea of self is necessarily implicit
in theories of personality and to discard it would be to lose a tre-
mendously useful tool in the description and explanation of human
behaviour. The idea of self has played some role in all personality
theories with the exception of the behaviourists who have seen self-
concept as unobservable, unmeasurable and unnecessary in explaining
human behaviour. As Bills (1981) points out, how could they not see
it as such if their purpose is the prediction and control of behaviour?
Psychologists who are interested in self-concept have not generally
been concerned principally with prediction and control.

Another major confusion concerns the terms used to describe
the construct. The terms 'self-image' and 'self-picture' have
frequently appeared in the literature with the implication that they
are synonymous with the term 'self-concept'. Burns (1979), however,
believes that those terms give a rather static and neutral appearance

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to what is a dynamic, evaluative and emotively charged concept. They fail to convey the attitudinal content of self-concept. Self-image or self-picture is only one of the two elements of self-concept; the other component is the value which the individual attributes to particular descriptions of himself. Most writers employ 'self-esteem' to designate the self-evaluation component, while others, as for example Burns (1979), regard the terms 'self-concept', 'self-attitudes' and 'self-esteem' as synonymous, postulating that they are evaluated beliefs about the person which can range along a positive-negative continuum.

As a concluding comment on the difficulties encountered in the attempt to define the construct, it must be said that a review of a variety of theoretical positions on the nature of self-concept reveals that the conception of the self is often considerably vague, occasionally mutually contradictory and lacking in any definitive or complete statement. As Burns (1979) contends, it is ideas rather than facts which dominate the scene. Rosenberg (1979) claims that definitions rarely suffice to communicate complex ideas and self-concept would, in his view, be clarified by indicating what it is not. Others, like Gergen (1971) and Epstein (1973), in search of a viable definition of self, seem to prefer to discuss the issues which have long provoked argument in the field; it is as if they were putting the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle together. Their way of dealing with the definition of self, and in a wider sense with the definition of self-concept, is also followed in the present review. A presentation of a number of central critical issues which have separated theorists into rival camps will be attempted. This effort will aim at providing a theoretical framework for the different self theories and for the diverse self-concept research findings which will be presented further on in the chapter.

2.2 Key Issues -- Major Dichotomies

A number of dilemmas and dualities which harass theorizing and investigation of self and have contributed to the unresolved state of 'self' as a concept, stem from the philosophic heritage of academic psychology. By understanding such confrontations, claims Gergen (1971), an attempt can be made to derive solutions which would be compatible with contemporary research findings, as well as to develop some coherent definition of self.

2.2.1. The Self as Fact versus Hypothetical Construct

The self is spoken of by many theorists as a concept that has real-world properties, creating thus an exaggerated appreciation for the observable fact. For those theorists, the self must be tied to data available for direct and reliable observation and thus can be studied scientifically, just as the phenomena of the physical sciences. Where the self is defined as a symbol, a set of attitudes (Rosenberg, 1965) or behaviours (Diggory, 1966) or as a particular kind of sentiment (English and English, 1958) it may be regarded as real or as a 'fact'. The major criticism of such a position has been that it is misleading to treat psychic 'phenomena' the same way as physical objects, as well as that such an orientation adopts the misleading Cartesian distinction between mind and body.

Theorists (e.g. Sullivan, 1953; Rogers, 1959; Sherif and Sherif, 1969) who maintain that the self should be studied as a hypothetical construct claim that behaviour is guided and modulated by internal processes which precede behavioural output. The major rationale for this position has been that the concept of self has utility for understanding and predicting conduct. Yet, a number of investigators have remained dissatisfied with an orientation that holds self-conception to be purely hypothetical in nature. Their major criticism has been

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that subjective data do not meet the critisism of interobserver reliability since it is only available to the single individual experiencing it.

2.2.2   The Self as Subject versus Object

The concept of self has also been dichotomized into self as a subject and to self as an object. The self has been viewed either as the 'I', the experiencing subject, the knower, or as the content of experience, that which is known.

The theorists who consider the self as subject have equated self with the process of active experience and have argued that the specific contents of experience are not so important in furnishing the person with a sense of self (e.g. Mill, 1869; Erikson, 1959). On the other hand theorists who consider the self as object (e.g. English and English, 1958; Symonds, 1951) argue that all experience is experience of some-thing, that experience has content. Moreover, if self is defined as the process of active experience then the notion of self is expanded to include so much that it loses all its value. It would include all processes of thinking, perceiving, remembering, feeling and so on and there would be no way of separating self-psychology from the total psychology of personal experience.

Hall and Lindzey (1970) even claim that the two conceptions of self are so distinctly different that it would be better to have sepa-rate terms for them: to use the term 'ego' when referring to the group of psychological processes, and to reserve the term 'self' for the person's system of conceptions of himself.

2.2.3.   The Self as Single versus Multiple

There has been a strong tendency to view self as a single concept, a global entity, a Gestalt. Such approaches assume that the person has a baseline manner of viewing himself and that the basic view will influence his behaviour over time and across situations. The writings of Mead (1925), Fromm (1939), Lecky (1945), Rogers (1950), Backman and Secord (1968) all suggest the above viewpoint.

Yet there are strong arguments against the position of singular conceptualization of self. A man may possess a dominant image of himself, but this image can be differentiated into numerous other images and behaviour, purports Burns (1979). There is also another aspect of differentiation, Burns says, in that some self perceptions are core beliefs, others are less significant and others are so peripheral to the essence of self that they are not of any great concern. Theorists such as James (1910), Sullivan (1953), Goffman (1955), Allport (1955), Jourard (1958), Erikson (1959), Gordon (1968) and Gergen (1968) all tend to emphasize multiplicity of self-concept. This view is also fostered by the observation that an individual's behaviour is not only highly variable from one situation to another but also often inconsistent.

Great difficulties in measuring such broad constructs as 'global' self-concept and relating them to theoretically relevant behaviour have been mentioned by Wylie (1974). Wylie wonders whether the proposed constructs are not too inclusive for manageable verbal or empirical definitions. Although empirical results would do much to clar-ify matters, Gordon and Gergen (1968) claim that the problem is not totally soluble on empirical grounds.

2.2.4.   Self Consistency versus Inconsistency

A powerful debate concerns the relationship among the various

concepts a persons has of himself . The existence of multiple con-
ceptions of the person means that some of these conceptions may be
incompatible with one another. This is very likely, says Burns
(1979) since self-attitudes are learned and the learning can occur
in a variety of contexts. For centuries man has been damning the
individual whose discrepancies between self-conceptions may be the
result of realistic appraisals in different contexts and consequently
need not, for the most part, give rise to stress (Ibid.). Gergen (1971),
moreover, claims that there is good evidence that the more typical
state is one in which incompatibility reigns.

Yet the dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957; Brehm and Cohen,
1962) essentially states that inconsistent cognition or thoughts
are intolerable for human beings. In such a case men would adopt
any strategy to eliminate discrepancies, such as applying
their defense mechanisms. The extent of the tendency to reduce in-
consistency, Gergen (1971) says, would largely depend on the individual's
awareness of the inconsistency, the functional value of the concepts
at stake, and the amount of training the individual has had in avoid-
ing inconsistency.

2.2.5.   The Self as Structure versus Process

Another area of debate has been whether the self is structural
in character or whether process should be emphasized over structure.
The psychological system in the first case is treated as if it were
a series of mechanical or structural parts, each perhaps acting in
some reciprocal way with other parts. However, the elements consti-
tuting the system are largely considered stable and unchanging and
even when alternatives occur, they are usually seen as the result of
long-term influences. Moreover, the modification of one part does
not necessarily affect all other parts (Gordon and Gergen, 1968).

In contrast, when process is emphasized, forces at play are discussed and a synthetic view emerges. Buckley (1968) argues that for the mechanical systems the 'structure' has a representation that is concrete and directly observable, such that when the system ceases to operate much of the structure remains directly observable for a time. However, for the sociocultural system, 'structure' becomes a theoretical construct whose referent is only indirectly observable, if not only inferable, and when the system ceases to operate the links maintaining the sociocultural structure are no longer observable. Moreover, Buckley purports that it is the process that points to the actions and interactions of the components of an ongoing system in which varying degrees of structuring arise, persist, dissolve or change. More than half a century ago, Albion W. Small (1905) argued that "the central line in the path of methodological process in sociology is marked by the gradual shifting of effort from analogical representation of social structures to real analysis of social processes " (p. 9).

These two orientations can be related to the discussion of the self as subject versus object. If one views self as the object of experience and finds that assessment techniques whereby people describe themselves on the basis of various concepts do yield self-descriptions that are reliable or organized, a structural model is implied. This attitude might prove to be highly useful for measurement purposes because it freezes the process momentarily and allows an understanding of its constituent parts (Gergen, 1971). If, on the other hand, one views the self as the process of experience itself, the structural model is not particularly appropriate. However, the emphasis on process in earlier sociology appears to be regaining ground and a major goal is to understand structure in its terms.

In an attempt to gain perspective of self, the issues that

have long provoked argument in the field were briefly presented. However, large gaps in a clear understanding of what self-conception is still remain. Since the major focus of this study is the social milieu --interpersonal interaction, immediate social context and broader social structure -- in which self-concept is shaped and manifests itself, the direction of the current review will point towards the understanding of the social aspect in self-concept for- mation.

2.3.   Symbolic Interactionism

William James (1890), more than ninety years ago, was the first to offer a concept of the social self, offering the world his dazzling insights into the self-concept (Coser and Rosenberg, 1969). In describing the self, James stated that the notion of identity is divided into three constituent parts; the material me -- the body being the innermost part of the material me -- the social me and the spiritual me. In order to understand the Me in the total sense, according to James, we must look not only at the constituents of the Me, but also at the feelings and emotions they arouse and the acts which they prompt (James, 1910). James' formulation put forth a view that anticipated future conceptions. As Burns (1979) states, James had already detected the integrative aspects of the self-concept.

For James, the self is an entirely conscious phenomenon, so that the evaluations a person places on himself are dependent upon his aspirations. Feelings of self-worth and self-esteem derive par- tially from one's perception of where one sees oneself standing in relation to others whose skills and abilities are similar to one's own as particular self-images. "A man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind. We may practically say that he has as many different

social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares " (James, 1910, p. 179).

James is also readily identified with the I-Me dichotomy in which the total self, or in other words the person, is differentiated into two 'discriminated aspects', the self as a knower and the self as that which is known, or the agent of experience and the contents of experience. As far as a self-reflexive act is concerned, the appearance of both these aspects is essential; without both, the process of self-consciousness is logically impossible.

The relationship between an individual and his fellow men had been, until the writings of James and Freud, an assumption that individuals existing prior to the relationship, met and entered into the relationship. The new view pointed clearly to the infant's long period of dependency on adults with the consequent opportunities of learning society's standards and values. This view, along with the inclusion of self-conception into sociological theory, produced a new approach to the individual-society relationship, namely symbolic interactionism, of which James can be regarded as a forerunner.

Symbolic interactionism probably represents the theoretical setting where self-concept is most firmly embedded in a larger conceptual structure. The development of a 'self', 'self-awareness' or 'self-consciousness' out of the symbolically-mediated, continuous mirroring and mapping of each person's own behaviour and gestures in those of ever-present others is a process well described by Cooley, Mead and others. The Chicago School, initially associated with a group of sociologists at the University of Chicago in the 1930s and 1940s, derives fairly directly from Mead and Cooley.

Cooley (1902) was the next major figure, after James, to deal with the idea of self and confined himself to that aspect of the self that James had labelled the social Me. "Self and society are twin born...

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and the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion "
(Cooley, 1902, p. 5). A major perspective of the self-concept is
the 'other self' or how you think others think of you. The contents
of the 'self as others see you' and the 'self as you believe you are'
have been repeatedly shown experimentally to be very similar (Burns,
1979). This notion was first pointed out by Cooley, who maintained
that a social self of this sort might be called the reflected or
'looking-glass self' (Cooley, 1902, p. 152).

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

"As we see our face in the glass and are interested in it because it
is ours, and pleased or otherwise with it according as it does or
does not answer to what we should like it 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 affect-
ed by it " (Ibid.). 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 judgement of that appearance; and
some sort of self-feeling such as pride or mortification. The com-
parison with the looking-glass suggests the second element, the
imagined judgement (Ibid.).

The looking-glass self arises out of symbolic interaction be-
tween an individual and his various primary groups. Such a group,
characterized by face-to-face association, relative permanence and
a high degree of intimacy between a small number of members, pro-
duces an integration of individuality and group. The face-to-face
relationships within the group serve to produce feedback for the
individual to evaluate and relate to his own person. Hence the self
is formed by trial-and-error learning processes by which values,

attitudes, roles and identities are learned.

Individuals do not assess rewards and costs, and make deci-
sions or choices, as independent monads, but rather as 'selves' in
an interpersonal field of at least partly matched or common symbols
and intimate interchanges of information -- making for a more than
superficial bonding of the elements into social minds, personalities
and groups (Buckley, 1967). This was the conception of the self set
forth by Mead, one of the most influential social philosophers of
his century. Mead also elaborated on James' social self and pro-
duced a more extensive theory of self development.

Perhaps the most important of Mead's insights into the self is
to be found in his well-known distinction between the 'I' and 'Me'.
These personal pronouns which were also used by James to describe
the same aspects of the self are labels for two phases of the self
as a process. 'I' designates the 'subject' phase of the process in
which people respond as acting subjects to objects or to particular
or generalized others in their situation. 'Me' labels the 'object'
phase of the process in which people respond to themselves as objects
in their situation (Hewitt, 1979).

Like Cooley, Mead sees the self as a product of interactions in
which the person experiences himself as reflected in the behaviour
of others. "Selves can only exist in definite relationships to other
selves. No hard-and-fast line can be drawn between our own selves
and the selves of others, since our own selves exist and enter as such
into our experience only insofar as the selves of others exist and
enter as such into our experience also " (Mead, 1934, p. 164). "We
appear as selves in our conduct insofar as we ourselves take the
attitude that others take toward us, in these correlative activities "
(Mead, 1925, p. 272). But Mead refines and integrates these points,

organizing them around the usage of symbols which, he postulates, differentiate uniquely human behaviour from other forms of interaction.

Mead's notion of the 'generalized other' is clearly a result of the symbolic nature of the self. Through the use of language and over the course of experience and maturation, the person develops the ability to take the role not only of a specific other person with respect to himself, but of a group of others -- real or inferred -- which corresponds to society's representation within the individual. By incorporating estimates of how the 'generalized other' would respond to certain actions, the individual acquires a source of internal regulations that serves to guide and stabilize his behaviour in the absence of external pressures (Burns, 1979).

The generalized other is an important addition to the idea of self as a social process because it permits the derivation of a 'generalized self' apart from the individual 'specific selves' which operate in each particular social relation and minor aspects of the structure of the social process (Wells and Marwell, 1976).

Gerth and Mills (1954) escape from Mead's concept of 'generalized other' by replacing it with the concept of 'significant others', a concept widely used in today's theorizing and research. This opens up the concept of the social process to include different and possibly conflicting influences upon the self. Mead's explanation of the genesis and development of the self has been an essential part of psychologists' and sociologists' efforts to account for socialization.

"What goes to make up the organized self is the organization of the attitudes which are common to the group. A person is a personality because he belongs to a community, because he takes over the institutions of that community into his own conduct. He takes its

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language as a medium by which he gets his personality, and then through a process of taking the different roles that all the others furnish he comes to get the attitude of the members of the community. Such in a certain sense, is the structure of a man's personality," writes Mead (1934, p. 280).

Mead's other basic idea is that of role-taking. The child becomes an object in the simplest sense by using the name others have provided, and later by using the personal pronouns for self-designation. The kind of object the child becomes depends on how role-taking proceeds. In each situation the child is a slightly or very different object to others, and so also to itself. Crucial to this process of role taking is the child's tendency to adopt the perspectives of others toward himself. In order to constitute himself as an object, the child must imaginatively take the role of the other toward himself (Hewitt, 1979).

Mead, commenting on Cooley, criticizes the fact that he looked in the mind for a self. He might better have considered the process by which the self comes into being by emergence from relationships between organisms and self-mind. Cooley simply gives "an account of the American community to which he belonged and presupposed its normal and healthful process", while Mead believes his own account to be more realistic in that it looked at 'the dim beginnings of human behaviour' (Mead, 1964, p. 36, in Holland, 1977).

Mead is an important and continuing influence in the field of social psychology, asserts Holland (1977), noting the frequency with which he is cited as the originator of the concept of the social self and the fact that his work has increased in popularity over the past decade, no doubt in part because of the rise of interpretive, phenomenological and ethnomethodological specialities within psychology. Not only has he gained adherents in the United States, together

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with new presentations and reprints of his work (Hewitt, 1976) but it is also suggested that European theorists have neglected Mead to their own disadvantage and they should embrace him (Holland, 1977).

Holland also notes that there are apparent similarities between Lacan's and Mead's concepts of symbolic interaction and their concepts of the social creation of self. Mead's 'generalized other' based on an internalized conversion of gestures seems highly relevant to Lacan's conceptualization and so, too, does Cooley's dependence on a 'looking-glass self.'

The concept of role-taking leads Goffman (1959; 1967) to a theatrical performance perspective, offering an extension of symbolic interactionism into a dramaturgical metaphor, claiming that the individual puts on a 'show' for others by managing the impressions he gives others about himself. In The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, he describes the person as a performer, trying to present a convincing self by maintaining a consistent definition of a situation and playing his part in it. Goffman does not overestimate the extent to which we can choose our roles. He explains the generation of self through social interaction as follows: "In analyzing the self, then we are not drawn from its possessor, from the person who will profit or lose most by it, for he and his body merely provide the peg on which something of collaborative manufacture will be hung for a time..." (Goffman, 1959, p. 253). Goffman appears to resolve the tension between socially-given role demands and self-defined role demands in favour of group or social demands.

Goffman's dramaturgical analysis of society offers a useful way of examining society in which men are not trying to do but to be. But while Mead presents the development of self in society with a stable and continued presentation of self, Goffman presents short-term selves focusing now on this role and now on that, in the manage-

ment of impression and of personal front. For Mead, self and
society are twin born; for Goffman self and society interact in
short episodes in which the script is followed to the end, but when
the 'play' is over the individual sheds one costume and dresses
up in another (Ibid.).

Symbolic interactionism and its offshoots (e.g. Sarbin, 1952;
Sarbin and Rosenberg, 1955; Sherif, 1962; Sherif and Sherif, 1969)
might represent the most significant current perspective describing
and dealing with self-concept. It embeds a description of self-
concept more completely in a larger theoretical structure. Neverthe-
less, claim Wells and Marwell (1976), it has not generated as sizeable
a body of research on self-concept and self-esteem as has experimen-
tal or clinical psychology. This is partly because of its frequent
suspicion of orthodox self-evaluative measures and partly because it
has tended to focus elsewhere than upon self-esteem as a variable of
interest per se (Ibid.).

2.4. The Phenomenological Approach

The most recent theorizing about, and studies of, self-concept
have taken place within the context of phenomenology. For the pheno-
menologist, reality is not in the event, but in the phenomenon;
that is, the person's perception of the event. One's perceptions grow
out of one's experiences (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). A fundamental thesis
of the phenomenological approach is that behaviour is not only influ-
enced by past and current experiences but by the personal meanings
each individual attaches to his perception of those experiences. The
fluid organization of personal meanings that exist for any person at
any moment of time is the perceptual or phenomenal field. Phenomeno-
logy is concerned with a person's perception of reality not with

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reality itself; thus the self in that sense is heavily weighted on the side of self-as-subject.

It was the Gestalt psychologists who injected their phenomenological methods and theories into the stream of general psychology. Wylie,(1974) mentions that the extent to which the scientific method can be fruitfully used to test phenomenological personality theories, including self-concept theories, has been a debatable and unresolved issue. The statements of Rogers (1959), Lewin (1951), Freud (1923), and the neo-Freudians seem to imply that the scientific method is assumed to be applicable to testing self-concept theories. On the other hand, other personality theorists interested in phenomenology have been turning to existential psychology, which criticizes the assumptions and methods of modern behavioural science, as for example Jourard (1964), Leary (1957) and Stephenson (1953).

Snygg and Combs (1949) believe that the locus of psychological causation lies entirely within the phenomenal field of conscious experience. Thus, the self-concept, the central feature of the phenomenal field, must be studied from the standpoint of the perceiving individual. A phenomenal self is differentiated out of the phenomenal field. This phenomenal self includes all those parts of the phenomenal field which the individual experiences as characteristic of a part of himself. Snygg and Comb's phenomenal self is both an object and a doer. It is a doer because it is an aspect of the phenomenal field which determines all behaviour. Yet it is also an object because it consists of self-experiences. Apparently, then, Snygg and Comb's self is both object and process at one and the same time (Hall and Lindzey, 1970).

A person's self-concept is, then, himself from his own point of view. It is not a mere conglomeration of isolated concepts about the

person, but a patterned interrelationship or Gestalt of all
these (Burns, 1979). The phenomenal field of Snygg and Combs
appears to possess three constituents: the total perceptual field
which includes all the individual's perceptions; the phenomenal
self which includes all those perceptions which a person holds about
himself, irrespective of their clarity or their importance at any
particular moment; and the self-concept which is the heart of both
the field and the self and includes all those aspects which are im-
portant or vital to the person (Ibid.).

The present state and formulation of the self-concept theory
owes much to Rogers' client-centered personality theory, a self-cen-
tred personality theory. The self is a portion of the phenomenal
field that gradually becomes differentiated, as part of the actual-
izing tendency, from the environment, through transactions with the
environment -- particularly the social environment. The process by
which this occurs is not detailed by Rogers, but, as Burns (1979)
contends, it is presumably along the lines described by Cooley and
Mead.

Rogers (1951) attempts to maintain his phenomenological position
by implying that only when information about self and environment from
the unconscious reservoir comes at least dimly into awareness does
it influence behaviour. "The self-concept or self-structure may be
thought of as an organized configuration of perceptions of the self
which are admissible to awareness... It is a Gestalt which is avail-
able to awareness though not necessarily in awareness. It is a fluid
and changing Gestalt, a process, but at any given moment it is a
specific entity... It is composed of such elements as the perceptions
of one's characteristics and abilities; the percepts and concepts
of the self in relation to others and to the environment; the value

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qualities which are perceived as associated with experiences and objects; and goals and ideals which are perceived as having positive or negative valence " (Rogers, 1951, p. 136). A basic premise of the phenomenological approach as developed by Rogers is that self-concept is both a percept and a concept around which gather values introjected from the cultural pattern.

In addition to the self as it is (the self-structure) Rogers points to an ideal self which is what the person would like to be, "the self-concept which the individual would most like to possess, upon which he places the highest value for himself". Implicit in Rogers' theory are two manifestations of congruence-incongruence. One is the congruence, or lack of it, between subjective reality (the phenomenal field) and the external reality (the world as it is). The other is the degree of correspondence between the self and the ideal self. If the discrepancy between self and ideal self is large, the person is dissatisfied and maladjusted. Self-actualization denotes the dynamics which describe man as starting as an infant and going into adulthood. It goes from the simple to the complex; it starts at conception and continues throughout maturity (Bishof, 1970).

Rogers' concept of self developed out of his experiences with clinical cases; qualitative descriptions, content analysis of therapeutic protocols and the use of Q-technique constitute the principal empirical approaches of Rogers and his associates to the study of personality and in particular to the study of self. They have also employed a number of other methods consisting of approaching the person from an external frame of reference, such as the Rorschach, the TAT, the MMPI, the Bell Adjustment Inventory and the Kent-Rosanoff Word Association Test (Hall and Lindzey, 1970).

Basic criticism of the phenomenological approach has stemmed

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from arguments that the psychology of consciousness has limits, and unconscious strivings and defensive techniques of adjustment of which we are unaware do in fact warp our behaviour (Smith, 1930); or, as mentioned by Burns (1979), that in order to develop a scientific psychology, the psychologist must employ constructs that go beyond the phenomenal field of the individual. McLeod (1964), being a phenomenologist himself, observes that to build a science of psychology, one must transcend the phenomenal world by developing constructs and by anchoring observations to non-phenomenological controls. Rogers (1963), as well, claims that the phenomenological approach is not the only one for psychology, and acknowledges the importance of unsymbolized experiences, as, for example, those not made conscious, especially if connected with the rigid defensive efforts of the self to protect itself.

Epstein (1973) suggests -- very much as Kelly (1955) postulates -- that by recognizing the implicit theories that individuals have about themselves, it becomes possible to assimilate the views of phenomenologists on the nature of self-concept into a wider conceptualization which is acceptable to all psychologists. The recognition that the self-concept is a self theory solves the problem, says Epstein, of how the self can be both subject and object of what is known. He argues that each person is concerned with making sense of himself by construing patterns of events involving self. The individual's behaviour is the outcome of this unique interpretation of his environment, the focus of which is himself.

In summarizing, the contributions of several prominent theorists to the theories of the formation of self-concept have been outlined, while the focus has mainly been toward a socio- psychological view of self-concept formation. Such a view has affected psychological

thinking on the direct influence of cultural and environmental concomitants of self-concept. The focus has not ceased being on the individual but within a particular social field, since this particular study is concerned with the way the consequences of group membership for the individual are reflected in self-concept. However, one must admit that self-concept originated in, and was developed most fully by, the phenomenological school of psychology, which has been variously called 'perceptual' or 'humanistic'. The most important underpinning of the phenomenological point of view is that it seeks to comprehend man in the light of how he views himself. It seems to the writer that while the phenomenological model is useful, it certainly has not paid enough attention to the situational aspects of forming a self-concept.

2.5. Self-Esteem Theories

Despite the fact that self-esteem and self-concept have been used almost interchangeably, it was felt necessary to elaborate further the self-evaluation component of self-concept in contrast to self-picture, which is the other component of self-concept. Writers usually employ the term 'self-esteem' to characterize the component of self-evaluation.

Special attention needs to be given to the emotional substrata of the various contents of self-reflexive consciousness. A person may see himself a male, tall, handsome, professional, but the importance of these various conceptions to the person is largely determined by how he feels about them and his position with respect to them.

The pioneers in the field, like James and Cooley, have amplified this concern with one or more dimensions of self-conception. James

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(1890) discussed self-esteem in a uniquely personal manner; for him self-esteem was directly linked with, and determined by, success or failure. Our 'self-feeling' in this world depends entirely on what we present ourselves as being and doing. James' 'law' is related to what one sees oneself as 'being'. "It is determined by the ratio of our actualities to our supposed potentialities; a fraction of which our pretensions are the denominator and the numerator our success " (p. 312).

Thus:

$$\text{Self-Esteem} = \frac{\text{Success}}{\text{Pretensions} \dots}$$

Cooley (1902) gave a great deal of attention to the qualitative nature of particular self-feelings. His contribution, nevertheless, state Gordon and Gergen (1968), has not been sufficiently recognized, owing perhaps to the excessive attention given to the idea of the looking-glass self or perhaps to Cooley's literary style, which did not lend itself to fruitfulness in the empirical realm. Yet Cooley gave a strong social account of the sources and consequences of various feelings toward self and related many of them to other attributes of self, as for example, stability, receptivity versus internal concern, scope of conscience, confidence, strength, and self-sufficiency versus dependency.

It was Adler (1927), however, who first made self-esteem a major construct in personality theory. Ansbacher and Ansbacher (1956) record Adler's emphasis upon the neurotic's concern with loss of self-esteem (inferiority complex) and his striving for superiority. In Adler's approach, self-esteem was considered along with the concepts of social interest and egocentrism, thereby introducing a combined approach to the study of self-concept.

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Maslow (1937, 1942, 1954), from a clinical perspective, worked on self-concept and self-esteem, focusing on the notion of 'self-actualization'. In establishing his famous 'hierarchy of needs', Maslow postulated that basic needs take priority and have to be filled before higher needs become salient. The creation of self-esteem is a precondition for self-actualization. Man wants to know that he is worthwhile, that he can master something of his own environment, that he has a competence, an independence, a freedom, and a feeling of being recognized in some type of endeavour. Man, according to Maslow, has an inner ability to make of himself the best and fullest possible personality (Bischof, 1970).

Much more recently, the works of Rosenberg (1965), Coopersmith (1981) and Ziller (1976) attempted explicitly to develop theories of self-esteem based upon empirical studies of self-esteem and its correlates.

For Coopersmith (1967, 1981), self-esteem is a "personal judgement of worthiness which is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself" (1981, p. 5). It is a complex phenomenon involving self-evaluation, defense reactions and various manifestations of these processes. Self-esteem involves evaluative attitudes about the self, but it also involves a strong connotation of affection, along with the evaluation. Thus, Coopersmith attempted to deal both with true self-esteem (persons who actually felt worthy and valuable) and defensive self-esteem (persons who actually felt unworthy, but could not admit such threatening information).

Coopersmith divided the conceptualization of self-esteem into two parts: subjective expression and behavioural expression. By the first he meant the individual's self-perception and self-description and by the second, behavioural manifestations of the individual's

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self-esteem which are available to outside observers (Cooper-
smith, 1981). He focused on the developing characteristics by
which various social phenomena become personally relevant to the
self-evaluation process. Four major factors were postulated as
contributing to the development of self-esteem: a) the respectful,
accepting and concerned treatment which an individual receives from
others who are significant to him, b) success, c) the particular
values and aspirations through which success is filtered for each
individual and d) the individual's manner of responding to devaluation
(Ibid.). In Coopersmith's words: "The process of self-judgement de-
rives from a subjective judgement of success, with that appraisal
weighted according to the value placed upon different areas of capa-
city and performance, measured against a person's personal goals
and standards and filtered through his capacity to defend himself
against presumed or actual occurrences of failure " (p. 242).

Coopersmith formulated three conditions which seem to differ-
entiate high and low self-esteem: a) acceptance of children by
parents, b) enforcement of clearly defined limits for children by
parents and c) respect for individual initiative and latitude with-
in the limits set by the parents (Ibid.).

Rosenberg (1965, 1979) defined self-esteem in a similar view as
"a positive or negative attitude towards a particular object, namely
the self". Rosenberg's findings seem generally consistent with those
of Coopersmith. His work is somewhat more sociological, concentrating
especially upon the dynamics of the development of a positive self-
image during adolescence. He sought to examine the development of
self-evaluative behaviour, in terms of the social milieu of the adoles-
cent -- in particular the characteristics of the family -- and then
to relate self-esteem to subsequent forms of social behaviour.

Rosenberg's interest in self-esteem is from a developmental viewpoint. Nevertheless, his methodology utilizes cross-sectional sample surveys. Rosenberg suggested the effect of the individual's social context on his direct experience of insecurity and negative evaluations and of the availability of supportive reference groups, in terms of both family and peer relationships.

Ziller's (1976) approach to self-esteem is in terms of 'self-social construct'. The self is defined in association with significant others; "... self evaluation emerges largely within a social frame of reference" (Ziller et al, 1969, p. 84). Self-esteem and social interest are assumed to be the basis of consistency of social behaviour. According to Ziller (1976) self-esteem and social interest both increase up to the age of 40, when a downward trend is observed; the environmental changes which accompany growing may be the major determinants of changes in the self-concept. When the person's social environment changes, self-esteem determines the resulting changes in self-evaluation. Ziller's emphasis upon the social factor in self-evaluation leads him to call his particular construct 'social-esteem'.

The Ziller formulation seems radically different from nearly all others because it uses a Gestalt psychology vocabulary and a topological metaphor. Wells and Marwell (1976) however contend that it is difficult to assess how different it might be, because the concepts of self and self-esteem are never adequately defined in Ziller's articles; they are only described in terms of their functions.

Self-esteem in terms of self-evaluation refers to the making of a conscious judgement regarding the significance, and the importance of oneself or of facets of oneself. Three principal reference points appear pertinent in self-evaluation (Burns, 1979).

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First, the comparison of the self-image as known with the ideal self-image or the picture of the kind of person one would wish to be. This congruence or incongruence between these two selves is a concept already mentioned when discussing Rogers, and it seems to be a dominant theme in numerous approaches to psychology. The second reference point involves the internalization of the judgement of society. This assumes that self-evaluation is determined by the individual's beliefs as to how others evaluate him. This is the conceptualization of self-esteem first developed by Cooley and Mead. The third reference point involves the individual evaluating himself as a relative success or relative failure in doing what his identity entails. It does not involve the judgement that what one does is good in itself but that one is good at what one does. The pattern that emerges is of individuals fitting into an ongoing social structure as best they can.

In order for self-esteem to be operationalized for measurement purposes, it is best regarded as self-evaluation, with a phenomeno-logical orientation implied (the evaluation being subjective whether involving one's own assessment of performance or one's interpretation of the assessment of oneself made by others) both in relation to self-pointed ideals and culturally-learned standards. A positive self-concept can thus be equated with positive self-evaluations, self-respect, self-esteem, self-acceptance; a negative self-concept becomes synonymous with negative self-evaluation, self-hatred, inferiority and a lack of feelings of personal worthiness and self-acceptance. Persons with high self-appraisal and self-esteem are generally accepting of themselves; those who attribute negative values to themselves have little self-esteem, self-respect or self-acceptance (Ibid.).

The evaluated set of beliefs combines several perspectives which

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can be separated in measurement procedures. Staines (1954), an
important British writer on self-concept, proposed three perspec-
tives and it is this triad which most workers have followed:

1) The basic self, the concept of the person as he thinks he is, is
   generally termed the cognized or real self.

2) The other self or social self is the self as the individual be-
   lieves others see and evaluate him. These impressions and in-
   ferences from statements, actions, subtle gestures of others
   towards the individual gradually establish a self-concept as the
   person believes he is seen by others and will come to include
   a point of view on all aspects of the organized self.

3) The ideal self is the kind of person the individual hopes to be
   or would like to be. It is a set of interpretations about the
   individual when he is revealing his most personal wants and
   aspirations, part wish and part ought.

The social and real selves must contain similarity of content.
In contrast, various degrees of discrepancy are usually measurable
between the content of the ideal and that of the cognized selves. The
ideal may not be in touch with reality at all. The concept of the
ideal self is of great importance in therapy. Horney (1945) has
shown that when the discrepancy between the ideal self and the cog-
nized self is great, then the person may suffer a depression through
its unattainability. Murray (1953) described the idealized picture
of the self as a set of ambitions leading to a goal conceived by the
person as himself at his highest aspiration. For Erikson (1956)
it is the ideal self that is to be striven for, even though never quite
attainable. According to Allport (1961) the ideal self-concept de-
fines one's goals for the future. In Combs and Soper's (1957) words,
"In the ideal self is the aggregate of those characteristics of self

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which the person feels are necessary to attain adequacy and some-
times unfortunately perfection." (p. 140). For many self-concept
theorists the ideal self is an important aspect and through rein-
forced social learning, a person accepts the cultural ideal or norm
with respect to a specified characteristic or behaviour as his own
personal idea.

2.6.   Empirical Research

The work of Coopersmith, Rosenberg and Ziller's measurement of
self-esteem was emphasized in the previous section, integrated with-
in a system of inquiry which includes theory and research. However,
as Ziller (1976) mentions, in the problem area of the social self,
measurement has been the missing link. In Ziller's words: "The
area was in a state of disarray and doubt, although theory and re-
search abounded. Without adequate measures and related research,
theory tends to become spirals of gossamer discourse. On the other
hand, without at least an incunabular framework, measurement and
research may be characterized as buzzing confusion." (p. xviii).

Empirical research on the self-concept has focused mainly on
three major areas. One group of studies has tried to answer the
question of what determines the self-concept. A second major group
of studies has traced the formation and development of self-concept,
assuming that different elements of self-conceptions are perceived
at different times. The third area of interest has been the relation
of self-concept to education and more specifically to learning,
academic attainment, school organization and school climate.

A brief review of research findings in each of these three areas
will be attempted.

2.6.1.   The Determinants of Self-Concept

The relationship of the child with the significant others is
a very important determinant of self-concept. It is his relation-
ships with those people who are important enough to have significance
to the child by reason of his sensing their ability to reduce insecur-
ity or intensify it, to increase or decrease his helplessness,and to
promote or to diminish his sense of worth. Parents are presumed to
be the most significant others in a child's environment, their role
being taken over to a smaller or to a greater extent by the teacher
and later on by the peer group. The assumption that the development
and change in the concept of self are direct functions of the response
of significant others, at least in its general outline, has signifi-
cant empirical support.

A series of studies initiated by Videbeck (1960) and continued
by Maehr, Mensing and Nafzger (1962) and by Haas and Maehr (1965)
has rather thoroughly demonstrated that the concept of self does
vary predictably with the reaction of significant others. Ludwig
and Maehr (1967) supported empirically two critical hypotheses of
self-concept theory: a) self-concept change is a function of the
reaction of significant others and b) changes in self-concept even-
tuate in consonant changes in reported behavioural preference
and choice.

The child emerging into the stage of self-consciousness has
nothing upon which to base a self-estimate. Hence, with parents
holding a virtual monopoly on communications, their attitudes have
particularly powerful significance for his self-esteem (Rosenberg,1965).

Carlson (1958) and Silver (1958) emphasized parental atti-
tudes. Silver found that the level of the self-concept ratings is
significantly associated with paternal acceptance and to a lesser de-

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gree with maternal acceptance. On the contrary, the mother was mentioned as an esteem source by a substantially higher percentage of subjects than was the father in a study by Kirchner and Vondraek (1975). This finding is congruent with studies indicating that both male and female children regard fathers as more punitive, more threatening and less friendly than mothers (Kagan and Lemkin, 1960). On the other hand, Rosenberg (1965) argued that adolescents who had closer relationships with their fathers were higher in self-esteem than those with more distant, impersonal relationships.

Mistry (1960) suggested that emotional security with parents is essential for the development of realistic and positive self-concepts. Wessman and Ricks (1966) also stressed the relationship of personal respect and interest to a worthwhile sense of self. Sears (1970) showed that early parental warmth is associated with high self-concept in later adulthood.

In Coopersmith's relevant study (1967) parental warmth was measured concurrently with the children's self-esteem at the age of 12, while Sears measured the warmth 7 years earlier when the children were 5 years old. Both studies suggested that whether maternal warmth is measured in the child's early life or when he reaches age 12, there is a tendency for warm and accepting mothers (and fathers) to have children with high self-esteem. Coopersmith (1981) found also that differences between persons varying in self-esteem were strongly associated with child-rearing practices, especially the sort of rules and disciplines imposed by the parents on the children. Positive self-concepts are more likely to emerge in children who are treated with respect, provided with well-defined standards and with reasonable expectations of success. One's development of the ability to respond constructively to challenge seems essential to becoming

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a person who evaluates himself as of some worth. On the other hand, the freedom to explore the environment in an unrestricted and unguided way coupled with consistent permissiveness appears to engender anxiety, doubts about self worth, low expectations of success and an inability to develop sound social relationships based on mutual respect.

Washburn (1962) argued that parents who are too strict, insufficiently protective, or over-critical may interfere with the attainment by their children of a mature self-concept. The father's attitude, if over-critical and highly unprotective, reduces the adolescent's opinion of himself. Similarly Sears (1970) suggested that the powerful role of the father in the controlling and decision-making activities of the family is associated with poor self-concept in boys. Coopersmith's (1981) findings with respect to boys were quite similar.

Thomas (1971) concluded that the family influence on the individual child is more important for the growth of self-concept than is that of the social class of which he is a member (in Thomas, 1973). Similarly, Rosenberg (1965) discerned that it is the amount of parental attention and concern which was strongly associated with levels of self-esteem and not variables such as social class.

It has been conventionally accepted that parents are the founts of the young child's self-concept through their position as significant others emitting salient feedback. However, from the phenomenal point of view it seems necessary to look from the child's perspective. Are parents the prime esteem source they are theoretically assumed to be? Rosenberg (1979) notes that not all significant others are equally significant, and those who are more significant have greater influence on the self-concept. That particular

others are not equally significant has often been noted (Sullivan, 1953; Rose, 1962; Hughes, 1962; Manis, 1955; Stryker, 1962). In most discussions, however, the reported significant others are involved; that is, the investigator assumes that the other is significant. For example, Sullivan (1953) assumes that parents are significant others, Denzin (1966) that professors, classmates and spouses are significant others, while Manis (1955) assumes that friends are significant others.

Kirchner and Vondraek (1975) produced results which contradicted the traditional view of the importance of parents. Peers and siblings were cited as esteem-sources by higher percentages of children than were mothers and fathers. While age comparisons were non-significant, sex comparisons indicated that females reported significantly more esteem-sources and mentioned mother, father and siblings significantly more often than males. The potency of peers and siblings and their precedence over parents as sources of self-esteem is unexpected and challenges the universal tenet of self-esteem theorists who consider peers as of influence only in later childhood. These results by Kirchner and Vondraek are consonant with earlier views of Bronfenbrenner (1971) and Borke (1972). Kirchner's and Vondraek's results suggest that, in fact, young children have strong, positive affective responses to age-mates and support Borke's contention that traditional thinking about young children's interpersonal perceptions should be reassessed.

Wooster and Harris (1972) showed that the high mobility of children of armed service personnel impairs the development of the self-concept, since some major sources of the self image, such as comparison with significant others, learning from others' reactions and role playing are more restricted than in 'static' children. In general,

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his changing sources of self information leave the mobile child
bewildered and unable to cope with the tasks of making judgements
about himself.

In a cross-cultural study, Ziller et al (1968) investigated
differences in family relationships between Asian Indian and American
children which were presumed to be related to self-esteem.
The extended family environment of the Indian child is presumed to
have implications for his self-concept. In contrast to the American
child, the Indian possesses higher self-esteem, higher social in-
terest and higher identification with parents and teacher. Ziller
argued that this difference is a result of Indian self-identity and
family identity being intertwined in a close network.

In the upper primary school years the child's self-concept con-
tinues to modify as it is influenced by his expanding social environ-
ment. The new levels of self-expression derived from more advanced
schoolwork, new levels of attainment and competency, extracurricular
activities and complex group activities generally raise self-esteem.
Ability and talents are usually evaluated in terms of school stand-
ing, peer acceptance, athletic pursuits and popularity. Thus, at
this stage of life, the self-concept is based on an expanded frame
of social relationships and comparative performances. The child
has an increased sensitivity to the approval and disapproval of a new
set of significant others, particularly peers and teachers. Carlson
(1958) found a positive relationship between self-concept and peer
status. Silver (1958) concluded that the level of self-concept ratings
of children was a measure of interpersonal attraction. Griffit (1969)
showed that the attraction of undergraduates to each other was sig-
nificantly affected by the similarity of the self-concept, and Kipnis
(1981) also proposed positive self-evaluation of friends as a major

factor in later self-evaluation.

School then continues and augments the processes that are involved in developing a self-picture as Staines (1958) has shown so well in his study of the subtle influences of teachers through their verbal and non-verbal communication to pupils. Mistry (1960) indicated that the school is second only to the home in determining an individual's attitudes of self-acceptance and self-rejection. The importance of self-concept in the context of education will be dealt with later on in a different section.

Most of the studies relating child self-concept to family life show the importance of parents as models in the socialization of the child. They indicate that lack of parental attention, absence of affection, lack of firm rules, severe punishment and family tension have an adverse effect on self-concept development and depress levels of self-esteem. Research to date generally pays more attention to the role of the mother than to that of the father, and further studies are needed of the paternal self-concept and its effect on the self-cpncept of the child (Thomas, 1980).

2.6.2 Development of Self-Concept

This section could be regarded as overlapping in a sense with the previous one, since what determines the self-concept was viewed there through a developmental approach. However, this present section mainly focuses on how self-concept is developed.

It has often been said that infants have no sense of self-concept, that they cannot distinguish themselves from other people. It would be wrong, however, to ask if infants have, or do not have, a sense of self because a sense of self is not achieved in a single step; it is not something that is either present or absent; it develops by degrees

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and is a product of more and more complex understandings.

Sherif and Cantril (1947) cite instances from earlier writings of Tiedman (1787), Preyer (1880) and Baldwin (1895) illustrating the gradual delimitation and development of the self. From their observations of children they concluded that at first the young child is not clear as to what is 'self' and what is 'not self'. Baldwin (1897) wrote: "For a long time the child's sense of self includes too much. It includes the infant's mother and little brother and nurse in a literal sense. To be separated from his mother is to lose a part of himself as much as to be separated from a hand or a foot." One of the most important of Baldwin's ideas concerned the close relationship between one's self conception and his views of others. Essentially, he gave a very social account of the dialectical processes of role-playing and of imputing a self to others engaged in interactions.

Self-recognition is the first major step in establishing one's identity. Gallup's (1977) work has shown that within the animal kingdom only the great apes can learn to recognize themselves in a mirror. Lewis and Brooks (1974) and Bertenthal and Fisher (1978) have shown that human children can recognize themselves by about the age of eighteen months.

2.6.2.1. Body Image

A person's physical makeup is fundamental to the development of the body image which is the image a person has of himself as a physical being. The relationship between body build and personality is an issue that has interested researchers from the early part of the century. (Kretschmer, 1925; Sheldon and Stevens, 1942; Brodsky, 1954; Jourard and Secord, 1955; Calden et al, 1959; Walker, 1962; Staffieri,

1972; Mahoney and Finch, 1976; Lerner et al, 1975). Bodily feelings and body image become the core of the self-concept in the first few years of life. Again at adolescence emphasis on the physical qualities of the individual are strongly marked and at these periods physical attributes can have considerable effect on the development of a person's overall concept. Feelings about the body are significant personality variables (Jourard and Secord, 1955).

Like all other elements of self-conception body image is strictly subjective, but no other element is more open to private and public evaluation. When one's body is disliked because of deviation from norms for function or appearance, replicated evidence shows that anxiety, insecurity and low self-esteem are regular correlates (Jourard, 1964).

There is evidence of sex differences with respect to evaluation of one's looks. Girls are more likely than boys to be critical of their looks, both in general and with reference to specific characteristics. Moreover, dissatisfaction with looks has a somewhat more adverse effect on the self-concept of girls than on that of boys (Rosenberg, 1972).

Richardson, Hastorf and Dornbusch (1964) obtained self-descriptions from handicapped and non-physically handicapped children in order to examine the effects of physical disability on a child's conception of himself. It was shown that what these children, aged ten and eleven, lacked most was social involvement and experience, thus leading to an impoverishment of their category usages pertaining to interpersonal relations.

By the age of three, children are beginning to develop a sense of the psychological self -- an inner, private, thinking person hidden from the purview of others -- and children can distinguish this psychological self from the bodily self that other people see (Maccoby,

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1980). Bannister and Agnew (1976) in an attempt to understand how children define and recognize this psychological self, traced some interesting changes which occur between the ages of five and nine. Initially children think of themselves in terms of appearance and activities, soon include their sex as an element in self-definition, then their likes and dislikes, after which they gradually begin to conceptualize themselves more abstractly.

Children learn to anticipate how others will react to what they do, and they begin to tailor their actions to different audiences, depending on the nature of the social self they wish to project. At this point they become more guarded in the nature of their self-disclosure to others. With accumulating experience children begin to limit their choices of activities, their aspirations, and achievements. In consequence, the self-concept becomes differentiated. Children begin to think of themselves as having certain skills and not having others and as being virtuous in some respects and not so virtuous in other respects (Maccoby, 1980).

2.6.2.2.   Language and Self-Concept Development

The concept of self receives further elaboration and refinement as children achieve mastery of language. The development of language aids the development of the self-concept, for the use of 'me', 'he', and 'them' serve to distinguish self from others. Language symbols also form the basis of conceptions and evaluations about the self. Feedback from others is often verbal in nature (Burns, 1979). Most children commence using such pronouns as 'mine', 'me', 'you' and 'I' if sometimes inaccurately, approximately in that order from around two years of age (Gesell and Ilg, 1949). Sherif and Cantril (1947) claim that the use of such pronouns serves as conceptualization of

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self and others.

Mead (1934) notes that among the most significant adult vocalizations, from the standpoint of the child, are those that have to do with himself. These are picked up, imitated and gradually incorporated in the evolving system of signals or cues which the child uses to stimulate himself.

Young children mix up the 'you' and the 'I', because they cannot imitate them directly. It requires intelligent learning in transposition of what the child learns: the adult speaking to the child uses 'I' to refer to himself and 'you' to refer to the child, whereas the child must learn that he in turn uses 'I' and addresses the adult as 'you' (Stone and Church, 1968). Wolfenstein (1968) concluded that self-awareness becomes increasingly apparent when the child correctly distinguishes between I, you, mine and yours, and knows his name designates him and him alone.

Piaget believes that even if the child uses language, much of his talk is for himself, that is, egocentric speech, even when in the company of others. He, as a speaker, already knows the information to be communicated and, in his egocentrism, cannot really take the role of someone who does not know it and communicate accordingly. Similarly, his syncretic handling of the proverb-sentence task can be attributed to the same pervasive egocentrism (Flavell, 1963).

2.6.2.3.   The Ideal Self

When older children and adults are asked to describe themselves, most of them are able to make a distinction between what they think they are and what they would like to be or think they ought to be. A person's view of what he aspires to be or believes he ought to be is referred to as the 'ideal self', as already mentioned in the   .

classical Rogerian view.

The ideal self serves as an internalized standard made up of hopes and aspirations based on what an individual knows that his group or culture value highly. Certain definite values will be reflected in the ideal self. For example, in studies in Jamaica that are reported in Phillips (1973) it is not surprising to find an emphasis, in the ideal self, on material success. Jamaican society values people who are materially successful and the ideal towards which adolescents strive naturally incorporates this value (Thomas, 1980).

Jorgensen and Howell (1969) noted that the discrepancy between self and ideal self increases between eight and thirteen years as the child becomes more aware of parental and societal standards. The classic accounts of ideal self are still those of Havighurst and MacDonald (1955) and Havighust, Robinson and Dorr (1946), dealing with Australian and American children and adolescents respectively. Both studies show the same developmental trend, beginning with identification in early childhood with a parental figure, ending in late adolescence with the ideal self symbolized by an attractive adult or an imaginary person who is a composite of desirable qualities. Intermediate is a stage of romanticism, when the ideal self is an unreal, glamorous figure or a character in juvenile fiction with superhuman attributes. Some children seem to miss this intermediate stage; others experience it more quickly; and others prolong it into late adolescence; thus it is not clear whether all children reach the composite stage. It is possible that some may never achieve the ability to conceive an ideal self who is composite or imaginary. Both studies suggest that children from lower social class tend to see a glamorous person as the ideal self and fewer of them describe a composite than do higher status children(inThomas, 1980).

Katz and Zigler (1967) and Katz, Zigler and Zelk (1975) pro-
duced results suggesting that a gap between the ego ideal and the
real self increases in a linear fashion with age, with the greatest
change occurring between the levels of ten and thirteen years. They
suggested that this disparity is an adaptive feature to be expected
in adolescent personality and that it is a sign of maturing rather
than disturbance, challenging the congruence-versus-incongruence view
formulated by Rogers, Horney and others.

In a review of research, Fransella and Frost (1977) suggest
that women are faced, on the one hand, by a strong process of role
identification mediated by rosy promises from a fantasy ideal and,
on the other hand, particularly as regards parenthood, by a distinct-
ly grim and unfulfilling reality.

In summarizing his attitude towards the ideal self, Maccoby
(1980) says that during the latter part of the grade school years most
children develop a concept of the kind of person they would like to
be. In normal children, this image is truly ideal, in the sense that
it has more positive qualities and fewer negative ones than the
children think they currently possess. We do not know the precise
function of the ideal self-image but children probably try actively
to shape their own behaviour toward this ideal. Children whose aspira-
tions do not include an ideal self which is in some ways better or more
mature than the current self seem to remain impulsive longer than
normally developing children.

2.6.2.4.   Self-Concept and Adolescence

The self-concept and its relation to adolescence is a very in-
teresting facet when tracing the development of self. From Erikson's
traditional perspective, the task of adolescence is seen as one of

securing a firm identity and avoiding identity diffusion. Adolescence is accepted as the time when each person needs to re-examine and re-evaluate himself physically, socially and emotionally in relation to those close to him and to society in general.

Erikson (1968) contends that the child's concern for "how others view me" becomes progressively more important with the approach of puberty and reaches a peak in adolescence. Successful or unsuccessful applications of rules for attaining social acceptance result in increasingly more dramatic shifts in empathic self-judgement and a search for different and often more complex self-concept rules for achieving social acceptance and independence. It is through the successful acquisition and application of such rules in adolescence that the child forms an ego identity associated with maturity.

Identity evolves from a complex of identifications and from awareness of one's power and weakness and of one's place in the social context. In earlier times, when potential identifications were limited, it was comparatively simple to form a stable self-image. But now there are confusingly numerous and often inconsistent possible identifications; the field is open. A multiplicity of identifications and images are being systematically offered by the mass media. All kinds of models, often very inconsistent with the models provided by the surrounding subculture, can be overwhelming in the search to establish a sound self-concept. Moreover, the adolescent has to attain his identity in a depersonalized, complex, modern society where the insignificance and alienation of the individual are predominant. This technological, implacable hurricane, claims Burns (1979), does not help an adolescent to gain a sense of personal identity. The adolescent is called upon to make life's choices in a complex society full of status ambiguities for him. These ambiguities cannot but be

reflected in a corresponding ambiguity and confusion of self-definition (Ibid.).

However, a lot of surveys regarding self-concept of adolescents support the view that self-concept is quite stable in adolescence. Engle (1959) found a relative stability of self-concept between thirteen and fifteen, and fifteen and seventeen. Carlson (1965) showed that median self-esteem scores remained identical for both boys and girls over a six-year period, between the ages of twelve and eighteen. Piers and Harris (1964) compared the stability of self-concept over a four-month period among eight-, ten- and fifteen-year-olds and found no differences due to age. Coopersmith (1981), working with children in the fifth and sixth grades, stated that self estimate is very stable at this age. Simmons, Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1973) conducted a study to determine when the adolescent self-image disturbance occurs. Evidence was presented suggesting that the child's environment may have a stronger effect than his age in producing such changes, and that, while disturbance appears, it lies in early adolescence and not, as Erikson hypothesized, in late adolescence. This may also be related to the movement into secondary school, a highly significant event for many children.

In a large-scale study by Coleman (1974) results supported the view that the self-concept is relatively stable throughout adolescence. The proportions of disturbed youngsters remained constant at each age, with no differences between the two sexes at each age level. Monge (1973) also produced no evidence suggesting a restructuring of the self-concept at and after puberty. The self-concepts of students also appear to remain relatively stable over a nine-year period in a cross-sectional study by Vidoni (1976).

Nisbet and Entwistle (1969) have shown that the period of tran-

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sition from primary to secondary school is one which can have pro-
found effects on the individual child, affecting both his academic
performance and personality in different ways. A number of fac-
tors including type of school, organization, teacher attitudes and
ability level of the child, interact in a complex fashion to in-
fluence the pupils' self-concept. The act of transferring from a
small school, which orientates itself around the needs of a young-
er child, to a much larger school, which caters for the needs of the
adolescent, will effect a considerable change in the child's view
of himself in relation to members of his new school society. It
can be expected that the experience of transfer of school will also
affect a child's self-concept level (Alban Metcalfe, 1981).

As a concluding comment, it would seem that change in self-
concept in adolescence for most children is dependent on experiences
being subjectively interpreted as traumatic, such as violent change
of environment, role and status (Burns, 1979).

2.6.2.5. Sex Differences

Another keystone in the development of self-concept is the con-
cept of being a masculine or a feminine person. A substantial num-
ber of functions outside the basic sexual one are rooted in these
concepts. Whatever attributes the individual infers he possesses,
the global self-concept rarely appears in the neuter gender.

Amatora (1957) found differences in self-ratings of elementary
school boys and girls. Boys tended to underrate themselves as com-
pared to their ratings by girls and teachers. Girls tended to over-
rate themselves on intelligence, sociability, neatness and quickness
(in Thomas, 1973).

Kohn and Fiedler (1961) found that high school and college girls

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rated themselves higher on self-esteem scores than did boys, and sex difference was altogether significant. Kosa, Rachiele and Schommer (1962) quoted significant differences in college students, the girls rating themselves academically less able than the boys. It is apparent, also, that markedly different subcultures may also lead to marked differences in the ratings of different sexes, as Phillips (1964) found in a teacher training situation.

Characteristics related to traditional sex role conceptions show greatest resistance to change (Kagan and Moss, 1962) with characteristics conceived as feminine (e.g. passivity, dependency) showing a high degree of stability from childhood to adulthood in females but not in males. Similarly, aggression is highly stable in males, but not in females. Most studies of adolescents' self-concepts find boys holding more positive self-concepts than girls. One reason for this could be that masculine attributes are more highly valued in Western society than are feminine ones (e.g. Sheriffs and McKee, 1957).The concepts of the ideal male and ideal female are fairly congruent with accepted sex role stereotypes. Hence, it is not surprising that female self-concepts tend in general to be less positive than those of the male, as the female stereotype contains less positive items when judged socially. A female has a built-in disadvantage, even in attaining the ideal. She is trapped if she does not fit the stereotype, with the possibility of derogation from others, but if she does achieve the ideal for a Western woman she then possesses self-concepts containing some traits which are less than positive.

Ponzo and Wray Strowig (1973) showed that feminine-orientated girls tended to become more traditionally feminine, while boys who were unsure of their masculinity strove to demonstrate their mas-

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culinity in ways that impeded achievement. Bohan (1973) reported that adolescent girls showed a marked drop in self-concept compared with male peers and younger girls. As the adolescent girl comes to recognize that the role she is expected to assume as a female is relatively inferior in prestige to the male role, the assumption of her sexual role results in corresponding decrease in her own evaluation of herself. The adolescent girl accepts and internalizes the cultural evaluation of her role as inferior and so values herself low. In contrast the male recognizes his role in society as a relatively highly valued one. On the other hand, Tolor, Kelly and Stebbins (1976) have shown that women who reject their sex role stereotype display greater assertiveness and more positive self-concepts (Burns, 1979).

Smith (1975) applied Sears' Self-Concept Inventory to upper primary school pupils. A sex difference appeared in most aspects of the self-concept measured. Boys consistently rated themselves more favorably than girls on seven out of nine subscales (physical ability, appearance, convergent mental ability, divergent mental ability, social relations, social virtues, school performance). On the remaining two scales (work habits, happy qualities) the boys were slightly but not significantly ahead. This indicates that as early as middle childhood girls were beginning to evaluate themselves less favourably than boys.

Veness (1962) also found boys more concerned than girls with school progress. Carlson (1965) in a longitudinal study of high school students through early adolescence found no sex differences in either level or stability of self-esteem. Social orientation in the pre-adolescent was associated with declining self-esteem over a six-year period for girls, but no trends were evident in the boys' data. Carlson suggests that self-esteem is a relatively stable dimension

of self and independent of sex role, though sex differences must be considered in conceptualizing the development and dynamics of the self-concept. Herman (1971) found significant sex differences in tenth-grade non-matriculation students, with girls more concerned with weight, appearance, personal relationships and boys more concerned with school progress.

Kagan, Hosken and Watson (1961) using projective techniques and interviews with children aged six to eight, found that, in comparison to girls, boys labelled themselves stronger, larger, more dangerous, darker, more angular. This is a valuable study because little is known of self-concept at such an early age. Ellerman (1980) tested the self-regard of primary school children in an Australian rural setting and the analysis of variance indicated that boys saw themselves more favourably than girls.

Rosenberg (1972), in an extensive study of 2,000 children, showed that both girls and boys show very similar patterns of development; girls, however, do experience somewhat more intense and prolonged disturbance of the self-concept in early adolescence. Girls also are more likely than boys to be critical of their looks, both in general and with reference to specific characteristics. Moreover, dissatisfaction with looks has, as already mentioned, a somewhat more adverse effect on the self-concept of girls than of boys. Finally, both girls and boys grow more concerned with being well-liked as they emerge into adolescence. Both sexes are about equally interested in certain self attributes such as smartness and good looks. However, while small boys and girls are equally concerned with such values as honesty, morality and being good, there is increasing sex divergence in adolescence. Girls continue to care very much about these attributes while boys show considerably less concern. There is

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some suggestion that older boys are increasingly concerned with problems of the future.

Other studies (Gove and Herb, 1974; Offer and Howard, 1972; Offer, Ostrov and Howard, 1977; Simmons and Rosenberg, 1975) have found that adolescent girls have poorer self-images than adolescent boys, especially when younger adolescents are studied. Peterson, Offer and Kaplan (1979) state that little is known about the causes of this sex-related difference though it is likely to be multideter-mined (e.g. Petersen, 1978).

2.6.3. Self-Concept in Education

The area of education has produced a considerable amount of experimental data on the behavioural manifestation of self-concept. Virtually all the research in this area, as in the rest of the self-concept field, is American. Studies on the self-concept in Britain are few (Burns, 1979). Staines (1958), however, was among the first to call into question the procedures of the classroom in relation to the developing self-picture of the child.

2.6.3.1. Self-Concept and Achievement

A lot of studies have examined the dynamics of the relationship between self-concept and achievement, as e.g. recently Nash's (1976) and Burns' (1977). Achievement in school may be seen either in a narrow sense of success or in the wider sense of the pupil's overall achievement motivation. A positive correlation between self-concept and achievement has often been indicated (Reeder, 1955 ; Coopersmith, 1959; Walsh, 1956; Piers and Harris, 1964;Cattell et al, 1966; Campbell, 1967; Jones and Grieneeks, 1970; Simon and Simon, 1975; Stenner and Katzenmeyer, 1976). Campbell (1965) reported that the relationship

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decreases at progressively higher grade levels, that the relation-
ship is higher for boys than for girls, and that the mean school-
related self-concept score differs in value for boys and girls, with
girls attaining higher scores. Fink (1962), Shaw and Alves (1962),
Shaw, Edson and Bell (1960), Purkey (1970), Bledsoe (1964), have all
discerned consistent sex differences which seem to suggest that boys
see achievement as more important in their self-concept than do girls.
Perhaps such sex differences are due to social expectations for males
in Western society.

Ellerman (1980) established the development of a sequence by
which children who are doing poorly in school increasingly come to
hold a more negative view of themselves, through repeated experience
of failure. Wylie (1974), commenting on studies of self-concept and
achievement emphasized that pupils who have generally poor self-
regard may react to failure or stress with greater anxiety than sub-
jects who have high regard. Burn (1979) supported the idea that
given the heavy emphasis on competition and the pressures applied by
teachers and most parents on children to achieve success, it is not
surprising that children employ academic attainment as an important
index of self-worth. Self-conception can affect performance at quite
an early age, too. Wattenberg and Clifford (1964) have found that
an unfavourable self-conception and achievement are already establish-
ed in many children before they enter first grade.

Brookover, Thomas and Paterson (1964) stated that a positive
self-conception is important but, by itself, a positive self-esteem
will not guarantee success. The correlations they gave are higher
than those usually obtained because the scale was specifically de-
signed to tap school-related self-conception. There has been some
conflicting evidence, but the weight of the evidence suggests that

self-concept as measured by these several independent researchers, does make a difference. Eubank (1962) reported a study with fourth- and sixth-grade children in which no significant differences were found between the means of intelligence and achievement scores for high and low self-concept groups. Thomas (1980) also found that correlation between self-concept and attainment measures was negligible.

The field of self versus ideal self discrepancy and achievement has seen a number of studies. Chickering (1958) found that achievement appears more closely related to the actual self than to the ideal, whereas Coopersmith (1960) found that low self-concept is associated with high achievement when high achievement need (ideal self) is present. For Borislow (1962), also, the crucial factor seemed to be whether the student intended to strive for success. Borislow's work suggests that the relation between self-concept and academic performance is complex, with motivation requiring to be inserted into the formula, as well as the necessity for a differentiation between global self-conception and self-concept in a student.

Turner and Vanderlippe (1958) obtained non-significant trends towards higher grade-point averages amongst subjects with high self-ideal congruence. Perkins (1958) reported no relationship over six months between changes in self-ideal congruence and changes in achievement, while Mitchell (1959) showed that his self-rejecting group did as well in school as the self-accepting one.

Some studies reveal intelligence as unrelated to self-concept (Phillips, 1964; Zahran, 1970), but the majority of studies would appear to indicate a small positive correlation between the two variables (Bledsoe, 1964; Piers and Harris,1964; Coopersmith, 1967; Hishiki, 1969; Simon and Simon, 1975).

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2.6.3.2.   The Expectation Effect

The reciprocal influence of self-concept and academic per-
formance is made more complex by the interpolation of adult expec-
tations into the process to form a circular effect, setting in mo-
tion a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. 'Teacher expectation', 'self-
fulfilling prophecy' and 'teacher faith' are terms variously used to
imply that teachers and experimenters produce their own reality com-
mensurate with their own perceptions. Further, once the teacher
has created his reality, the child in his charge makes his own
reality -- a reality apparently substantially grounded in the reality
of the teacher (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968).

Rosenthal hypothesized that teachers' differential behaviour
toward pupils is dependent upon how they perceive the pupils as
learners. On the basis of these perceptions, then, pupils were be-
lieved to mirror these expectations in their school performances.
Rosenthal and Jacobson submitted to elementary teachers a list of
randomly selected academic 'bloomers'; the teachers' communication
of these expectancies was reflected in significantly greater intel-
lectual gains in 'bloomers' than in other children. Rosenthal's
dramatic conclusions stimulated immediate academic criticism as well
as wide popular acclaim (Brown, 1973). The study has also been cri-
ticized on statistical grounds by numerous educationalists but,
nevertheless, it stimulated further research (Parlady, 1969; Pippert,
1969; Brophy and Good, 1970; Mendoza et al, 1971; Rothbart et al, 1971;
Rubovits and Maehr, 1971; Seaver, 1971).

Davidson's and Lang's (1960) major findings were that the chil-
dren's perception of their teachers' feelings toward them correlated
positively and significantly with self-perception. The child with the
more favourable self-image was the one who more likely than not per-

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ceived his teachers' feelings toward him more favourably. The more positive the children's perception of their teachers' feeling, the better was their academic achievement and the more acceptable their classroom behaviour as rated by the teachers. At the same time, Davidson and Lang found that children in the upper and middle social class groups perceived their teachers' feelings toward them more favourably than did the children in the lower social class group. Social class position was also found to be positively related to achievement in school. Pedersen (1966) and Zahran (1967) also showed that the teacher has a significant impact on a student's level of aspiration and performance.

Smith, Zingale and Coleman (1976) also traced the relationship of socioeconomic status to expectation and self-concept. They stated that parents and teachers expect children from higher socioeconomic background to excel academically, relative to socioeconomically disadvantaged children. When children from high socioeconomic homes experience academic failure, the discrepancy between adult expectations and child performance is comparatively great. This expectancy-performance discrepancy results in lowered self-concept. On the other hand, children with disadvantaged backgrounds do not experience lowered self-concept as a result of academic failure, since the adult expectancy-child performance discrepancy is relatively small.

Palfrey (1973) further suggested that it is not only the teachers but the headteachers as well who, through their continuous communication with the pupils and staff, not only serve to enhance or diminish the child's evaluation of himself but can also contribute to the self-image of the pupils in their charge. This reflects the headteachers' highly subjective evaluation of the pupils both as 'clients' and also as human beings.

Hogan and Green (1971) found that the teacher's sex might also influence self-concept in children and showed how in the inner-city schools the male elementary teacher was better than his female counterpart in obtaining higher self-concepts in children.

Several studies have examined growth in self-esteem through different practical methods, either by incorporating behaviours believed appropriate to the healthy development or their pupils' self-concept (Staines, 1958; Chadwick, 1967) or by counselling in the Rogerian sense, in the behavioural learning tradition or even in a combination of both (Bruce,1958; Pigge, 1970; Laurence, 1971, 1972; Cooper, 1974). Certainty and differentiation about the self were found to increase significantly.

2.6.3.3.   School Organization

Type of school and school organization also seem to influence self-concept. Barth (1972) has suggested a relationship between self-confidence and the freedom to make choices about one's learning activities. Shiffler et al (1977) found a positive relationship between self-concept and the amount of task-oriented behaviour. Bell et al (1977) showed that children from an informal, open-space school were more willing to accept responsibility for negative intellectual events as compared with children from traditional classrooms. Choice of school program (Hudson, 1968; Herman, 1971), traditional or modern approach to learning (Minuchin, 1964), out-of-school activities (Beker, 1960; Clifford and Clifford, 1967; Payne et al, 1970) were all found to relate to self-concept. The children in modern schools were found to have more differentiated self-concepts, less stereotyped sex role perception, and less orientation to the future than their traditionally educated peers (Minuchin, et al, 1969).

Acland's (1973) survey of research on streaming in primary
schools suggests that 'non-streamers' believe that non-streaming has
an enhancing effect on pupils' self-concept. The most detailed
research relating to self-concept and streaming is by Barker Lunn
(1970) which revealed that school organization and teacher type
affected only the self-concepts of average and below-average pupils.
The poorest self-concepts in the average ability range were held by
pupils in the unstreamed schools but taught by teachers who favoured
streaming. Ferri (1971) in a follow-up study, and later on, Wiseman
(1973) and Thomas (1974) all agree that grouping procedures them-
selves have a minimal effect on self-concept, and it is the teacher's
attitude and expectancy that are vitally important. Teachers who
favour streaming but teach in an unstreamed school create a context
similar to that in a streamed school, full of evaluational and com-
petitive overtones, because what streaming does is to raise the ex-
pectation effect.

As a concluding comment, it is not only the form of organization
that matters but the attitudes, values and personal philosophy of
the teaching staff involved in articulating the system, the sort of
expectation they held for certain types of pupils, the teaching styles
and organization they feel most comfortable with and the attitudes
they hold about themselves. It would seem that the self-concept is
an integral part of any learning situation because it plays an in-
evitable part in both the outcomes and conditions of learning whether
the teacher is aiming for it or not. Thus, self-understanding and
relationships with others are such a crucial part of one's life that
they ought to form a major part of any educational program (Burns,1979).

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2.7. Overview

So far, the major theoretical issues concerning the self have been covered and an extensive report of empirical results has been cited. The review of the relevant literature has reached a point where some evaluative comments seem necessary. The examination of the various self theories has made clear a number of unresolved dichotomies that dominate the scene, such as the conceptualization of self as an object or as an agent; the self perceived as a phenomenal or a nonphenomenal variable; the self interpreted as a structure versus a process; the self as a single entity versus the self as multiple; the self as fact versus the self as a hypothetical construct; self consistency versus inconsistency.

Today theorists seem to agree that self theory seems to have fallen short of its promise. After an exhaustive review of the literature pertaining to the self-concept, Diggory (1966) concluded that: "All the extant theories of the self are sterile from the point of view of scientific knowledge " (p.63). Wylie (1974), in an evaluative conclusion of her extensive review on self-concept, referred to several deplorable findings. "Consideration of all the materials in this volume leads inevitably to the conclusion that the present state of affairs leaves much to be desired, differing all too little from the situation described in the 1961 edition of this book..." (p. 315). Her arguments seem to concern both the theoretical and methodological shortcomings. Wylie believes that on the one hand the "persisting primitive state of theory undoubtedly is a factor in determining the continuing methodological limitation," (p. 315) and as a remedy she suggests support of research evidence that would make theorizing more fruitfully scientific. The ultimate scientific usefulness of self-referent constructs is something that

has to be pointed out. On the other hand, "Methodology in self-concept research has not shown the improvements one might have hoped for," (p. 317) says Wylie. "Most instruments seem to have unacceptable levels of reliability and construct validity; conclusions are not always qualified in the light of limitations on the measuring instruments used; more careful thought is needed about the constructs researchers are aiming to index and more thought about the sorts of behaviours which would be appropriate to the respective constructs " (p. 326). Wylie points out that most self-concept and self-esteem measures have been devised for a particular study or set of studies, used in that instance, and forgotten afterwards without much effort to assess the adequacy of the measurement. The result is that most measures are not only short-lived but of unknown quality.

This last statement is apparently characteristic of social psychological measurement in general. Bonjean et al (1967) note that out of 3,609 attempts to measure various phenomena by the use of scales only 29% of them were used more than once. Similarly, the extensive review of specific empirical studies on self-concept has left one with the rather unsatisfying feeling that this increasing amount of accumulating data is hard, if not impossible, to synthesize into a holistic formulation. Findings often contradict each other, focusing on fragments of self-concept and on contrived variations in independent variables.

Along this same line of thinking Wilden (1980) put forth emphatic argument that the 'knowledge explosion' of the past thirty years or so has little to do with knowledge as such. It has primarily to do with knowledge as a commodity produced by the 'knowledge industry' and like every other form of production today, deplores Wilden, its most significant effect is pollution -- the pollution

of minds.

Ziller (1976) from his own side, apart from the inadequacies of the validity and reliability of the measurement devices, emphasizes the failure to view the self within a social context. "The self can only be a hypothetical construct within a larger social framework," Ziller argues. "To study the self as separate from others is like an ecologist trying to study the habits of birds whose wings have been removed for purposes of experimentation " (p. xiv).

At this point, this long review might leave the reader with the inevitable question of why the effectiveness of so many theories and so many instruments of exploring 'self' has been so severely limited. The answer might lie in the realization that self seems to have been consistently conceptualized as a fixed entity and neglected as a dynamic process, to have been conceived from one of its facets and ignored in its whole, to have been studied in a vacuum and disregarded in its context.

The present study did attempt to incorporate the description of social context on the basis of the most important available sources, in the firm belief that, regardless of the delimited nature of an investigator's interests, it is essential to understand the broader sociocultural contexts within which self-concept is studied. To ignore them is to risk misinterpreting data and losing sight of essential variables influencing self-perception. This has been the precise purpose of the previous chapter. The following chapter will discuss the methodological aspects of the measurement of self-concept.

3. APPROACHES TO ASSESSMENT OF SELF-CONCEPT

The assessment of self-concept, as already discussed in the
second chapter, has been an area plagued with ambiguities involving
a wide variety of empirical techniques and debatable rationales. Ex-
tensive reviews have dealt with the pros and cons of the different
empirical techniques, some of the most prominent having been those
of Diggory (1966), Crandall (1973), Wylie (1961, 1974, 1979), Wells
and Marwell (1976), Burns (1979), Thomas (1980), Lynch, Norem-Hebeisen
and Gergen (1981).

There have been tireless efforts to pin down 'truthful',
'real', and 'valid' responses to self-concept instruments, while at the
same time Burns (1979) alerts the overenthusiastic researcher by
reminding him that the degree of confidence that can be given to many
of the instruments used is questionable. "We must continually be
alive to the possible masquerade of the self-concept...Scores must
be interpreted in a guarded manner and only by recognizing the limi-
tations associated with self-reporting, we are also recognizing that
self-concept assessment is not an exact and precise science and must
imply approximation ," says Burns (p. 93).

Wylie (1961) contends that a serious methodological problem en-
countered when constructing an instrument applicable to self-concept
derives from the phenomenological approach, from the fact that each
subject is 'his own best vantage point'. This perspective is different
from the typical psychology experiment which operates by providing
every subject with a stimulus, the properties of which can be agreed
upon by a body of independent observers, and the response to the stimulus
then being recorded. Research in the field of self-concept cannot
rely on an external criterion. However, Burns (1979), in quoting
Verplanck (1954), states that the phenomenologist is not unique in
the difficulty of defining his antecedents, and stimuli are seeming-

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ly response-inferred constructs in several theories. Wylie (1968)
even claims that it does not seem to imply that a fundamental dif-
ference must obtain between behaviouristic and phenomenological re-
search. However, no matter how unbridgeable the dialogue between
psychologists has been, not only in respect to self-concept research
techniques, but in theorizing in general, the fact remains that self-
concept is inferred from either the behaviour of the subject or from
what the subject has to say about himself based on his own subjec-
tively interpreted experiences, since no external observer can ever
claim to know what the subject might presumably have experienced.

3.1. Self-Report Techniques -- Advantages and Disadvantages

Psychologists have to infer the self-concept either by self-
report techniques, or by observation of the individual's behaviour.
In other words, Burns (1979) states, "We are faced with the inherent
necessity of basing knowledge about the individual's self-concept
on the vagaries of introspection and/or of unknown bias in the ob-
servation and interpretation of overt behaviour " (p. 74).

By far the most common approach has been the use of standardized
self-reports or self-descriptions (Wells and Marwell, 1976), despite
the various limitations that such an approach involves. The limita-
tions of self-report techniques have preoccupied a number of writers
(Cattell, 1946; Combs and Soper, 1957; Jones, Gergen and Davis, 1962;
Combs, Soper and Courson, 1963; Vernon, 1963; Gergen and Wishnov,
1965; Wylie, 1974; Burns, 1979; Combs, 1981 and others). Factors
such as degree of self-insight, lack of understanding of what the
question means, along with the willingness of the subject to cooperate,
the subject's possession of adequate language to express his or her
experiential self, distortion of responses by such factors as self

favourability in self presentation and self disclosing behaviour are some of the most serious problems that have been raised.

There have been attempts to circumvent the difficulties of the self-report by using forced-choice methods. One of these methods has been the Q-sort technique devised by Stephenson (1953) and its later modifications. Nevertheless, Wylie (1974) has criticized this method by concluding that reliability and validity problems have been badly neglected, while Burns (1979) contends that despite the fact that the subject is forced to consider a number of self descriptions which he might otherwise avoid, many of the other variables still operate uncontrolledly and despite sophisticated statistical manipulation the built-in error can never be redressed.

On the other hand, in defense of self-report techniques, Freeman (1950) states that:"They are literally the only method available for measuring the self-concept, the limitations of which are at least known to us " (p. 68). Allport (1955) has argued that the individual has a right to be believed when he reports on himself. Wells and Marwell (1976), also in support of self-reports, claim that they are interesting and valuable as a particular form of self-behaviour, which is systematically related to other behaviours -- in empirically specifiable ways -- while at the same time they are economically and readily available to the researcher.

The fact, however, remains that self-report is virtually a verbal technique, relying upon the verbal aptitudes of the subject and the semantic communication shared. The stimulus is verbal, the response task is also verbal;and the evaluation of the stimulus is based on a set of verbal modifiers. Attempts have sometimes been made, Wells and Marwell (1976) report, to construct 'non-verbal' self-concept scales since particular settings or particular groups may

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require adaptations to allow for special verbal limitations. The
most familiar example concerns self-measurement in young children
whose ability to comprehend and apply self-descriptive adjectives is
greatly limited. 'Non-verbal' self-concept scales utilize spatial,
geometric, symbolic or pictorial response tasks (e.g. "I feel —
me feel" by Yeatts and Bentley, 1968; 'Primary self-concept scale'
by Muller and Leonetti, 1972). Criticism of such an approach
(Ossorio and Davis, 1968) argues that the act of viewing oneself is
a process of abstraction which presupposes the use of language and
verbal symbolization; in other words, the development of self-con-
cept is necessarily dependent upon the acquisition of linguistic
capacities and styles. 'Non-verbal' adaptations, Wells and
Marwell (1976) conclude, remain a rather problematic approach in
their own right, in need of additional conceptual as well as method-
ological development.

3.2.   Item Selection

The particular items in a self-concept assessment technique
will affect the sort of score obtained (Crandall, 1973; Burns, 1979).
Therefore, self-concept measures usually involve collections of items
as a sample from various domains of content. Characterization of a
person's self-concept is dependent upon the entire set of items and
its adequacy as an item sample. As such, Wells and Marwell (1976)
believe that the number of items in the measure is very important
because it permits a more thorough sampling from the domain of
possible descriptions, producing a more heterogeneous and represen-
tative instrument and resulting in increased validity and generality.

However, Burns (1979) argues that despite the fact that a fairly
broad range of items is necessary for the assessment of general self-

concept, this is not to deny that a sample of items from a specific category of behaviour can provide valuable information about a particular aspect of the individual's self-concept. Burns (1979) bases his argument on the belief that individuals do possess many self-conceptions, as for example, academic, social, physical and others; "Academic self-concept scale" developed by Barker-Lunn (1970) and "Body Cathexis Scale" developed by Jourard and Secord (1954) prove his point. Obviously, the argument brings the reader back to the dichotomy discussed in Chapter 2 concerning the consideration of self as a single versus a multiple concept. As already mentioned, this dichotomy is not totally soluble on empirical grounds (Gordon and Gergen, 1968).

It must also be kept in mind that perhaps areas of content may be differentially revealed because they are more or less salient to the subject's self-esteem (Wylie, 1974). Parenthetically, this idea receives some suggestive support from findings by Jourard and Lasakow (1958) whose subjects reported that they voluntarily disclosed themselves to others more freely in certain areas, e.g. their personality or body characteristics, than in other areas, e.g. opinions, attitudes, tastes and interests.

Burns (1979) argues further that even when self-report techniques do restrict the range of aspects that subjects respond to there is no way of knowing to what extent the limits of the measuring instrument imposed by the test's constructor prevent the subject from providing an accurate and full report of his self-concept. McGuire and Padawer-Singer (1976) have joined in the same argument by saying: "Researchers (have) measured the self-concept almost exclusively by information-losing 'reactive' methods; that is, by studying subjects' reactions to a dimension chosen a priori by the researcher... We

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feel there is more interesting information about the self-concept in the dimensions one chooses for describing oneself than in the position to which one assigns oneself on dimensions presented by the experimenter." Nevertheless, there does not seem to be an easy way out of this problem of restriction. Open-ended techniques that could seem, at first hand, to by-pass this problem have proved to have other limitations which will be discussed shortly.

The unstructured format is supported by several researchers (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954; Gergen, 1971; Gordon, 1968; McPhail, 1972; Zurcher, 1977 and others) in the sense that it allows the phenomenological perspective, since it provides the subject with full scope to express his self-concept as 'true' as this concept might be. Since open-ended techniques do not force the subject to choose among limited alternatives to circumscribed questions, causing him to provide a response that might not accurately reflect his feelings, one might have expected that these techniques would prove to be a satisfactory solution for adequate self-description. However, Spitzer Stratton, Fitzgerald and March (1976) have shown that 40% of subjects who had taken a range of self-concept measures felt that open-ended instruments allowed them to provide the least accurate descriptions of themselves. The reasons they gave were that such an instrument strained their powers of introspection and lacked structure. However, since this study is the only existing comparing different self-concept measures, no definite conclusion or generalization can be arrived at. What, however, can be said in addition is that there are many problems in handling the scoring of such an open-ended instrument (Wylie, 1974; Burns, 1979). The projective quality of the obtained responses means that the scoring procedure rests for the

most part on the subjective judgement of the scorer himself; per-
centages are not appropriate when some subjects provide different
numbers of responses despite the request to generate a set number.
Coding of statements of varying length could mean loss of informa-
tion despite the fact that the studies using the 'Who am I?' tech-
nique have developed classifications for coding subjects' responses
(e.g. Kuhn, 1960). A much more time-consuming content analysis is
involved as opposed to the usual scoring of instruments and, finally,
validity is difficult to ascertain (Ibid.).

It is clear by now that inclusion of the appropriate items in
the construction of a self-concept test is clearly an issue of major
significance. Inclusion of the particular items is a result of dif-
ferent methodological techniques. Items may be devised by the
author, as for example in the case of the Rosenberg 'Self-Esteem
Scale' (1965) and the Secord-Jourard 'Body Cathexis Scale' (1953)
can be derived from surveys of other scales and of literature on
the self-concept (e.g. Coopersmith 'Self-Esteem Inventory' 1967);
'Tennessee Self-Concept Scale' by Fitts, 1965); can be designed on
the basis of a combination of empirical findings with other scales
and instruments (e.g. The Offer Self Image Questionnaire, 1972);
can be based on the classification of subjects' self-reports on
themselves (e.g. Gordon's 'How I See Myself Scale', 1966; and Piers-
Harris' 'Children's Self-Concept Scale', 1964, both based on Jersild's
(1952) collection of children's statements).

One important criticism of many of those self-concept measures
is that they are constructed by researchers who 'impose' upon re-
spondents' descriptions of the self that are essentially the research-
ers', not the subjects'. Cohen (1976) claims that scales which permit
the subject to describe his unique self in terms of his unique self-

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perceptions go a long way to answering such criticism. Such flexible techniques without a set body of items are: Kelly's (1955) 'Role Construct Repertory Technique', developed later by Bannister and Mair (1968), which permits the subject to generate his own set of descriptions or constructs that respond to a fixed set of traits imposed by the experimenter; the self-anchoring scaling technique suggested by Kilpatrick and Cantril (1965); the 'Semantic Differential' devised by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957), a flexible technique rather than a particular scale consisting of a stimulus word to be rated; and the 'Adjective Generation Technique' developed by Allen (1971), Allen and Potkay (1973), reflecting the classic criterion of a projective instrument that the stimulus should have primary relevance to the subject and should permit him to impose his unique meaning and organization upon it. The 'Adjective Generation Technique' and the rationale behind it influenced the method of developing the self-concept measure used in this current study.

"Although there is a consensus as to the importance of the problem of item selection," Wylie (1974), states that "no unequivocal solution can be presented " (p. 41). She mentions Cronbach, Rajaratnam and Gleser's position (1963) about defining an item population covering the range of attributes involved in a particular construct of interest and then sampling randomly from this item population. Stephenson (1953), Neff and Cohen (1967), Wittenburn (1961) have recommended stratified sampling of test items from different factorial levels, while Loevinger (1965) has argued that defining a population of items is manifestly impossible; therefore, neither random nor stratified samples can be drawn from such a population.

What seems to make a lot of sense is the relevant comment made by Wells and Marwell (1976). They state that the blanket description

of measurement procedures as either structured or unstructured is over-simplifying   and misleading since structure in measuring instruments is a continuum rather than a dichotomy. There are numerous phases in the formation of a measurement device which can be more or less explicitly structured.

It is unclear whether or not there is a preferable stimulus form of item presentation (at least as far as empirical research is concerned). Except for paragraph length stimuli, all forms seem to be employed in self-concept inventories with roughly equal frequency. Loehlin (1967) and Crandall (1973) suggest that single-adjective stimuli may be more subject to equivocal semantic interpretations than multiword descriptions. On the other hand, a longer, more detailed descriptive sentence may involve a more complex multi-faceted evaluation than a single adjective or adjective pair. Since there are no empirical data bearing directly and decisively on the problem of the number of words used, the choice depends, Wells and Marwell (1976) maintain, essentially on the researcher.

3.3. Scaling

The next step is the determination of the most appropriate measurement process. The most frequently used approach in measuring the self-concept, as already mentioned, is the self-report technique. This paper and pencil method is applicable to individual and group administration (Burns, 1979), while behaviour observation is usually limited to individual assessment.

Of the many possible self-report methods that can be used to elicit an individual's self-description, the rating scale technique, usually a Likert model, is most frequently used. This approach is appropriate and concordant with the notion that the self-concept is

a set of self-attitudes (Ibid.). Rating scales may involve almost any number of points; a five-point format is more usually followed by the Likert type (Oppenheim, 1966), seven is usually the maximum; however, eleven-point scales have also been used (Wells and Marwell, 1976). The number of points in the rating continuum may be an issue in instrument construction; Guilford (1954) reports that the reliability of a scale tends to increase rapidly as the number of points is increased from two, but as Nunnally (1967) notes, this gain becomes minimal beyond seven points. The Likert Scales tend to be reliable (Oppenheim, 1966). Wells and Marwell (1976) warn the researcher that it is also possible that the number of scale points is related to the difficulty of the rating task. Most people cannot consistently discriminate their feelings, at least in self-descriptive tasks, beyond a seven-point classification (Osgood et al, 1957).

Wylie (1974) has indicated that it is not sufficient to provide numbers equally spaced visually along a line. Labeling of each point on the line could prove to be helpful in eliciting inter-subject uniformity in interpretation. She also mentions that in the development of any given self-concept scale, the quantifying effects of the selected adverbs used in the self-concept instrument must be established by appropriate pilot work. The values of the ratings are then to be given numerical weights for scoring purposes. Another decision that has to be made is whether the scale should include a neutral middle category. Most self-concept measures seem to use odd-numbered scales. A common criticism of the neutral point is that subjects use it not only to indicate evaluative neutrality, but also for 'don't know' responses, and it may thus foster an evasive response style. On the other hand, the neutral point seems to be useful in making subjects feel more comfortable, being thus less

pressured to indicate a preference (Wells and Marwell, 1976).

Oppenheim (1966) mentions that Likert scales have been criticized

for lacking a neutral point so that one does not know where scores

in the middle ranges change from mildly positive to mildly netative.

Nunnally (1967) suggests that the issue may not be very important,

and since few empirical data are available, the answer lies in each

individual researcher's phenomenological analysis of the measure-

ment task of his own research.

3.4. Reliability

After the measurement procedure, an important methodological

issue is that of reliability and validity. The degree of consis-

tency or the extent of repeatability of the scores produced by the

measurement procedure and the extent to which the variance in scores

on the technique can be regarded as 'true', meaningful or construct-

relevant determines the quality of measurement.

Operationally, reliability tends to be the more manageable of

the two properties. Different measures of reliability correspond

to different sources of error variance. Response variance could

depend on: particular characteristics of an instrument itself (its

form, its administration, etc.); the measurement occasion (i.e. its

temporal-historical features); the setting in which the measurement

is made (i.e. situational features); and the traits and properties of

the subject, as well as uninterpreted residual factors (e.g. luck

and others) (Wells and Marwell, 1976).

"So far as actual self-concept research is concerned, far too

little attention has been paid to determining and reporting relia-

bility figures," deplores Wylie (1974, p. 122). "For the great

majority of self-concept instruments in common use it is possible to

compute split-half or internal consistency coefficients, but a large

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proportion of workers report few or none of these." "Test-retest
reliability estimates (whether using the same or alternate forms),"
Wylie goes on, "are even rarer in the published literature. For
many studies these are the only appropriate basis for evaluating
results; and estimates from split-half coefficients are not an
appropriate substitute. The reliability figures should be, but
often are not, relevant to the groups whose results we are trying to
interpret in a particular study " (Ibid., p. 122). Wylie's (1974)
earlier comments seem to be reconfirmed by her five years later
(Wylie, 1979) by Burns (1979), by Thomas (1980) and by several
others.

A test-retest coefficient may be necessary to clarify inter-
pretations of results in certain studies. For example, if weak or
null results are obtained with respect to the alleged independent
variable, one could rule out unreliability of the self-concept measure
as one explanation of these null findings only if test-retest relia-
bility of the self-concept test were known to be high. Another kind
of situation requiring test-retest information occurs when there is a
possibility that certain self-concept scores, at any one testing
time, could represent a confounding of randomness of responding and
intentional choice on the part of the subject to respond represent-
ing poor self-concept. Test-retest reliability coefficients would
help to counteract the random responding interpretation of low self-
concept scores.* Ruling out the 'careless responding' is a difficult
task. Presenting a relatively high test-retest correlation is some-
what relevant, maintains Wylie (1974), but perhaps the relatively

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* So far, Wylie (1974) states that this sort of interpretational prob-
  lem has not been recognized even in principle by researchers in
  the self-concept field.

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high correlation is determined considerably more by test-retest consistency among high self-regard subjects than by test-retest consistency among low self-regard subjects (Ibid.).

Nevertheless, the test-retest method has also particular disadvantages as it is affected by memory of specific items, by loss of motivation, by subjects missing the retest and by actual changes in the subject over the time interval. The usual time interval range is 1-3 months. Temporal instability (at least over short to moderate time intervals) reflects unsystematic errors due to unreliability (Coopersmith, 1967; Wells and Marwell, 1976; Burns, 1979).

Wells and Marwell (1976) believe that the researcher should ideally report a variety of coefficients or use a multifaceted estimation procedure, reflecting different facets of systematic measure variance. Clearly their recommendation is not the most practical one, but what is very important in the comment Wells and Marwell make is that reliability is not a mechanical process divorced from conceptual consideration; it is highly dependent upon theoretical or interpretive presuppositions with which it should always be consistent.

The reliabilities of some specific instruments which have been employed in self-concept studies will be stated for informative purposes. Lipsitt (1958) computed test-retest reliabilities for his scale, over a 2-week interval, of between r=.73 and .91, depending on the age and the sex of the children. Bills, Vance and McLean (1951) recorded a test-retest reliability over 3 weeks of .67 for self acceptance and .68 for self-ideal discrepancy score. Fitts (1965) for the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale' computed test-retest reliabilities over a 2-week period ranging from .75 for the Self

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Criticism subscale to .92 for the Total Positive subscale. Engel (1959) retested a group of adolescents 2 years after the original test and came up with an overall correlation of .78. Piers and Harris (1964) provided a reliability coefficient of .77 over both a 2-month and a 4-month time interval. Silber and Tippett (1965), using Rosenberg's self-esteem scale, obtained a 2-week test-retest reliability of .85. Gordon (1966) did three separate test-retest reliability studies, the interval ranging from 9 days to 2 weeks; reliability coefficients using total scores ranged from .87 to .89, ranging from .45 to .82 when using factor scores. Coopersmith (1967) recorded a test-retest reliability over a 5-week period with 10-year-olds, of .88, and over a 3-year interval that of .70. Constantinople (1969), in her attempt to measure status and change in the self-concept, categorized according to Erikson's psychosocial adolescent stage characteristics, found a 6-week test-retest correlation of .81. Bledsoe (1967) provided a test-retest reliability over a 2-week interval ranging from .66 to .81 for the ages of 8 to 14. It can be concluded that for personality measures these levels of reliability mentioned are fairly high. Similarly, Warr and Knapper (1968) in reviewing a number of studies which have established test-retest reliability coefficients have remarked that they are usually acceptably high both with adults and children.

3.5.   Validity

The issue of validity -- the ability of the test to measure what it purports to measure -- brings the researcher, once more, face to face with the difficulty of defining the self-concept. Several reviews of self-concept/self-esteem measurement (e.g. Wylie, 1974; Crandall, 1973; Wells and Marwell, 1976; Burns, 1979; Thomas, 1980)

have a cited need for systematic validity evidence, contending
that the issue of validity has not occupied extensively both con-
ceptually and empirically the attention of the self-concept research-
er. As Wylie typically reports (1961, 1968, 1974) the majority of
self-concept and self-esteem measures are used and reported without
the benefit of a more systematic validation. Consequently, accord-
ing to Wylie, one of the basic weaknesses of the self-concept litera-
ture is that it consists of research findings of unknown quality.
This oversight, Wylie believes, may be due in part to the fact that
the number of self-concept scales is large and many studies develop
their own specific measuring instruments; thus, the lack of repeti-
tion and replication makes it difficult to accumulate a systematic
body of validity findings.

3.5.1. Content Validity

Wells and Marwell (1976), in analyzing the different kinds of
validity possibly applicable to self-concept studies, conclude that
content validity is important to self-concept measurement and con-
stitutes an essential phase of measurement construction. As far as
a self-concept is concerned, this is almost equivalent to face
validity in that all the test need contain is items which require
the elicitation of self-evaluative responses from subjects. Strong
and Feder (1961) claim that every evaluative statement that a person
makes concerning himself can be considered a sample of his self-
concept from which inferences may then be made about the various pro-
perties of that self-concept. Even though face validity is never to
be regarded as a substitute for more objective kinds of evidence,
as Helmstadter (1966) suggests, it does have a place in testing. In

the original writing of items, one relies almost entirely on face validity.

3.5.2. Empirical Validity

Empirical validity provides evidence that a test score can be interpreted in a particular way by showing that a relationship exists between the test performance in some criterion measure (Helmstadter, 1966). Criterion validity seems to be inappropriate in the case of the self-concept studies (Wells and Marwell, 1976). Self-concept is essentially a hypothetical construct. The psychological experience involved in the construct of self-concept is phenomenally private, not directly observable by an outside observer and difficult to predict from the person's observable behaviour. Consequently, there is neither a single behaviour or class of behaviours nor a suitable group which can exhaustively or adequately indicate the property of self-concept and which can be used as criteria to validate measures of self-concept (Ibid.).

Another type of empirical validity that has been considered in self-concept research has been the predictive validity of the test -- its ability to predict future behaviour or performance. For example, a reported positive academic self-concept should be demonstrated by future high levels of academic motivation and success. Concurrent validity has been more popular than predictive validity because of the practical problems of two time periods (Burns, 1979). The usual procedure has been to demonstrate concurrent validity for self-concept scales by relating them to some independent measure of present level of adjustment. Numerous studies have reported significant correlations between a self-concept scale and a personality test, i.e. certain scales of the MMPI, the California Test of Personality, the Edwards PPS, the Cattell 16 FP, different projective tests, etc.

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(Calvin, Wayne and Holtzman, 1953; Taylor and Combs, 1952; Smith, 1958; Friedman, 1955; Turner and Varderlippe, 1958; Phillips, 1964; Gough and Heilbrun, 1965; Black, 1974; Green, Miller and Gerard, 1975; Hattie and Hansford, 1980, and others).

3.5.3. Construct Validity

Construct validity is a more complex concept, related to the total network of axioms tied to a particular theory (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955). The previously noted types of validity may be employed in determining the construct validity of a scale. Problems of measuring the phenomenal field and self-referent attitudes may be seen as essentially those of establishing construct validity. Construct validity is necessary because, by definition, the subject's cognitions and attitudes about himself (whether or not one considers their relationship to the phenomenal dimension as important) are private and beyond direct observation by the researcher. It is not sufficient that one's self-referent measures have 'predictive' or 'concurrent' validity without explanation of why the association is obtained (Wylie, 1974). Construct validation is a continual and cumulative process always incomplete and open to new evidence and analysis. A researcher cannot simply 'do a validation study', as Wells and Marwell (1976) purport, to establish the construct validity of an instrument, except in a very limited sense. The process of construct validation is inductive rather than deductive, since construct validity is not a dichotomous logical property that a measure either has or does not have. Construct validity is a qualitative assertion about the appropriate interpretation of the measurer's results, and in this sense the assertion becomes argumentatively stronger as the number of observations on which it is based increases.

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A form of construct validation is an examination of the internal structure of the measurement, focusing on patterns of interrelationship among the items of the measure. In the conduct of actual self-concept research, structural analysis usually means factor analysis (Wells and Marwell, 1976)*. Factor analysis has been demonstrated as an effective technique for dealing empirically with the multidimensionality of self-concept and for developing and refining measures. Nevertheless, most of the factor analytic literature on self-concept generated thus far seems to be of a more or less explanatory form, where the theory is not yet given and the function of the analysis is to aid in its explication (Ibid.).

Since validation evidence depends upon the related theoretical specifications, the issue falls back again to the differing conceptions of self-concept processes discussed in Chapter 2. Where self-concept is suggested as a single important component, or facet of self-conception, the implication is that self-concept would be a unidimensional, unifactorial aspect of self-conception. Several factor analyses report results of this kind (e.g. Smith, 1960; Kubiniec, 1970; Farr and Kubiniec, 1972) Even though other studies, as for example, the Piers-Harris (1969) scale are designed to be unidimensional, factor analysis indicated that more factors could be present. One prediction from the position that self-concept is an

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* Since factor analysis involves gathering empirical data on test performance, some writers classify factorial validity as a type of empirical validity (Helmstadler, 1966); while others, as for example Wells and Marwell (1976) place the task of structural analysis under construct validation in the sense of showing that the empirical structure or responses to a self-concept measure is conceptually appropriate, and in particular, that it is isomorphic with the presumed structure of the self-concept construct. In structural analyses, the interrelationship between construct and content validity becomes salient, since use of structural analysis for measurement validation or for theory testing presumes that the content of the construct area is adequately represented.

aspect of virtually all self-conceptions, rather than a particular subset, would be that the factor analysis of a valid self-concept measure should yield a single, large, general self-concept factor on which most of the items would load (in addition to loading on more specific self-concept factors) (Wells and Marwell, 1976). Guertin and Jourard (1962) report finding such a general self-esteem factor for the Jourard Self-Cathexis scale. An alternative prediction is that since self-conception is a multifaceted process, reflecting a variety of roles, skills and personal characteristics, self-concept will also be complex and multidimensional, reflecting the many different features being evaluated. The largest portion of factor analytic studies, as Wells and Marwell (1976) report, seem congruent with this latter prediction (e.g. Mitchell, 1962; Gunderson and Johnson, 1955; Richards, 1966; Vacchiano and Strauss, 1968; Parker and Veldman, 1969; Veldman and Parker, 1970).

Wells and Marwell (1976) maintain that the relationship of structural analysis of self-concept measures to construct validation involves several key considerations which are consistently overlooked in the majority of studies. In particular, self-concept measures, like all other descriptive measurements, will involve the semantic structures represented in the specific words used in the measure, in addition to the structure of self-conception as behavioural traits or properties in a particular sample of subjects. Most studies uniformly ignore the question of semantic structures, except for a few isolated studies like Jones et al (1973). A second important consideration is the problem of item sampling. The structural descriptions produced by a factor analysis pertain only to the set of items used and may be greatly changed if items are added or eliminated. Yet, while clearly item sampling is an essential concern for structural

analysis, Wells and Marwell (1976) believe that it is uniformly ig-
nored in the factor analytic studies of self-concept measures.
Finally, the sampling of subjects is also an important but similarly
ignored consideration of structural analyses. Knowing the group
to which any particular structure description pertains can be very
important. This point is implicitly acknowledged in the literature
by the common practice of separating the measurement sample before
computation into male and female subsamples, based on the assumption
that the structures may differ between them. Consequently, it is
difficult to generalize structural findings beyond specific research
contexts.

3.6. Response Sets and Situational Factors Affecting Self-Reports

In investigating how a relevant construct explains inter-in-
dividual variance in scores on a measure, it is important to note
that measurement features themselves do not constitute validity
threats; in other words, it must be made sure that measurement
features include,as little as possible, factors such as response sets,
response habits, response styles and response tendencies (Helmstadter,
1966).

3.6.1. Acquiescence

Acquiescence is a very important factor in self-report tech-
niques. It refers to the subject's tendency to agree with items ir-
respective of their content, so that if all statements are presented
in a positive direction his tendency to agree may be represented in
the total score to a high degree. Thus, the systematic bias of
focusing in one direction lowers validity since it is irrelevant to
the criterion being measured. Many studies have shown that the best

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way of eliminating acquiescence is to include positively-and nega-
tively-phrased items in random order to prevent the subject from
merely ticking in the same direction. For example, in Lipsitt (1958)
out of the 22 adjectives describing personal attributes, three were
negative traits; in Rosenberg (1965) five of the ten items were
phrased in a positive direction; in Bledsoe (1967) in each group
of ten adjectives six were positive and four were negative. The in-
corporation of both positively and negatively-worded items dealing
with the same issue is another way of eliminating the response set.
Oppenheim (1966) contends that this does not really overcome the
problems, since response sets are largely independent of content;
nevertheless, such self-contradictory responses constitute one in-
dication of the presence of such response sets and a way of measur-
ing them. Campbell et al (1967), Bock et al, (1969), also suggest
a modified position in which response sets are seen as seldom obliter-
ating item content but as seriously confounding the interpretation
of scale scores in some content area.

3.6.2. Social Desirability

The subject's tendency to respond in a 'socially desirable'
way on self-report instruments is quite probably irrelevant or a
contaminating variable which decreases the construct validity of
self-concept reports. This statement could be true of a number
of personality investigations (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964; Crowne and
Stephens, 1961; Edwards, 1967, 1970). Crandall and Crandall (1965)
suggested that children as early as grade three and younger are vul-
nerable to social desirability factors which serve to confound the
results of self-report measurement. However, as Wylie (1974) states,
validity issues which have interested social desirability research-

ers are frequently different from those facing the self-concept researcher. An important question is whether social desirability is a problem of response set in self-report items or whether it is a legitimate personality trait. In other words, Burns (1979) argues that social desirability might be a factor that is part of one's attitude to oneself. Moreover, Crandall (1973) believes that the theoretical relationship between social desirability and self-esteem is not always kept clear; it is socially desirable to have high esteem and this esteem may be generated by social reinforcement. However, people with high esteem should have less need for social approval (i.e. less conformity). The area of defensiveness is also unclear; high esteem people probably differ in quality of defenses rather than quantity.

Despite this, Burns (1979) among others, suggests that the most effective way to counter social desirability response set has been to apply the forced choice technique as adopted by Edwards in his Personal Preference Schedule, which requires the subject to choose between pairs of items which have been equated for social desirability. However, social desirability scales can also be seen to have many problems (Crandall, 1973), and it has been shown (Corah et al, 1958; Edwards et al, 1959; Brawn and Tinley, 1969) that the use of the Edwards technique does not eliminate the ability of the respondent to find and choose the more desirable item of the pair if he so desires. Reviewing these and similar studies, Wylie (1974) admits that "none of these methods for controlling or minimizing the influence of social desirability tendencies claims to improve the discriminant construct validity of self-report instrument for inferring the relative contributions of accuracy in self-conception, conscious distortion and unconscious distortion to the scores obtained... In

some cases, the application of corrective techniques may improve

concurrent empirical validity, but this is, of course, not the kind

of validity relevant to the self-concept researcher," (p. 61) and she

concludes:"No way has been worked out to determine in what cases and

under what circumstances the social desirability variable distorts

individual self-report away from validity in reflecting the subject's

phenomenal field " (p. 57).

3.6.3. The Experimental Situation

Another feature that has been suggested to affect self-presen-

tation has been the experimental situation per se. This issue is

troubling to researchers in general in that the social characteris-

tics of the research set-up must be considered in interpreting the

data (Rosenthal, 1966; Friedman, 1967; Rosenberg, 1969; Orne, 1969).

In summary, various characteristics of self-reporting/self-disclosing

behaviours depend in part on factors such as: the experimenter's

self-conception and self-presentation (Schafer, 1954); other persons'

behaviours in the experimental situation; imputed characteristics

of others with whom the experimental subjects expect to interact

(Jourard and Kormann, 1968; Chittick and Himelstein, 1967; Jourard

and Friedman, 1970; Jourard and Jaffe, 1970); experimental manipula-

tion aimed at increasing the subject's need for approval (Schneider,

1969); measurable individual differences in the subject's disclosing

disposition (Pedersen and Higbee, 1968; Pedersen and Breglio, 1968;

Jourard, 1969); and, finally, the particularities of the culture and

its emphasis on relating (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1973).

3.7. Perspectives of Self-Concept -- The Discrepancy Score

As discussed in Chapter 2, the evaluated set of beliefs combines

several perspectives which can be separated in measurement pro-
cedures. Staines (1954) has proposed three perspectives which most
researchers have followed: a) the basic self, b) the other self or
social self and, c) the ideal self. At the time this method was
introduced, says Crandall (1973), it was novel and exciting. The
idea of measuring self-esteem as a discrepancy between each individual's
ideal and real selves was a significant theoretical breakthrough.
In many ways, however, the theoretical potential of this technique,
extensively covered in the second chapter, has not been reflected in
empirical results.

To obtain a discrepancy index between the different perspec-
tives, two similar methodological procedures have been commonly em-
ployed (Burns, 1979). One method consists of utilizing different
administrations of the same self-concept inventory; Brownfain (1952) for
example,   asked the individual to rate a number of personality
traits on a seven-point rating scale, under three instructional con-
ditions. The person is asked first to rate his conception of his
self as he is, then to rate his notion of his self as he would like
to be, and finally to rate his conception of self as he believes
others see him and evaluate him. The discrepancy measure is then pro-
vided by the absolute sum of the differences between the trait items
on the real self, the other self and the ideal ratings (e.g. Katz
and Zigler, 1967; Jorgensen and Howell, 1969; Norem-Hebeisen, 1976).
Another procedure for obtaining an operational index of discrepancy
has been through the Q-Technique. Actually, the idea of real-
ideal discrepancy was first introduced with the Q-sort procedure in
which clinical patients sorted statements into normal distributions
as true or false to varying degrees of their ideal and actual selves.
If the researcher wants to tap all three perspectives, then the

individual is asked to perform three Q-sorts: a real self sort, a
social self sort and an ideal self sort. The correlation between
the three Q-sorts provides the index of discrepancy (e.g. Bills'
et al IAV, 1951; Butler and Haigh, 1954; Shlien, 1961). However, a
study by Phillips, Raiford and El Batrawi (1965) has raised doubt
about the validity of the Q-sort as an instrument for assessing the
congruence of self and ideal self-concepts.

Crandall (1973) raises serious doubts about whether the dis-
crepancy approach used as a sole measure of self-esteem is not more
of a theoretical derivation than a direct measure of self-esteem.
Burns (1979) himself also raises the question whether the discre-
pancy is satisfactory from a measurement point of view and whether
it is really all that different from the topic of positive and
negative self-concepts. These questions are based on the fact that
it is not known how much variance is contributed by each part to
the total variance by this triple index. Furthermore, there is
considerable evidence that there is very little intersubject varia-
bility on ideal self-concept ratings (Jourard and Secord, 1955;
Rapaport, 1958). This evidence of stereotyping, i.e. that the ideal
value is fixed for all subjects, found in ideal ratings could then
mean that the measure merely demonstrates a discrepancy between the
subject's concept of himself as he is and the cultural norm, since
the ideal reflects the culturally desirable (McCandless, 1967).
At this point, though, the phenomenological theorist argues that i
is illusory to suppose that one has solved the problem of interpre-
tation of discrepancy degrees simply by declaring that the ideal for
self is seen by all subjects at the same point (Wylie, 1974). In
other words, the discrepancy between the scale value of the subject's
own self score and his own stated ideal for self is more conceptually

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appropriate to phenomenological research than is the 'discrepancy' between the subject's self-report and a fixed value set by external judges (Ibid.).

Moreover, Wylie (1974) raises an empirical question of considerable theoretical interest: whether and to what extent the subject's reported ideas for self are related to the self-report, as well as whether the ideal self-report is related to other variables to which the self score is also related; for example, to directly stated self-acceptance, to measures of defensiveness, or to measures of popularity. Wylie finally contends that these questions cannot be explored if individual ideal self-reports are not obtained.

Several studies report empirical evidence contending that discrepancy scores yield variance which is more meaningful than do single self-ratings. Cowen and Tongas (1959) suggest that discrepancy measures are less subject to social desirability biases, while Guertin and Jourard (1962) argue for the utility of discrepancy scoring on the basis of the emergence of a unique factor structure which is found only when discrepancy scores are used. However, Wells and Marwell (1976) caution the researcher that these studies have methodological weaknesses and no replication findings.

Beyond the above-mentioned complexities there is also the issue of 'reverse real-ideal discrepancies', i.e. it is impossible to know whether the subject's ideal self-report is actually above or below his actual self in particular items. For example, a subject may say that he is actually a more friendly person than his ideal self-concept (Wylie, 1974; Burns, 1979). Thus, the common practice of obtaining separate self-ideal discrepancy scores for each of numerous trait scales which are then added yields a total self-ideal discrepancy score is at least questionable. Furthermore, when one

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sums up discrepancies across trait scales, one is assuming that equal size discrepancies on any one of several trait scales corres- pond to equal size cognitive discrepancies or equal degrees of self-regard. Obviously, says Wylie (1974) this is much too broad an assumption, which is far from being demonstrated.

Wylie takes into consideration the doubts of the different researchers and the methodological difficulties involved. However, she does conclude "that a discrepancy between self and stated social or/and ideal seems plausibly to be an experience about which the subject should be able to report, and which phenomenologists should attempt to index and use in research, since such an approach is consistent with their theorizing " (p. 94). In addition, Crandall (1973) in weighing the pros and cons of the discrepancy approach con- cluded that "as a measure of one aspect of self-esteem used with others the discrepancy approach may yet prove useful " (p. 50),

Since the general methodological problems involved in the measurement of self-concept, both in general terms and particular techniques, have been considered, the following chapter will concern itself with the methodological procedures involved in the present study.

4.   METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES IN THE CURRENT STUDY

4.1.   The Self-Concept Measure

4.1.1. Pilot Study and Development of the Measure

The third chapter referred to the problem that many self-
concept measures are often criticized as being constructed by
researchers who 'impose' upon respondents descriptions of the self
that pertain to the researcher and not to the subject. On the
other hand, as already mentioned, open-ended techniques have also
been criticized for their own limitations. Thus, being influenced
by the 'Adjective Generation Techniques' (Allen and Potkay, 1973),
and taking into consideration the problems of restriction that arise
from an item selection imposed by the test's constructor and those
that arise when using an unstructured free response method, it was
decided to combine the value of free response in the initial selec-
tion of items that would then be used, in a second phase, in a struc-
tured format instrument. The procedure followed is similar to that
of Kemper (1966) who measured the self on a set of responses of
business executives and managers to the question 'Who am I?' and then
used their responses to construct a scale, or that of Hardstaffe
(1973) who used sentence completion tests in a pilot study of self-
conceptions of pupils in grammar and secondary schools and from the
information provided constructed semantic differential scales.

The pilot study regarding the initial generation of items will
be briefly discussed. The subjects, 140 twelve-year-old male and
female pupils -- a sample with characteristics similar to those of
the final sample, i.e. Athenian and rural, public-school children --
were presented with fifteen open-ended statements referring to the
'Who am I?' question. Five of these fifteen statements began with
'I am ...', five with 'At home, I am ...' and the last five with 'At

school, I am...'. This three-fold presentation of 'Who am I?'
statements aimed at broadening the content areas the children them-
selves would reveal.* The children were asked to complete these
statements as spontaneously as possible, disregarding the logic or
importance of each of their responses, and were reassured that there
is no right or wrong answer.

The 140 subjects provided 152 first-person declarative state-
ments. The statements were tabulated according to frequency, ranging
from 1 to 195.** Gergen (1971) mentioned that people's responses on
open-ended measures fall into two broad content categories: one de-
notes one's membership in various formal and informal groups in
society, and the second large group includes conceptual terms that
are more personal in nature and that usually denote specific attri-
butes of the individual. Bugental and Zelen (1950) found that the
most frequent categories emerging belonged to the first content area,
evaluative responses becoming more frequent with increasing age.

Studies using the 'Who am I?' technique have developed classifications
for coding subjects' responses. For example, Kuhn (1960) suggests
the following categories: a) social groups and classifications --
e.g. age, sex, occupation, race, etc, b) ideological beliefs --
statements of a religious, philosophical or moral nature, c) interests,
d) ambitions, e) self-evaluations -- such as mental and physical
abilities, physique and appearance, industriousness, emotional balance,
past achievements etc. In another study by Kuhn and McPartland (1954)

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*Taylor (1968) supports the relevance of content areas to the construct
validity of self-concept reports.

** The reason this number is so high is that in some cases multiple
responses to the same statement were included together.

it was noted that children's answers to the 'Who am I?' question
tended to scatter over a wide range and to focus on particular in-
dividualistic or idiosyncratic aspects of their lives.

In the present case the children's conception of personal
identity did seem on the whole to belong to the two broad categories
described by Gergen (1971); however, the responses with extremely
low frequency (the ones ranging from 1 to 3 response frequency)
were scattered over a wide range of statements. Nevertheless, the
statements ranging from very high to lower frequencies (195 to 38
response frequency) funneled into the two major content areas. The
first category statements were statements such as: children's name,
sex, age, position in the family, kinship roles, school role, affil-
iation to some football team. Statements of this kind, says Gergen
(1971), show a strong tendency on the part of the respondents to
give themselves specific placement within the society at large,
separating them from large segments of society and placing them with-
in small subsegments. Such statements are purely denotative ones
and the writer believes they are important criteria that denote one's
position in the ingroup, determine one's role and one's everyday
response to important others. Gergen (1971) contradicts this latter
view and supposes that such statements might be taken as a tendency
on the part of the subject to respond more defensively to tests of
this variety. The second content included personal statements neces-
sitating evaluation by the respondent himself: feelings of competence
or lack of it (e.g. good pupil, good athlete); intellectual concerns
(e.g. intelligent); sense of self-determination (e.g. hardworking,
strong-willed); psychological characteristics (e.g. happy at school,
depressed, timid); sense of moral worth and discipline (e.g. polite,
disciplined and obedient, naughty); feelings towards others and the

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feelings of others towards oneself (e.g. good neighbour, loved, help-
ful). These statements, being 70 percent of the total number of state-
ments made, obviously carried evaluative overtones. This finding
seems to be different from what McGuire and Padawer-Singer (1976)
state about evaluative self-descriptive statements. Their data
suggest that only 7 percent of the material that occurs to children
in response to a 'Tell me about yourself' question consists of
self-evaluation. On the other hand, in Gordon's (1968) measure
40-70 percent of the concepts used by the respondents were evalua-
tive ones.

These open-ended responses, as already mentioned, were the eli-
citation phase of the items to be used in a structured inventory,
items not devised by the constructor of the inventory but provided
by the subjects themselves. Thus, the final items that were to be
used had to be chosen by the experimenter. Out of the 152 differ-
ent statements provided, the 40 items with the highest frequencies
(ranging from 195 to 38 response frequency) and evaluative in nature
were selected, since the purely denotative ones would have failed
to convey the attitudinal content of the self-concept. Self-con-
cept has been extensively argued in Chapter 2 to be a dynamic, evalu-
ative and considerably emotively charged concept. A few statements
with low response frequency such as 'romantic and sentimental',
'mummy's pet' were included in the list of the finally selected
forty items. The rationale of including those items was that since
they were elicited only from Athenian children they were thought to be
the ones which would strongly differentiate between Athenian and
rural children. Care was also taken that the selection of items
should be balanced between male and female, as well as between
Athenian and rural children.

As mentioned in the previous chapter there are no empirical

data bearing directly and decisively on the question of which par-
ticular stimulus form of item presentation should be preferred.
In the case of the present study, the items involved adjectives
(e.g. lovable, polite, selfish, etc.) and small phrases of descrip-
tive and evaluative statements (e.g. useful and helping everyone,
parents are proud of me, good friend with my schoolmates, etc.).

The paper and pencil methods are applicable to individual and
group administration. In the case of the present study, group ad-
ministration was indicated since a large number of pupils had to be
tested in a classroom situation.

Responses were scaled along a Likert type continuum with a
range of one to seven, and the adverbial labels employed were the
following: 'Very much,' 'Much', 'Moderately', 'A little', 'Very little',
'Not at all'.   The 'I don't know' category was the seventh point.
This is the literal English translation of the Greek wording used.
Those Greek adverbs have often been shown, in past studies, to
have common understanding and usage among children (Vassiliou, 1966).
The subjects were asked to indicate how appropriately the descrip-
tion presented by the different items applies to themselves.

Despite the controversial attitude towards the real/ideal/
social self-discrepancy, it was decided to employ three perspec-
tives of the self-concept. The pupils were asked to rate the forty
personality traits on the seven-point rating scale under three
instructional conditions; first to rate their conception of self
as they are, then to rate their idea of self as they would like to
be and third to rate their idea of self as they believe their teacher
sees them.

The scale developed was now submitted to a new pilot testing,
to a new set of 148 twelve-year-old male and female pupils from

both Athenian and rural public schools. The purpose of this second

pilot study was to check the comprehension of instructions, appro-

priateness of wording, degree of non-response, timing of the ques-

tionnaire, and any other possible difficulties encountered by the

typical respondent. No major modifications proved necessary;

comprehension was satisfactory, and degree of non-response was no more

than expected. The methods of statistical analysis to be used were

tried out and no difficulties were encountered. However, what be-

TABLE 4.1

SAMPLE OF ITEMS OF THE FINAL SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	I DON'T KNOW
I am a good pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good house- keeper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good housekeeper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good house- keeper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good child	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good child	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good child	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Items in the 'I don't know' category were assigned a 0 value
  and were processed as missing data in the final analysis.

came clear from the pilot analysis was that the dichotomy between Athenian and rural samples was not satisfactory. The reasons for choosing new premises on which to base the sample selection will be discussed in the 'Subjects' section.

Table 4.1. presents a sample of a few items as they were finally formulated. The complete scale will be found in Appendix II.

4.1.2.   Reliability and Validity

The test-retest reliability (see section 3.4) was measured with a sample of 30 twelve-year-old boys and girls who were tested one month after the original testing. The Pearson-Product Moment correlation coefficient, using factor scores of the general Real, Ideal and Social self-concept scales over a time interval of one month ranged from $r=.71$ to $r=.92$ for the Real, from $r=.71$ to $r=.89$ for the Ideal and from $r=.63$ to $r=.92$ for the Social self-concept scales (average, $Z = .82$).* The test-retest reliabilities found in the present study lie among the highest mentioned in the relevant literature.

The problems of establishing validity were covered in the previous chapter. Wylie (1961) in her first book on self-concept, pleads for more attention to the measurement problem and less to measurement generation. Similarly, Crandall (1973) suggests that in order for measurement to be improved, either new scales which are introduced be supported by massive validation data or usage be concentrated on a few scales, thus causing the gradual accumulation of validity data. "The causal generation of new scales is professionally irresponsible," he contends, "since at present one cannot determine whether the problems in research areas using self-esteem are conceptual or whether they are due to the diverse and unvalidated

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* The correlations were averaged by first transforming the r into z scores according to Fisher's z transformation.

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measures " (p. 52). The decision which had to be made in the
present study was either to adapt a foreign scale to Greece or to
generate a new one. The latter was considered a better solution
since face and content validity would have been taken care of by
the elicitation phase described in the 'Pilot Study' section
(see Section 4.1.1.).

The validity of the scale was based partly on concurrent
validity, with school grades as the independent criterion. The
relationship between self-concept and academic success was covered in
the second chapter. The degree of relationship between self-
concept and performance/achievement is not consistent in all cases.
Purkey's (1970) review suggests that self-esteem is significantly
related to academic performance, while a recent meta-analysis
by Hansford and Hattie (1982) has provided the most definitive sum-
mation to date of the relationship between measures of self and per-
formance/achievement. They conclude that the correlation between
the two is positive, but low (the mean correlation being that of
.21), and contend that 'self' could be as strongly linked with per-
formance/achievement as with any other personality variable. It
has already been mentioned that Wylie (1979) questioned this widely-
accepted and psychologically important relationship between achieve-
ment and overall self-regard. Nevertheless, she suggested that re-
search on self-esteem should control for the effects of I.Q. and
achievement. The very few cross-cultural studies do give empirical
evidence of a significant relationship between self-esteem and
achievement even after some other variables such as I.Q. and socio-
economic status were controlled (Heyneman, 1976; Youngblood, 1976;
Watkins and Astilla, 1980). The relationship between self-concept
and school achievement in regard to the present study will be cover-
ed in the following chapters.

Construct validation, as Wells and Marwell (1976) state, is considered the process of making a grounded argumentative link between self-concept and a particular procedure for making certain measurements -- where the measurements may be considered 'indications' of the construct in actual behaviour.

Construct validation can be split into two aspects. The one aspect concerns developing accounts of response variance. In other words, the fact that measurement features sometimes constitute validity threats must be taken into consideration. In order to preclude response set it was decided to include positively-and negatively-phrased items in random order to prevent the subject from merely ticking in the same direction. Out of the forty adjectives and small sentences used, seven were negative ones. These negative statements were the following: I am quick tempered,' 'I am selfish,' 'I am stubborn,' 'I am sly,' 'I am naughty,' 'I am a coward,' 'I am depressed.' These statements were presented to the subjects from all three perspectives: the real, the ideal and the social.

The arguments concerning the social desirability variable, mentioned in the previous chapter, have made the writer very sceptical about the value of applying some of the known techniques for 'controlling' social desirability. In addition, the items comprising the social desirability scales do not seem to be relevant to the traditional population being tested. The issues regarding the experimental situation per se were very seriously considered. The element of trust between the experimenter and the school (both teachers and pupils) in the context of the testing situation was considered of paramount importance. The writer decided to handle all the testing herself in order, on the one hand, to make sure

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that the right approach towards both teachers and pupils would be followed and, on the other hand, to hold constant the variable relating to the experimenter's self-presentation. The way the writer approached teachers and pupils, the instructions given, and the administration of the inventory will be discussed in the 'Procedure' section.

The second aspect of construct validation concerns the structural analysis. As already discussed in the previous chapter on the conduct of actual self-concept research, structural analysis usually means factor analysis. In the case of the present study, factor analysis was used -- as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter -- as a method of grouping and a way of combining these items conceptually. It was kept in mind that each particular structural description would pertain only to each particular subsample, as for example, male-female, Athenian-rural children.

4.2. Subjects

4.2.1. Sample Selection

Both theoretical and practical considerations guided the selection of the sample.

In Chapter 2 the issue of self-concept in relation to child development was examined. Reference has been made to the effect of adolescence on identity, and Erikson's development theory regarding adolescent turmoil and the problem of 'identity crisis'. Erikson (1968) contends that some form of disturbance is a normal expectation in adolescence, but his theory has been mainly based on clinical cases rather than empirical studies concerning self-image in adolescence. Stability of the self-concept in adolescence has, nevertheless, been empirically investigated, and as already mentioned in

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Chapter 2, results have not clearly shown evidence of a restructuring of the self-concept at and after puberty (Engle, 1959; Piers and Harris, 1964; Carlson, 1965; Simmons, Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1973; Thompson, 1974; Coleman, 1974; Monge, 1973; Vidoni, 1976).

However, since the intention of the present study is not to investigate the possible problems arising in adolescence, it was decided to select the age of eleven-twelve when the children would be old enough to respond to a self-concept inventory, but at a stage where physiological and psychological turmoil of adolescence has not yet developed.

Piaget (1926) has shown that as the child progresses from ages six to twelve self-concept rules become constant and the concepts of invariance and reciprocity rules are developed. The child moves from attention on functional means of classification to more analytic and relational forms of classifications (Kagan, 1964). The child is able to set expectancies, be selective in attentional focus and devote sustained attention to activities such as those in the classroom. The child sets standards about the quality of his performance in activities with peers, in school and at home. Since expectancy-setting and standard-setting are by now available behaviours, the child is able to formulate hypotheses and to evaluate them (Lynch, 1981). Thus, theoretical evidence as well as empirical evidence (e.g. Bruner and Kenney, 1965; Lynch and Chaves, in preparation) have shown that eleven- and twelve-year-olds are fully capable of responding to verbal and pencil self-report techniques.

Further, the age level of six to nine seems to be the age when the rules for setting expectations about the idealized self develop and when measures of the self-ideal discrepancy can be

applied with reliability (Jorgensen and Howell, 1969 ; Lynch, 1981). A recent study by Howell (1977) indicated that idealized self-discrepancy measures were unreliable when applied to pre-school and first-grade children. Furthermore, the increase in differentiation and acquisition of rules during middle childhood is accompanied by the development of rules for judging how the individual is evaluated by others (Lynch, 1981).

Thus, the age of eleven to twelve seemed also to be appropriate in exploring the three different perspectives of self-concept, that of the real, the ideal and the social self-concept.

A school situation was chosen as the setting for the study. The schools were to be public (state-owned, state-controlled), and coeducational with six separate grades.* Public schools were chosen with the rationale that the socioeconomic level represented is more evenly spread and that this type of school is the closest possible to a representative sampling of twelve-year-olds in the Greek milieu.

One additional reason for selecting this particular age group is that children of that age are in their last grade of primary school, and the intention of the sampling was to test those children before entering secondary school. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Simmons, Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1973; Nisbet and Entwistle, 1969; Alban Metcalfe, 1981), movement into secondary school at puberty is a highly significant event for many children in the sense of moving from a protected small school context to a larger more impersonal school, where they lose their former status as biggest and oldest and where they constantly change rooms and teachers. Under such circumstances self-concept might become more

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* In small rural areas where children are few and facilities are poor, the Ministry of Education does not provide instructors for six separate grades. Thus the grades are grouped together by twos or by threes.

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vulnerable.

It was also clear from both the first and the second chapters that consciousness of identity evolves from an awareness of one's place in the social context. What was comparatively easier in earlier times -- the task of forming a stable self-image and identity -- has now become a much more complex process. Since it was hypothesized that the sociocultural background influences the way in which the individual perceives and evaluates himself, it was decided to compare two population groups lying on the two extreme points of the continuum of social change. Triandis (1972) warns the researcher that the sampling of cultures -- subcultures in the present case -- should ideally be guided by extreme positions on either the independent or dependent variables of the study. The two population groups chosen were: a) an urban Athenian group representing this point on the continuum which would exhibit maximum social change and b) a rural population group in the provinces representing that point on the continuum which would exhibit minimum change.

The pilot test, however, sensitized the writer to the realization that the rural population was not homogeneous and could not be considered as representative of the same cultunit.* Specifically, as the Greek milieu changes, Greek social scientists become more and more aware of the fact that a group of people growing in an industrialized area develops psychosocially in a different fashion as compared to a group of people growing within the rural context (Christea-Doumanis, 1978; Vassiliou, 1982). As already implied in Chapter 1, it is the economic processes that play the fundamental role at any point on the time-space continuum in the maintenance, differentiation

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* Cultunits are defined by Naroll (1968) as "people who are domestic speakers of a common district dialect language and who belong either to the same state or the same contact group".

and morphogenesis of the increasingly complex suprasystems of man
(groups, communities, societies). The economic processes within the
human context concern, on the one hand, the way man produces and
creates, and on the other hand, the complex interrelational network
which is formed following these ways (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1977).

Naroll (1968) talks about a representative sampling of the popu-
lation of a cultunit being an ideal sampling of subjects, since it
permits examination of the demographic correlates of the responses of
the subjects and thus allows specification of the limits of general-
ization. Consequently, the population of the provinces was split
into two: one rural group representing the minimum change possible and
another group which has recently moved away from its rural heritage,
representing the most rapid change—a change that took place during the
last ten-fifteen years due to industrialization and to a sudden
touristic boom. The differentiation between the two sample groups
coming from the provinces was based on information provided by the
Greek Centre of Planning and Economic Research, a department of the
Ministry of Coordination. A scale was then developed aimed at pro-
viding criteria of equivalence in the subjects' demographic charac-
teristics. The information used to develop the scale was: a) rise
or fall of population, b) geographical position of the settlement,
c) transportation available to the nearest large urban centre, d)
technical and social substructure of the settlement, e) tourist de-
velopment, and f) economic determinants -- mode of production and in-
habitants' employment.

The settlements chosen were judged on the basis of the weighted

points* they received on the scale. The settlements ranged from 1,000 to 4,839 inhabitants dispersed in different areas of Greece -- the Peloponnese, Boeotia, Phthiotida, Magnesia and Euboea. Basic similarity was secured through the technical and social substructure of the settlements. All had electricity, water-supply, telephone, some kind of dispensary, a primary school with six separate grades, a church and a soccer field. On the contrary, none had a sewage system, a hospital or a technical school. Appendix I presents the demographic information provided by the Greek Centre of Planning and Economic Research regarding each settlement chosen.

The two distinct population groups which emerged on the basis of the above-mentioned criteria were the following: a) In the first group the population had fallen; the settlements were mostly mountainous or located in fertile plains; there was little transportation to the nearest town; there was virtually no tourism but where there was any it was all local Greek summer tourism; and last, but most important of all, the inhabitants were involved in agriculture, farming, fishing, woodcutting and resin-gathering. Thus the inhabitants were involved in a traditional mode of production which was based on cooperation and interdependence. Some of these rural settlements were also characterized by the Ministry of Coordination as economically disadvantaged areas with limited resources and restricted economic potential. The settlements belonging to this group were: Vathy, Drossia and Kaparelli in Boeotia; Stefanovikio, Rizomylos and Efxinoupolis in Magnesia; Nemea, Sofiko and Diakofto in the Peloponnese. The total number of children tested in this rural group was 320

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* The weighted points were agreed upon with the contribution of ten social scientists acting as judges.

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(male and female).

b) The second population group came from settlements which in the early '70s were similar to those described, but have drastically changed due either to very rapid industrialization or sudden tourist development. These settlements were characterized by a rise in population as people have moved in. They were located either by the sea or in the plains; there was frequent road or sea transportation to the nearest town; there were hotels, cafeterias and discotheques, and most of the local houses were rented out during the heavy tourist season. The inhabitants worked either for the tourist business or at factories which had been recently constructed nearby. None of these areas was characterized by the Ministry of Coordination as an area with low economic potential. The settlements belonging to these groups were: Vassilika, Gymno, New Lampsakos and Psahna in Euboea; Agios Konstantinos and Elateia in Phthiotida; Spetsae, Leheo, and Kranidi in the Peloponnese; Oinophyta in Boeotia. These settlements will be referred to as belonging to a rapidly changing milieu. The total number of children belonging to this group was 380.

Figure 4.1 presents the map of Greece. The triangles indicate the settlements in the first rural group and the circles indicate the settlements in the second rapidly changing milieu group.

Finally, the Athenian group was selected on the basis of demographic information provided by the Athens Research Centre -- a private market research institute. The Athenian group was a representative sample of the Greater Athens area. The schools in order visited were: the 6th, the 106th, the 36th, the 43rd, the 35th, the 28th, the

FIGURE 4.1.
MAP OF GREECE

STEFANOVIKIO ▲
RIZOMYLOS ▲
EFXINOUPOLIS ▲

●VASSILIKA

AGIOS KONSTANTINOS ●
ELATEIA ●   ●PSAHNA
          DROSSIA▲ ● NEW LAMPSAKOS
          OINOFYTA▲ ●VATHY ●GYMNO

KAPARELLI ▲

DIAKOFTO ▲
        ●
    LEHEO
    NEMEA ▲ ▲SOFIKO

        ●KRANIDI
        ●SPETSAE

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122nd, the 27th, the 26th, the 51st and the 54th, belonging to
the central Athens areas of Kypseli, Ano Kypseli, Zographou,
Acharnon, Patissia, Pangrati and Goudi. The average number of
children in each class was 36, and the total number of children
in the Athenian sample was 754. Children who were not born in
Athens, irrespective of the time of their arrival in Athens, were
excluded from the sample. Care was taken that the sample would
be as pure as possible and thus the process of being brought up
in another area, away from Athens, even for a very short period,
might have confounded the purity desired. Consequently, the
initial sample of 754 Athenian children was reduced to 603.

4.2.2. Subject Variables

While certain groups have been shown to have characteristic
self-concept, wide individual differences occur within any single
sample of people. The specific objectives of the study were to
detect the effect of milieu-complexity, school achievement, I.Q.
and father's education and occupation on self-concept. There have
been many empirical attempts, already extensively reported in
Chapter 2, to account for some of the individual differences which
would be relevant to such factors as sex, age, educational level,
race, socioeconomic status, I.Q. These attempts have aimed at
revealing the effects of these variables on self-concept as well
as at helping the researcher with the perennial question of
which variables one should control. However, since phenomenological
theory appears inappropriate for the usual 'if-then' or stimulus-
response experimental design, research on the self-concept employs
essentially correlational designs (Burns, 1979; Wylie, 1974).

In the present case, variables which were controlled were:
a) age of the subjects: age of the pupils ranged from 11-1/2 to
12 years of age; b) class in school: the sixth grade of primary
school; c) type of school: the schools were all public (state-owned,
state-controlled) and co-educational;d)language: all children were
Greek-speaking; e) provenance: all children were born and raised
in the milieu under study, those children born elsewhere than the
present residence being excluded from the final sample; f) religion:
virtually all Greek population (99%) belongs to the Greek
Orthodox Church; g) teachers' sex: only classes taught by male
teachers were selected.* Table 4.2 summarizes the variables that
were controlled.

TABLE 4.2.

CONTROLLED VARIABLES

age of subjects	11-1/2 - 12
school class	sixth grade
type of school	state-owned and controlled -- coeducational
language	Greek
religion	Greek Orthodox
provenance	constant
teacher's sex	only males

The variables presumed to influence self-concept which were con-
sidered in this study were a) children's sex, b) school achievement,

* This selection of male teachers was inevitable since the Ministry
  of Education, in most cases, places male teachers in the last
  two years of elementary school.

c) I.Q., d) father's education, e) father's occupation* and finally

f) milieu-specificity (Athens vs. rural vs. rapidly changing milieu).

It should be noted that in further explanation of the above categories:

a) The children's sex was indicated by the child. (Appendix IV).

b) The measure of school achievement was the pupil's school marks.

The reason for choosing school marks over some achievement test is

that among the different measures of achievement school marks have

often been shown to be a more reliable measure. For example,

Härngvist (1978) mentions that school marks were more predictive for

the choice of academic electives than scores in standardized achieve-

ment tests in the same subjects; and Svensson (1971) has shown that

parents' and teachers' expectations are likely to have greater in-

fluence on marks than on standardized achievement test, marks being

the main basis of the selection for secondary education. The school

marks of the previous school period, obtained from the teacher's

record, were employed. Since the evaluation of the performance of

the pupils may vary from teacher to teacher, from school to school,

from province to province, or from province to Athens, the mark of '8'

in a rural school in the province, for example, may not be objectively

equal to the same mark in Athens. It was decided, due to the lack of

an objective criterion in school marks comparison, to employ a

'relative achievement' intra-class criterion. Separate frequency

distributions of school marks were obtained for each class of every

school. Each frequency distribution was separated into thirds, re-

presenting High, Middle and Low Achievement, relative to the other

pupils in each particular classroom. Figures 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 present

the frequency distribution of school marks of Athenian, rural and

rapidly changing milieu children.

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*A common criterion of classifying families as to socioeconomic status
is to use the occupation of the wage earner. The obvious ideal criterion
is actual income figures which are, however, nearly impossible to obtain.
In the present case, the father's education and father's occupation re-
presented the S.E.S. index.

FIGURE 4.2

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL MARKS-ATHENS
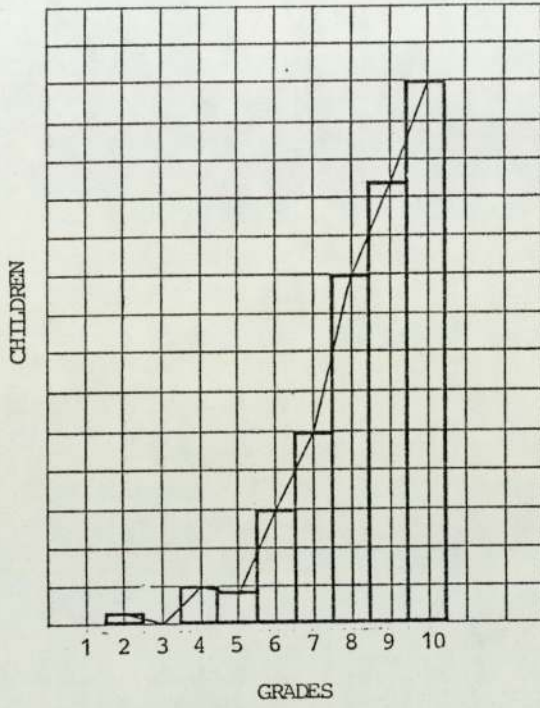
FIGURE 4.3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL MARKS-RURAL

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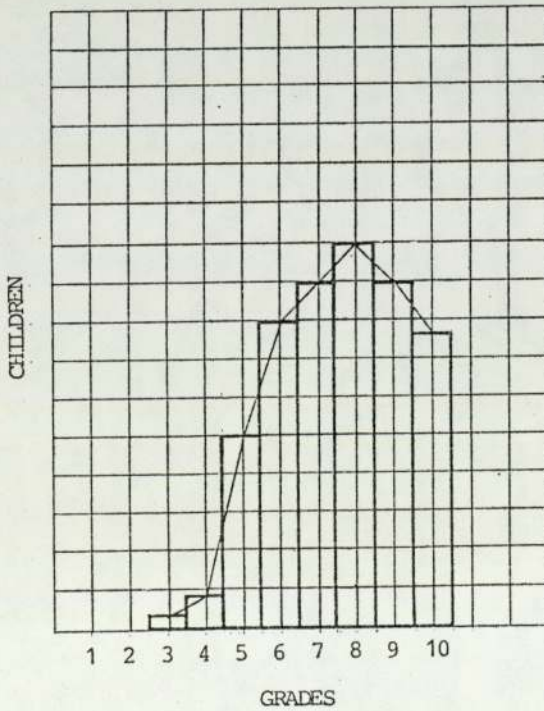
FIGURE 4.4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL MARKS-RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU

GRADES
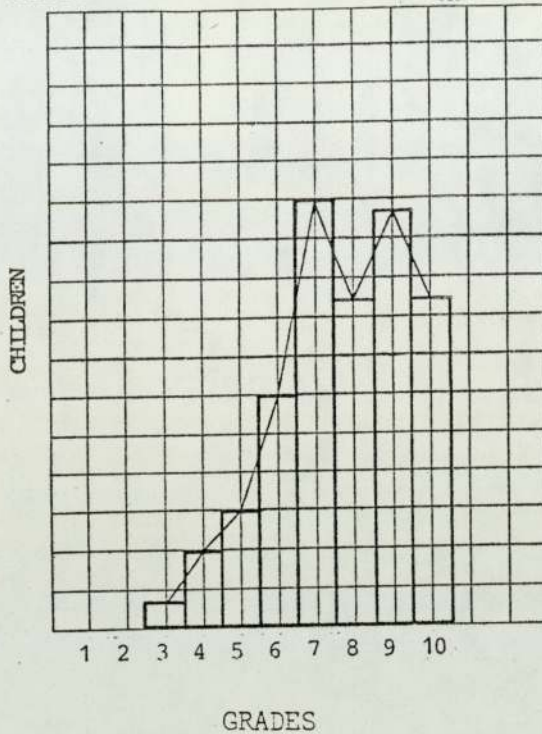
c) Children's I.Q. was measured with an intelligence measure that
was administered to them together with the self-concept inventory
(Appendix III).   The children's I.Q. was measured by the Vocabulary
subtest of the 'Georgas Intelligence Test for Children', since
vocabulary measures the kind of intelligence which is necessary
for school achievement. Georgas (1971) states that the Vocabulary
Test is considered the best means of measuring intelligence and that
it should be regarded as more important for judging the level of the
child's intelligence than the other subtests comprising his test. The
Georgas Test has been standardized in the Greater Athens area and
numerous studies have been conducted with populations in the pro-
vinces.

d) The father's education was defined as follows: 1) University
graduate or equivalent. 2) High school or higher technical school
graduate. 3) Having received only up to the first three years of
high school education or being a technical school graduate. 4)
Having primary school education. 5) Illiterate or semi-literate.

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e) The father's occupation was defined as follows: 1) Profession-
als, white-collar employees and businessmen with highest education.
2) White-collar employees and small-scale merchants with high school
education. 3) Skilled workers, blue-collar and small-scale mer-
chants with less than high school education. 4) Unskilled workers,
any sort of entrepreneur, or unemployed with primary school education
or less. Information concerning father's education and father's
occupation was provided by the children themselves along with the rest
of the information requested, pertinent to them, at the end of the
testing session (Appendix IV). Table 4.3 presents those categories
on which the father's education was based, and Table 4.4 presents those
categories on which father's occupation was based.

TABLE 4.3.

FATHER'S EDUCATION CATEGORIES

1. University graduate -- other equivalent.
2. High school or higher technical school graduate -- 12 years of
   education.
3. Three years of high school -- technical school graduate -- 9 years
   of education.
4. Primary school graduate -- 6 years of education.
5. Illiterate or semi-literate.

TABLE 4.4.

FATHER'S OCCUPATION CATEGORIES

1. Professionals -- white-collar employees -- business with highest
   education.
2. White-collar employees -- small-scale merchants with high school
   education.
3. Skilled workers -- blue-collar and small-scale merchants with
   less than high school education.
4. Unskilled workers -- any sort of entrepreneur or unemployed with
   primary school education or less.

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It should be noted that these same categories were used and found to be satisfactory in extensive Greek research conducted by Batha et al (1982) entitled The Influence of Cultural Variables on School Achievement in the First Two Grades of Elementary School, in the context of the Institute of Child Health.

4.3. Procedure

The writer was at the school approximately two hours before testing time in order to meet the teacher, talk and listen to him and give the rationale of the study. She then requested the teacher to leave her alone with the pupils, something which never proved to be a problem and was an indication of the trust gained and of the proper rapport necessary for the study. Thus, the classroom teacher was never present during the test administration. Preliminary instructions to the children were designed to minimize anxiety and indicated that the inventory was not related to academic work, was not a test of achievement and would remain confidential. In introducing herself to the pupils the examiner said to them: "In this study I am asking you to work with me, in order for us to understand better the school experience. This questionnaire does not pertain to you personally, but to the Greek pupil in general which you represent. What we are about to do has nothing to do with your school lessons and I am going to handle it personally. I am asking you to answer as frankly, as spontaneously, and as carefully as possible. Each one should work on his own. Thank you very much for your cooperation. Do you have any questions to ask? If yes, raise your hand."

At this point it should be reiterated that, as mentioned in Chapter 1, accepted authority is traditionally respected and regarded as nurturant and benevolent, being associated with behaviour re-

sponsive to the definitions: "An authority is someone who teaches, who advises, who helps" (Triandis, Vassiliou and Nassiakou, 1968). Thus most of the time the writer was received in this fashion by the children.

The children were then presented with the self-concept instrument with the following instructions:

"Here you will find some statements which may describe you the way you are, the way you would like to be, or the way you believe your teacher thinks you are.

"Next to each statement there are seven little boxes with the indication: 'Very much', 'Much', 'Moderately', 'A little', 'Very little', 'Not at all' and 'I don't know'. You are asked to check next to each statement, with an x, the box with the description that you think suits you most.

"There is no right or wrong box to check; you can check any one you think describes you best."

Then the writer demonstrated to the pupils, using the following example on the blackboard:

	VERY MUCH	MUCH	MODER-ATELY	A LITTLE	VERY LITTLE	NOT AT ALL	I DON'T KNOW
I am patient			x				
I would like to be patient	x						
My teacher thinks I am patient				x			

"In the above example, in answer to the first statement, 'Moderately' is checked, i.e. I am neither too patient nor too impatient. For the second statement, 'Very much' is checked, i.e. I would like to be very, very patient; and for the third statement, 'Very little'

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is checked, i.e. my teacher thinks I have little patience, which means he thinks I am impatient.

"Do you have any questions? If yes, raise your hand."

"Start checking quickly but carefully and don't forget to check all statements."

After all completed inventories were collected, the writer handed out the Vocabulary subtest of the 'Georgas Intelligence Test for Children' (1971) (Appendix III), comprised of thirty words and followed by the instructions:

"I have here several words. Next to each word, write in your own words what this particular word means. For example, the first word is 'spoon'. What does 'spoon' mean? Write in your own words what a 'spoon' is."

"Spoon is something with which we eat."

"Spoon is a utensil which we use when we eat soup."

"Do you have any questions? If so, raise your hand."

"Start writing."

The children's last task was to complete the information sheet which was distributed to them. They were asked to fill out their sex, their place of birth, their length of stay in the present village or town, their father's occupation, and their father's education (Appendix IV).

Finally all children were thanked for their cooperation.

5.   RESULTS

5.1.   Factor Analysis

5.1.1. Item Pattern

Factor analysis was mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, when con-
struct validity was discussed as an examination of the internal
structure of the self-concept measurement, focusing on patterns of
interrelationship among the items of the measure. In the present
chapter, factor analysis will be discussed first as a method applied
for exploratory purposes -- the exploration and detection of pattern-
ing of variables. First, the factor analysis was used to explore
the extent to which milieu-complexity might shape the self-concept
of the **preadolescents** under study. The primary hypothesis of this
research is: the greater the cultural and psychosocial differences
among the three subcultures the greater the differences in the pattern-
ing of variables. Second, factor analysis will be discussed as a
measuring device in the construction of indices to be used as a
self-concept inventory. This second use of factor analysis is also
of great importance since there has been no previous attempt for
the construction of a specific instrument for the measurement of
self-concept in Greece.

The method of factor analysis has often been used to shape
self-description into self-concept and Wells and Marwell (1976),
despite their reservations, state that:"Factor analysis has seemed
to many a promising technique for dealing empirically with the multi-
dimensionality of self-concept and for developing and refining measures "
(p. 181). Moreover, the factor analytic approach is described by
Buss and Royce (1975) as probably the most potent procedure avail-
able for determining the cross-populational validity of psychological
constructs.

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A number of points should be made regarding the factor analysis solution selected and the general procedures.

The factor analysis was based on an R-type matrix. The number of factors extracted was determined by Kaiser's criterion whereby only the factors having latent roots (eigenvalues), equal or greater than one are extracted (Child, 1970). Cattell (1952) has suggested this criterion as being the most reliable when the number of variables is between 20 and 50. Only items with rotated factor loadings $\geq \pm$ .40 were retained and identified. Child (1970) mentions the arbitrary criterion of $\geq \pm$ .30 as a cutting-off point, provided the sample is not too small (N=50 at least). Comparing it with other criteria, he contends that it is a quite rigorous level where not too much is taken for granted. Nevertheless, to be on the conservative side, in the present study, this arbitrary criterion was raised to $\pm$ .40. This stringent level of factor loading was selected to minimize the possibility of items loading on many factors and, consequently, for clearer interpretation of the factors. It should be mentioned that the signs of the negatively phrased items were reversed, so that the highest loadings extracted would be positive.

When the option of the best rotational method arose, Harris' (1976) proposal was considered. Harris advanced the proposal that several, rather than one, factor programme should be employed with a given collection of data, in this way testing the 'robustness' of factors. By 'robustness' he meant the regularity with which particular factors reappear, irrespective of the analytical techniques adopted. Nie et al (1975) state that the major option available to the analyst is whether to choose an orthogonal rotational method or an oblique one. In the present case, both methods of rotation, with the same set of data, were attempted. Both oblique and orthogonal Varimax

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rotation yielded quite similar factor structures for almost all

separate factor analyses conducted. Table 5.1 provides an example

of two factor structures and their rotated factor loadings using

both oblique and orthogonal solutions, regarding the Athenian boys

from the real self-concept perspective. Nevertheless, since the

TABLE 5.1

EXAMPLE OF FACTOR STRUCTURES AND ROTATED
FACTOR LOADINGS USING BOTH OBLIQUE AND
ORTHOGONAL SOLUTIONS

OBLIQUE		ORTHOGONAL	
FACTOR I	pct.va 37.2%	FACTOR I	pct.va 40.6%
Items	Factor Loadings	Items	Factor Loadings
good at school work	.91	good at school work	.87
studious	.88	good pupil	.82
good pupil	.82	studious	.79
I always do my home-work	.78	I always do my home-work	.75
well-behaved	.55	attentive pupil	.54
attentive pupil	.54		
tidy	.50		
good child	.40		
FACTOR II	pct.va 11.7%	FACTOR II	pct.va 13.0%
Items	Factor Loadings	Items	Factor Loadings
stubborn	.70	selfish	.65
selfish	.69	stubborn	.62
quick-tempered	.48	quick-tempered	.56
		naughty	.53
		sly	.41

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invariance in factor structure, irrespective of which technique of the two was used, had been established, it was decided to keep the orthogonal solution since both Cattell (1952) and Child (1970) speak about an unresolved controversy with respect to the use of oblique solutions. Consequently, from this point onwards in the study, when referring to factor analysis conducted, the orthogonal Varimax rotation will be implied. The Varimax rotation was chosen over the other orthogonal solutions since Nie et al (1975) contend that this method of rotation is most widely used.*

Item scores were factor analyzed separately for the two sexes, since definite differences in self-concept between boys and girls have been found, as extensively mentioned in Chapter 2 (Kohn and Fiedler, 1961; Kosa et al, 1962; Kagan and Moss, 1962; Veness, 1962; Herman, 1971; Ponzo and Wrag Strowig, 1973; Rosenberg, 1972; Gove and Herb, 1974; Offer and Howard, 1972; Offer, Ostrov and Howard, 1977; Simmons and Rosenberg, 1975; Connell et al, 1975; Smith, 1975; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Ellerman, 1980). Besides, as Child (1970) mentions, samples from different populations should not be pooled, in order to avoid obscuring the factors.

Factor analysis was first conducted on the basis of the item scores of all the boys combined -- i.e. from all the three different milieux -- and then on the basis of all the girls' scores. Second, item scores were factor analyzed separately for the Athenian, rural and under rapid transition samples, this representing the test of the primary hypothesis that milieu complexity affects self-concept. The separate factor analysis was decided on the basis of Child's (1970)

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* The SPSS factor analytic programme was used (Version 1975). The missing data were processed through pairwise deletion of missing data.

contention that factors are often taken as descriptive of a certain group and problems arise when a researcher crosses from one population to another, a population being a clearly defined group of individuals. Moreover, it was regarded necessary to demonstrate whether factors are invariant or not, across populations, since only when factors are structurally invariant across populations is it methodologically feasible to make cross-populational or cross-cultural quantitative comparisons (Lesser, Fifer and Clock, 1965; Stodolsky and Lesser, 1968).

The study also focused on the congruence between the real, the ideal and the social self-concept. It has been a common practice to measure self-concept, factor analyze the results and then compare self-concept responses with either ideal self-concept responses or with social self-concept responses to the derived factors (Brooks and Platz, 1968; Dieker, Crane and Brown, 1968; Miyoamoto, Crowell and Katcher, 1956; Wilcox and Fretz, 1971). Nevertheless, because several researchers have noticed variable factor structure (Hansen and Bormann, 1969; Miron and Osgood, 1966; Tucker, 1971) and because, for example, the ideal self-concept may be more stable than the real self-concept (Truax, Schuldt and Wargo, 1968), the assumption that the factors of real self-concept are the same as those of the ideal self-concept or social self-concept has been questioned (Judd and Smith, 1974). Indeed, relevant research has provided results where the factor structure found in the ideal self-concept did not resemble the factor structure of the real self-concept measure (Ibid.). Consideration of this evidence suggests a cautious attitude towards the conduct of research dealing with discrepancy scores between the real and ideal or social self-concept. Consequently, it was decided to run separate factor analyses for the three types of

self-concept in order to ascertain the stability or lack of sta-
bility of factor structure from real self-concept to ideal and social
self-concept. Wylie (1974) mentions Bills' (1971) reporting in
a personal communication to her, separate factor analyses of Self,
Self Acceptance and Ideal Self; and Schludermann and Schludermann
(1969) having analyzed interitem self, interitem ideal self and inter-
item   discrepancy correlations independently for Worchel's Self-
Activity Inventory (SAI).

The Varimax rotation yielded a minimum of ten and a maximum
of thirteen factors per category, but only four ranging up to six
factors were retained and identified in the analysis since, follow-
ing Kaiser's criterion for extraction, the remaining factors account-
ed for insignificant amounts of the total variance.

Table 5.2 illustrates the eighteen different subcategories form-
ed on the basis of the Real/Ideal/Social self-concept, on the
Athenian/Rural/Rapidly Changing Milieu and on the Male/Female dimen-
sions.*

Tables 5.3 through 5.25 present the factors that emerged for
the eighteen different subcategories. Each table presents the items
with significant factor loadings on each factor,** the sum of the
squares of the loadings of each factor (i.e. the eigenvalue), the
amount of variance accounted for by each factor retained, and the
number of children in each subcategory. Each factor is given a name
which would reveal in a theoretically meaningful way the factor
pattern.

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* Since findings are many and quite complex, for the facilitation of
  the reader, from this point onwards Athenian children will be
  referred to as ATH, rural as Rr and rapidly changing milieu as
  RCM.

** The items with loadings which fall below the criterion value of
   .40 were omitted in order to highlight the remaining ones.

TABLE 5.2

PRESENTATION OF SUBCATEGORIES

Real Self-Concept

Athens
Males   Females

Rural
Males   Females

Rapidly Changing Milieu
Males   Females

Ideal Self-Concept

Athens
Males   Females

Rural
Males   Females

Rapidly Changing Milieu
Males   Females

Social Self-Concept

Athens
Males   Females

Rural
Males   Females

Rapidly Changing Milieu
Males   Females

The factor profiles will be presented in the following order: first boys and then girls from the three different milieux combined, from the real self-concept perspective; then boys from Athens, from rural and from rapidly changing milieu independently from the real self-concept perspective, followed by the girls. The same order, first boys and then girls from each milieu independently, will be kept for the ideal self-concept and for the social self-concept.

5.1.1.1. Real Self-Concept -- Boys Combined Sample

Table 5.3 contains the four interpretable factors which were extracted from the factor analysis of the combined boys' sample on the real self-concept level. The four factors together account for 78.6% of the total variance. Twenty-one out of the initial 40 self-report items contributed to the four factors' formation. The

TABLE 5.3

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE COMBINED SAMPLE (n=614)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	48.6%	8.59452	FACTOR II	12.7%	2.23947

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

good pupil	.82
good at school work	.81
I always do my homework	.73
studious	.73
attentive pupil	.46

SOCIAL SELF

good housekeeper	.53
orderly	.53
polite	.52
clean, neat	.52
hard-working	.51
someone parents are proud of	.49
intelligent	.46
attractive	.45
good child	.44
lovable	.42
eager	.42

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	10.5%	1.84800	FACTOR IV	6.8%	1.19507

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	.69
quick-tempered	.63
selfish	.59

ADJUSTED AT SCHOOL

disciplined and obedient	.58
happy at school	.52

factors were named: SOCIAL SELF, SCHOOL COMPETENCE, NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS and ADJUSTMENT AT SCHOOL. It should be noted that the items of the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor are negative in meaning, because as the reader is reminded, these are some of the negatively phrased items, the signs of which were reversed.

5.1.1.2.   Real Self-Concept -- Girls' Combined Sample

Table 5.4 contains the factors which were generated by the analysis of the item responses of all the females combined, irrespective of provenance. Just as with boys, four factors emerged which accounted for 80.3% of the total variance. Twenty-seven items out of the 40 initial self-report statements contributed to factor formation. The names given to the four factors were: SOCIAL SELF, SCHOOL COMPETENCE, NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS and INDIVIDUAL ASSETS. The items that load on the ACHIEVEMENT factor are identical with those of the boys. The SOCIAL SELF factor of the girls includes more items than that of the boys, and accounts for almost 50% of the total variance. The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor of the girls shares with the analogous boys' factor the items: stubborn, quick-tempered and selfish. The items naughty and sly are specific to the girls' groups and it should be noted that being sly and being naughty have quite different connotations in the Greek language when referring to a girl's rather than to a boy's behaviour. Ascribed to a girl, these are characteristics alluding to seductive behaviour. The last factor, INDIVIDUAL ASSETS, is totally different from the last boys' factor, referring to ADJUSTMENT AT SCHOOL.

Following the analyses for the combined sample of boys and girls, another set of factor analyses was carried out, this time boys and

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TABLE 5.4

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE COMBINED SAMPLE (n=583)

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	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	49.6%	8.65998

SOCIAL SELF

good neighbour	.60
disciplined and obedient	.59
polite	.59
good housekeeper	.57
hard-working	.55
eager	.54
orderly	.52
well-behaved in class	.51
good child	.50
clean, neat	.49
attentive pupil	.47
good sister	.44
someone parents are proud of	.44
useful and helping everyone	.42
in harmony with my family	.42

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR II	13.8%	2.40941

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

good at school work	.85
good pupil	.82
I always do my homework	.72
studious	.70
attentive pupil	.47

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	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	10.3%	1.79578

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	.68
quick-tempered	.60
selfish	.52
naughty	.51
sly	.48

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR IV	66%	1.14967

INDIVIDUAL ASSETS

brave	.69
timid	.53

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girls separately for each of the three different milieux.

5.1.1.3. Real Self-Concept -- Athenian Boys

Table 5.5 presents the four interpretable factors generated by
the factor analysis of the ATH boys' responses on the real self-
concept level accounting for 72.0% of the total variance. The
four factors were given the following names; SCHOOL COMPETENCE,
NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, OBEDIENCE and SOCIAL
SELF. The items which load on the four factors are presented in
Table 5.5. It is important to note that only 18 of the 40 self-
regard items contributed to factor formation. SCHOOL COMPETENCE is
the strongest factor, accounting for 40.6% of the total variance.

TABLE 5.5

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE ATHENS (n=265)

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	pct.va	eigenvalue			pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	40.6%	8.06613		FACTOR II	13.0%	2.57776

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARAC-
TERISTICS

good at school work	.87	selfish	.65
good pupil	.82	stubborn	.62
studious	.79	quick-tempered	.56
I always to my home-		naughty	.53
work	.75	sly	.41
attentive pupil	.54		

---

	pct.va	eigenvalue			pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	10.9%	2.15834		FACTOR IV	7.3%	1.44475

OBEDIENCE

SOCIAL SELF

useful and helping every-		nice to my teacher	.67
one	.51	in harmony with my	
hard-working	.50	family	.61
someone parents are		the teacher likes me	.50
proud of	.49		
intelligent	.48		
eager	.45		

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5.1.1.4.   Real Self-Concept -- Rural Boys

Table 5.6 contains the six interpretable factors which emerged from the factor analysis of the Rr boys' responses from the real self-concept perspective. Two additional factors were extracted, compared to the ATH boys' factor analysis. Thirty out of 40 self-concept items contributed to factor formation. These six factors account for 78.9% of the total variance. SCHOOL COMPETENCE was again the first factor that emerged, accounting for 41.7% of the variance. More items load on this factor, compared to the analogous factor of the ATH boys. Apart from being a good pupil, good at school work, studious, always doing his homework and attentive, in the case of the Rr boys, good child, someone parents are proud of and intelligent also load on this SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor. Factor II was named PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR in contrast to Factor III in the case of the ATH boys, which was named OBEDIENCE, implying that adherence to the rules for the Rr boys depends on motives that are related to a prosocial goal.* SOCIAL SELF appears in the factor analysis of the Rr boys as a third factor but it is only isomorphically relevant to the ATH boys' SOCIAL SELF factor since it is comprised of completely different items. Being nice to my teacher, in harmony with my family and being liked by my teacher constitute the SOCIAL SELF concept for the ATH boys, while being a good brother, a good friend, useful and helping everyone, and a good housekeeper are what constitute the corresponding SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT in the case of the Rr boys. NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS emerges as the last factor. It accounts for only 4.5% of the variance, as compared to the 13.0% of the ATH boys' responses, and it includes fewer items; naughty and sly appearing only in the ATH boys' case.

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* In the same fashion Staub (1980) analyzes the interactions between personal and situational influences on social and prosocial behaviour.

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TABLE 5.6

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RURAL (n=160)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	41.7%	9.47809	FACTOR II	11.3%	2.57159

SCHOOL COMPETENCE   PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

good pupil	.77	well-behaved in class	.71
good at school work	.76	disciplined and obedient	.68
I always do my homework	.74	good neighbour	.56
studious	.69	happy at school	.50
attentive pupil	.53	eager	.49
good child	.53	polite	.48
someone parents are proud of	.42	the teacher likes me	.43
intelligent	.40		

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.0%	1.81841	FACTOR IV	7.6%	1.73181

SOCIAL SELF   THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS

good brother	.59	lovable	.61
good friend	.58	attractive	.55
useful and helping everyone	.50	good child	.47
good housekeeper	.45	mummy's pet	.46
		someone parents are proud of	.44

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.8%	1.31426	FACTOR VI	4.5%	1.01802

INDIVIDUAL ASSETS   NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

                                     CHARACTERISTICS

brave	.82	stubborn	.69
good athlete	.44	quick-tempered	.65
strong-willed	.40	selfish	.61

Factor IV, THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS, and Factor V, INDIVIDUAL ASSETS
are factors that are not encountered in the ATH boys' factor analysis
and their content is easily deciphered from their titles.

5.1.1.5.   Real Self-Concept -- Boys from Rapidly Changing Milieu

Table 5.7 presents the five factors that were generated by
factor analyzing the responses of the RCM boys, accounting for
78.2% of the total variance; 24 out of the 40 items contributed to
the factor formation. SCHOOL COMPETENCE is again encountered as the
first major factor, and the items loading on this factor are iden-
tical with those of the ATH boys. NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARAC-
TERISTICS emerges as factor V, being the last one also in the case
of the Rr boys and identical with it in item structure. The factor
referring to SOCIAL SELF shares only very few of the same items with
either the ATH or the Rr boys' respective factors. The factor named
REACTIONS OF OTHERS shares, with the analogous one in the case of
the Rr boys, items such as lovable, good child, someone parents are
proud of , and the factor named OBEDIENCE although it does not share
the same items as the analogous factor of the ATH boys, it iso-
morphically shares the same essence. Thus, the factors which have
emerged from the analysis of the RCM boys' responses,are shared in
content, meaning, or both, either with some of the factors which have
emerged from the ATH boys' response analysis or with some of the
factors which have emerged from the Rr boys' response analysis.

In summary, the factor structure of the ATH boys, of the Rr
boys and of the RCM boys are different. There are only slight
structural similarities between them. Areas of relative structural
similarity across all three subgroups were only SCHOOL COMPETENCE
and NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS. Another interesting

TABLE 5.7

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU (n=189)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	44.7%	9.13831	FACTOR II	11.0%	2.24027

SCHOOL COMPETENCE   SOCIAL SELF

good pupil	.88	in harmony with my	
good at school work	.79	family	.58
studious	.76	good neighbour	.58
I always do my home-		disciplined and obedi-	
work	.65	ent	.51
attentive pupil	.45	happy at school	.48
		hard-working	.45
		useful and helping	
		everyone	.43

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	9.9%	2.02677	FACTOR IV	7.2%	1.46221

THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS   OBEDIENCE

polite	.57	orderly	.64
someone parents are		good housekeeper	.56
proud of	.50	hard-working	.47
well-behaved in class	.49	clean, neat	.41
good child	.46		
lovable	.46		

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.4%	1.10908

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	.71
quick-tempered	.70
selfish	.54
naughty	.50

fact is that the factor analysis that emerged from the ATH boys' responses made use of only 18 out of the 40 self-regard items, while the factor analysis that emerged from the Rr boys' responses loaded on 30 out of the 40 items. Of greatest interest are the differences in factor structure which will be discussed in the following chapter.

5.1.1.6. Real Self-Concept -- Athenian Girls

Table 5.8 presents the four interpretable factors that emerged from the analysis of the ATH girls' responses, accounting for 78.4% of the total variance. Twenty-three out of the 40 self-concept items

TABLE 5.8

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE ATHENS (n=291)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	47.0%	8.93716	FACTOR II	14.6%	2.77453

SCHOOL COMPETENCE		PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS	
good pupil	.85	good neighbour	.70
good at school work	.82	hard-working	.59
studious	.72	polite	.59
I always do my homework	.62	orderly	.58
attentive pupil	.60	disciplined and obedient	.56
intelligent	.50	good housekeeper	.56
nice to my teacher	.45	eager	.52
the teacher likes me	.44	good sister	.49
		clean,neat	.42
		well-behaved in class	.40

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	9.9%	1.87706	FACTOR IV	6.9%	132214

INDIVIDUAL ASSETS		NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS	
brave	.77	stubborn	.78
timid	.60	selfish	.65
		quick-tempered	.53

contributed to factor formation. SCHOOL COMPETENCE is, as in the boys' case, the strongest factor accounting for 47.0% of the variance. The items constituting the factor resemble those of the ATH and RCM boys. The new elements are three items referring to being intelligent, nice towards the teacher, and the teacher, in return, liking them. Thus it is not merely school competence that the factor pertains to, but also interpersonal relationships in the classroom. Factor II which was named PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS accounts for 14.6% of the variance. This factor contains ten items. It alludes to stereotyped female characteristics and it is a factor distinctly different from what has been encountered in the boys' subgroups. The fourth factor, called INDIVIDUAL ASSETS, consists of only two items, which are actually one and the same item, expressed in both a positive and a negative way: I am brave, I am not timid. The last factor, NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, is very similar to the same factor encountered all through the pre-viously mentioned analyses with boys.

5.1.1.7. Real Self-Concept -- Rural Girls

Table 5.9 shows the factors that constitute the Rr girls' factor profile; they account for 78.9% of the total variance, and 28 of the initial self-regard items have contributed to the factor formation. PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS emerged as Factor I and accounts for 38.3% of the variance in contrast to the same factor of the ATH girls which emerged second but accounted for far less variance. The items that load into this factor are quite similar to those of the ATH girls: good housekeeper, good neighbour, clean and neat, disciplined and obedient. Nevertheless, what constitutes the big difference is that the items useful and helping everyone, happy at school and attractive, all expressing a positive attitude

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TABLE 5.9

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RURAL (n=134)

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	38.3%	8.85894

PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS

useful and helping every-one	.70
good housekeeper	.63
happy at school	.56
good neighbour	.55
clean, neat	.52
eager	.48
disciplined and obedient	.48
good child	.44
attractive	.40

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR II	12.5%	2.89879

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

good at school work	.87
good pupil	.80
studious	.72
I always do my homework	.70
attentive pupil	.47

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.4%	1.93948

SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN

CLASS

the teacher likes me	.77
nice to my teacher	.59
intelligent	.57
hard-working	.53

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR IV	7.3%	1.67872

SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME

polite	.61
well-behaved in class	.58
good child	.45
in harmony with my family	.40

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	6.8%	1.58335

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

quick-tempered	.63
sly	.52
naughty	.45

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR VI	5.6%	1.28474

THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS

lovable	.62
good friend	.55
someone parents are proud of	.42

toward the self and a prosocial attitude towards the others, are missing from the ATH responses. SCHOOL COMPETENCE has a secondary importance and confines itself to items directly relevant to school work and diligence, while interpersonal relationships in the class-room have emerged as a separate factor which was named SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN CLASS; Good relationship with the teacher and vice versa depends on the pupil's intelligence and hard work. Social self is distinctly separated into SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN CLASS with Factor III and SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME with Factor IV, where good relationship with parents depends on the child being good, polite, and well-behaved out in the social world. The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, a factor that has emerged in every subgroup's analysis, has only the item quick-tempered in common with the ATH girls' analogous factor. The last factor has not emerged so far in any other subgroup's analysis on the real level, either in the boys' or in the girls' cases. It was named THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS and expresses the positive attitude towards the self directly derived from the acceptance provided from the significant others in one's life, ingroup, friends and parents: I am lovable, I am a good friend and I am someone parents are proud of.

5.1.1.8. Real Self-Concept -- Girls from Rapidly Changing Milieu

The factor profile of the RCM girls is composed of five factors accounting for 78.4% of the total variance. Twenty-two out of the 40 self-report items load on the factors (Table 5.10). The PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS emerge as Factor I, accounting for 42.7% of the total variance. This factor is similar to the analogous Athenian factor in content, except that it is made up of fewer items.

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TABLE 5.10

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU (n=158)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	42.7%	9.15287	FACTOR II	12.9%	2.77058

PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS

polite	.69
eager	.65
someone parents are proud of	.61
good housekeeper	.59
well-behaved in class	.55
orderly	.47
attentive pupil	.48

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

good at school work	.87
good pupil	.86
I always do my homework	.80
studious	.66
attentive pupil	.48

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	11.3%	2.43257	FACTOR IV	6.1%	1.30858

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	-.67
naughty	-.64
quick-tempered	-.58
selfish	-.54

RELATING TO TEACHER ROMANTICALLY

nice to my teacher	.62
romantic and sentimental	.48
teacher likes me	.43

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.4%	1.15320

INDIVIDUAL ASSETS

strong-willed	.59
disciplined and obedient	.48
hard-working	.44

The positive attitudes towards the self, present in the case of the Rr girls, are absent in the RCM girls. SCHOOL COMPETENCE emerges second in importance and is identical in content and in amount of variance explained, with the analogous factor of the Rr girls. Factor III refers to the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, but a new element is encountered in this factor, not found in any other subgroup's responses; these characteristics are positively expressed, i.e. I am stubborn, I am naughty, I am quick-tempered, I am selfish. The fourth factor was called RELATING TO THE TEACHER ROMANTICALLY, and refers to the perception of a social self in class. As already mentioned, for the Rr girls a good relationship with the teacher depends on the pupil's intelligence and hard work, whilst in the present case, a good relationship with the teacher depends on the pupil's romantic and sentimental attitude. The findings presented in these last two factors may at first seem surprising to the reader, but they will be discussed and accounted for in the following chapter. The last factor, a rather weak one accounting for only 5.4% of the variance is INDIVIDUAL ASSETS, similar in meaning to the desire for strength evoked in the corresponding factor elicited by the ATH girl -- being strong-willed, disciplined and obedient, and hard-working.

Summarizing, the same comment made when analyzing the RCM boys' responses holds true for the girls from the same environment. That is, some of the factors are shared with the Athenian factors and some with the rural factors. There are times when the RCM girls remind one of their Athenian counterparts and times when they resemble their rural counterparts. Another general comment that was true for the boys' response analysis and is here noticed again is that the different factors are structurally variant across popu-

TABLE 5.11

SUMMARY TABLE OF VARIANCE EXPLAINED BY REAL

SELF-CONCEPT FACTORS

	BOYS		GIRLS	
ATHENS	School Competence	40.6%	School Competence	47.0%
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	13.0%	Proper Girl's Characteristics	14.6%
	Obedience	10.9%	Individual Assets	9.9%
	Social Self	7.3%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	6.9%
RURAL	School Competence	41.9%	Proper Girl's Characteristics	38.3%
	Prosocial Behaviour	11.3%	School Competence	12.5%
	Social Self	8.0%	Social Self as Expressed in Class	8.4%
	The Reactions of Others	7.6%	Social Self as Expressed at Home	7.3%
	Individual Assets	5.8%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	6.8%
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	4.5%	The Reactions of Others	5.6%
RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU	School Competence	44.7%	Proper Girl's Characteristics	42.7%
	Social Self	11.0%	School Competence	12.9%
	The Reactions of Others	9.9%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	11.3%
	Obedience	7.2%	Relating to Teacher Romantically	6.1%
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	5.4%	Individual Assets	5.4%

lations. Relative similarity across all three subgroups is found
only in the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor. The Rr girls' response
analysis revealed that this group, compared with the other two, pro-
duced the largest amount of items loading onto factors. Twenty-
eight items contributed to factor formation in comparison with 23
in the case of the ATH girls and 22 in the case of the RCM girls.
Table 5.11 presents a summary table of the percentages of variance
explained by each factor for each separate analysis from the real
self-concept perspective. Similarities and differences between girls
and boys and across the three different milieux will be discussed
in the next chapter.

The next group of factor analyses aimed at revealing the factor
structure that emerged from the children's responses to the self-
concept measured on the ideal level. Factor analysis of children's
responses as to how they would like to be,yielded factors different
from those that emerged from their responses as to how they think
they are, as shown in Tables 5.12 to 5.16.

5.1.1.9.   Ideal Self-Concept -- Athenian Boys

Table 5.12 shows the factor profile of the ATH boys on the ideal
dimension of a self-concept perception, accounting for 79.8% of
the variance. Thirty-three out of the 40 self-regard items contri-
buted to the factor formation, almost double the number of the items
which loaded on the factors on the real level. The first factor
accounts for 54.7% of the total variance; sixteen items load onto
it, and it was given the very general name THE SELF IN THE SCHOOL,
SOCIAL AND FAMILY CONTEXT, since it includes items from so many
heterogeneous aspects of the self-concept. The next factor accounts
for only 8.2% of the variance and has an eigenvalue of 1.69 compared

TABLE 5.12

IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE ATHENS (n=274)

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	54.7%	11.33948

THE SELF IN THE SCHOOL, SOCIAL AND
FAMILY CONTEXT

studious	.79
good at school work	.72
happy	.64
attentive pupil	.64
lovable	.61
good friend	.57
clean and neat	.56
useful and helping every-one	.55
someone parents are proud of	.54
polite	.52
good child	.48
intelligent	.48
the teacher likes me	.46
I always do my homework	.44
in harmony with my family	.44
good pupil	.40

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR II	8.2%	1.69249

HARMONY AT HOME

in harmony with my family	.56
hard-working	.55
strong-willed	.53
intelligent	.47
I always do my homework	.47
good athlete	.43
good neighbour	.40
brave	.40

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	7.0%	1.44561

RELATING AT SCHOOL

happy at school	.73
nice to my teacher	.61
disciplined and obedient	.40

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR IV	5.0%	1.04529

SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME

good brother	.73
good neighbour	.62

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	4.9%	1.01749

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY
CHARACTERISTICS

coward	.65
stubborn	.48
selfish	.44
quick-tempered	.40

to the eigenvalue of the first factor, which is 11.33. The items
that load onto the first factor are: I would like to be studious, ...
good at school work, ... happy, ... an attentive pupil, ... lovable, ..
a good friend,... clean and neat, ... useful and helping everyone, ...
someone parents are proud of, ... polite, ... good child, ...
intelligent, ... to be liked by the teacher, ... to always do my
homework, ... in harmony with my family, ... a good pupil. The first
items refer to the desire of being, on the one hand, competent at
school, but at the same time also happy, an item absent on the real
level. Relating to parents and teachers would depend on being a
good child at home, and a good pupil at school. The ATH boys would
like to be useful and helping everyone and consequently would be
lovable and good friends. The second, third and fourth factors,
much weaker ones, refer to how HARMONY would have been achieved AT
HOME, what RELATING AT SCHOOL would have been like and how one
would express one's SOCIAL SELF AT HOME. The last factor that
emerged concerns the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS,
a factor that had emerged second in importance on the real level.
The ATH boys would not like to be cowards, stubborn, selfish and
quick-tempered. Not wanting to be a coward is a new addition to
the list of non-acceptable characteristics, while being naughty and
sly appeared exclusively on the real level. An important finding is
that a great number of items loading on different factors on the
ideal level were absent on the real level.

5.1.1.10. Ideal Self-Concept -- Rural Boys

Table 5.13 contains the five interpretable factors which emerged
from the factor analysis of the Rr boys' responses on the ideal
self-concept level, accounting for 76.5% of the variance. Twenty-

TABLE 5.13

IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RURAL (n=159)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	45.2%	10.07326	FACTOR II	10.6%	2.35118

| SOCIAL SELF | | RELATING AT SCHOOL AND CHARAC- |
| | | TERISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL |

clean and neat	.78	the teacher likes me	.83
intelligent	.70	nice to my teacher	.77
good child	.64	happy at school	.66
good friend	.61	orderly	.58
attentive pupil	.50	disciplined and obedient	.46
orderly	.48	hard-working	.41
good neighbour	.48		
happy	.45		
polite	.42		

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.2%	1.81832	FACTOR IV	6.7%	1.49691

| SCHOOL COMPETENCE | | NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARAC- |
| | | TERISTICS |

I always do my homework	.75	quick-tempered	.62
studious	.72	selfish	.61
good at schoolwork	.65	stubborn	.54
good pupil	.57	depressed	.45
useful and helping every-one	.41		

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.8%	1.29782

SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME

good brother	.59
polite	.54
good housekeeper	.51

seven items compared to 30 on the real level, contributed to factor
formation. The first factor, on the real level, being SCHOOL COM-
PETENCE, now on the ideal level, refers to SOCIAL SELF. The Rr boy
would like to be: a good child, a good friend, a good neighbour,
polite, orderly, intelligent, an attentive pupil and happy. All
the items loading onto this first factor on the ideal level had also
appeared -- in a different factor structure -- on the real level.
RELATING AT SCHOOL AND CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL is the second
factor which emerged from the analysis. The Rr boy would like to
relate successfully to his teacher and would like to be happy at
school, while he would also like to be orderly, disciplined and obe-
dient, and hard-working. SCHOOL COMPETENCE emerges as Factor III
in terms of sheer capacity and efficiency, i.e. I would like to always
do my homework, I would like to be studious, good at school work and
a good pupil, a much weaker factor than the analogous one on the real
level. THE NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS appear as
Factor IV. Along with not liking being quick-tempered, selfish and
stubborn, another item not encountered thus far in the rest of the
analyses loads onto this factor; this is, I wouldn't like to be de-
pressed. SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME is the last significant
factor, with items such as: I would like to be a good brother, I
would like to be polite, and I would like to be a good housekeeper.
As an overall comment, there seems to be a clear hierarchy focusing
first on the social self and relating with others, and second, on
competence. It is the proper social self rather than the achiever
who is being stressed.

5.1.1.11. Ideal Self-Concept -- Boys from Rapidly Changing Milieu

Table 5.14 presents the six factors that emerged from the

analysis of the RCM boys' responses. These factors account for
78.0% of the variance and 24 items -- the same number as on the real
level -- contribute to the factor formation. SOCIAL SELF, as in
the case of the Rr boys on the ideal level, is described in Factor I.
I would like to be a good brother, ... a good child, ... a good friend,
I would like to be loved by the others and be well-behaved. Being
a good brother and a good friend were items that did not load onto
any factor on the real level, where Factor I referred to SCHOOL COM-
PETENCE. The second factor was named MOTIVATED HAPPY PUPIL. Items
that loaded onto this factor are: I would like to be intelligent, ...
happy, ... eager, ... studious, ... orderly, ... good child, ... good
pupil. Some of the items refer to work habits, such as good pupil, ...
studious, ... orderly, while others refer to how he would like
to be feeling at school. ADJUSTED AT SCHOOL is the third factor
that emerged, where happiness at school appears again, and it is a
factor similar to the analogous one for the ATH boys. HARMONY AT
HOME, the fourth factor, would be achieved if one was hard working
and PARENTAL APPROVAL, Factor VI, would have been gained if one was
attractive and polite. Factor V refers to the boys' INTERPERSONAL
RELATIONS such as: I would like to be nice to my teacher, I would like
to be a good neighbour, I would like to be a good friend.

In summarizing the general trends that emerged from the ideal
self-concept profiles elicited from the boys across the three dif-
ferent milieux, the ATH boys' response analysis showed more factors
emerging on the ideal level compared to the real, the number of the
items loading onto the factors was doubled and the desired self-
concept encompassed facets of the self-concept. The SCHOOL COMPETENCE
factor being dominant on the real level gave place to SELF IN THE
SCHOOL, SOCIAL AND FAMILY CONTEXT; The Rr boys' response analysis

TABLE 5.14

IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU (n=190)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	41.7%	8.90140	FACTOR II	10.5%	2.23609

SOCIAL SELF   MOTIVATED HAPPY PUPIL

good brother	.67
well-behaved in class	.59
good child	.59
lovable	.57
good friend	.49

intelligent	.70
happy	.64
eager	.49
studious	.46
orderly	.45
good child	.45
good pupil	.45

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	7.3%	1.55896	FACTOR IV	6.8%	1.44386

ADJUSTED AT SCHOOL   HARMONY AT HOME

happy at school	.57
strong-willed	.51
good pupil	.40
the teacher likes me	.40

| in harmony with my family | .66 |
| hard-working | .55 |

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	6.4%	1.36152	FACTOR VI	5.3%	1.12572

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS   PARENTAL APPROVAL

nice to my teacher	.91
good neighbour	.46
good friend	.40

someone parents are proud of	.67
attractive	.63
polite	.51

revealed fewer factor structure discrepancies between real and ideal perspective as compared to the ATH boys' responses. It can once more be mentioned that the RCM boys' responses resemble partly the ATH and partly the Rr boys. The factors were found to be structurally variant across the three subcultures; even the very few structural similarities in the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor and that of the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACHTERISTICS present on the real level were absent on the ideal level.

5.1.1.12. Ideal Self-Concept -- Athenian Girls

Table 5.15 presents the factor profile of the ATH girls from the ideal perspective; it accounts for 76.5% of the total variance and 25 items contribute to factor formation. Factor I, the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS, emerges first on the ideal level, accounting for a large percentage of variance, 44.9% compared to the corresponding factor on the real level, which accounted for only 14.6% of the variance. The ATH girl who on the ideal level would like to be polite, a good neighbour, eager to do what is asked of her, disciplined and obedient, would also like to be an attentive pupil, orderly, and a good sister. SCHOOL COMPETENCE has shrunk into a weak factor accounting for 9.9% of the variance. I would like to be happy at school is an item which did not load onto this same factor, on the real level. The ATH girl would like to be good at school work, studious, and always do her homework but she would also like to be happy at school and strong-willed. Factor III was named WORK HABITS and resembles in meaning the previous factor: I would like to be hard-working, strong-willed, studious but also happy and useful and helpful towards everyone. HAPPY HOMEMAKING emerged as Factor IV where she expresses the desire of being a good housekeeper,

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TABLE 5.15

IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE ATHENS (n=312)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	44.9%	8.00934	FACTOR II	9.9%	1.75967

PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS   SCHOOL COMPETENCE

polite	.70	I always do my homework	.63
good neighbour	.61	good at schoolwork	.58
eager	.58	clean and neat	.55
disciplined and obedient	.56	happy at school	.50
attentive pupil	.53	strong-willed	.47
orderly	.51	studious	.47
good sister	.49		

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.7%	1.54889	FACTOR IV	7.2%	1.27971

WORK HABITS   HAPPY HOMEMAKING

hard-working	.64	good housekeeper	.66
strong-willed	.54	good pupil	.64
useful and helping every-		lovable	.51
one	.44	good child	.41
happy	.44		
studious	.41		

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.8%	1.02869

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

selfish	.72
stubborn	.59
quick-tempered	.48

a good pupil, a good child and lovable to the others. The last

factor, NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, is identical

to the analogous one on the real level.

5.1.1.13.   Ideal Self-Concept -- Rural Girls

Table 5.16 shows the seven interpretable factors that emerged

from the analysis of the Rr girls' responses. On the real level, the

first and strongest factor was the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS

while, on the ideal level, the first factor is ACCEPTANCE IN SCHOOL

RELATIONS. The Rr girl would like to be nice to her teacher, to

be liked by him, to be happy at school, to be someone her parents

would be proud of, to be lovable and attractive; she would also like

to be intelligent and non-timid. The second factor that emerged was

called WORK HABITS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL, and refers

to her desire to be orderly, studious and an attentive pupil, brave,

eager to do what is asked of her and the pride of her parents. COM-

PETENCE IN HER SCHOOL WORK, a factor quite similar to the relevant

one on the real level, has now moved down to Factor IV. GOOD ATHLETIC

PERFORMANCE is Factor III where her desire to be a good athlete

with strong will and intelligence is embedded in the context of the

group. The last three, rather weak, factors were called PART OF

PROPER SOCIAL SELF since their item content is very similar. There

is a fusion of home with school; the Rr girl would like to be lovable,

a good sister and in harmony with her family, an attentive pupil and

well-behaved in class. The first three items are similar to the factor

called THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS on the real level.

5.1.1.14.   Ideal Self-Concept -- Girls from Rapidly Changing Milieu

Table 5.17 contains the five factors that constitute the profile

of the RCM girl from an ideal perspective. These factors account for

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TABLE 5.16

IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RURAL (n=158)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	36.5%	8.86932	FACTOR II	10.5%	2.55285

ACCEPTANCE IN SCHOOL RELATIONS

WORK HABITS AND CHARACTERISTICS
OF A PROPER PUPIL

nice to my teacher	.85
the teacher likes me	.81
happy at school	.70
timid	.59
someone parents are proud of	.58
intelligent	.55
attractive	.51
lovable	.46

orderly	.69
eager	.67
studious	.59
someone parents are proud of	.53
brave	.45
attentive pupil	.42

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.2%	2.00084	FACTOR IV	6.7%	1.63133

GOOD ATHLETIC PERFORMANCE

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

good athlete	.77
useful and helping everyone	.73
clean and neat	.53
strong-willed	.47
intelligent	.40

good at schoolwork	.73
good pupil	.61
I always do my homework	.59
disciplined and obedient	.42

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	6.3%	1.52126	FACTOR VI	6.0%	1.45447

PART OF PROPER SOCIAL SELF

PART OF PROPER SOCIAL SELF

| lovable | .78 |
| good sister | .68 |

| good sister | .72 |
| attentive pupil | .61 |

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR VII	5.4%	1.30790

PART OF PROPER SOCIAL SELF

| in harmony with my family | .70 |
| well-behaved in class | .42 |

77.6% of the variance and 24 items contribute to factor formation. Factor I is very similar to the analogous one on the real level. PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS on the ideal level emerges also as the first factor. The difference is that more items load on this factor now, as can be seen by comparing Table 5.17 with Table 5.10. SCHOOL COMPETENCE is the second factor and apart from the item attentive pupil which loads on the relevant factor on the real level, both factors are identical from both perspectives. The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, Factor III, are also very similar to those items which were siginificant on the real level, but this time the items are negatively phrased: I would not like to be stubborn, I would not like to be quick-tempered, I would not like to be selfish, I would not like to be sly. Factor IV refers to the girl's desire regarding her SOCIAL SELF, where she would like to be a good friend, a good neighbour and nice to her teacher. The last factor which emerged was called ORDERLINESS and is composed of two items, wanting to be clean and neat, and orderly.

In summarizing the most important points in the girls' ideal self-concept profiles, it is seen that the ATH girls who emphasized SCHOOL COMPETENCE on the real level now attribute less importance to this factor (the percentage of variance explained by SCHOOL COMPETENCE has dropped from 47% to 9.9%). Achievement loses the importance it had assumed on the real level, the same trend which was noticed with the boys. It is the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS which now assumes the first and strongest position on the ideal level. The Rr girls' analysis revealed the largest number of significant factors and the focus is no longer on the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS but has shifted to ACCEPTANCE IN SCHOOL RELATIONS.

TABLE 5.17

IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU (n=134)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	44.5%	9.75491	FACTOR II	10.6%	2.31818

PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS   SCHOOL COMPETENCE

someone parents are		good at school work	.84
proud of	.73	good pupil	.82
good housekeeper	.65	attentive pupil	.51
good child	.63	studious	.47
eager	.63		
polite	.60		
orderly	.43		
nice to my teacher	.43		
disciplined and obedient	.42		
I always do my homework	.41		
lovable	.40		
attentive pupil	.40		

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	9.3%	2.03882	FACTOR IV	7.4%	1.63037

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY   SOCIAL SELF

CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	.66	good friend	.64
quick-tempered	.57	good neighbour	.63
selfish	.56	nice to my teacher	.51
sly	.48		

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.8%	1.27959

ORDERLINESS

| clean and neat | .83 |
| orderly | .63 |

In regard to the responses of the RCM girls, both the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS factor and SCHOOL COMPETENCE have maintained their positions on the ideal level. Moreover, it is now very clear that the different factors are structurally variant across the three milieux, as already also noted with the boys on the ideal level. Table 5.18 presents a summary table of the percentages of variance explained by each factor for each separate analysis from the ideal self-concept perspective. The qualitative differences and similarities which have emerged from the analysis of responses on the ideal level and the comparison between real and ideal self-perception will be extensively discussed in the next chapter.

The third group of factor analyses dealt with the item responses of the children from the social self-concept perspective, i.e. from their conception of self through the eyes of a significant other and in the present case particularly of their teacher. The analysis will again be presented first for the boys from the three different milieux and then for the girls.

5.1.1.15. Social Self-Concept - Athenian Boys

Table 5.19 presents the factors which constitute the ATH boys' social self-concept profile. Five interpretable factors were extracted accounting for 83.2% of the total variance explained, and 33 items of the initial 40 ones contributed to factor formation. The factors were named: SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER, SCHOOL COMPETENCE, SATISFACTION IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT, COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY and NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS. The SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor is very large with 18 items loading onto it, accounting for 53.2% of the

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TABLE 5.18
SUMMARY TABLE OF VARIANCE EXPLAINED
BY IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT FACTORS

	BOYS		GIRLS	
ATHENS	The Self in the School, Social and Family Context	54.7%	Proper Girl's Characteristics	44.9%
	Harmony at Home	8.2%	School Competence	9.9%
	Relating at School	7.0%	Work Habits	8.7%
	Social Self as Expressed at Home	5.0%	Happy Homemaking	7.2%
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	4.9%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	5.8%
RURAL	Social Self	45.2%	Acceptance in School Relations	36.5%
	Relating at School and Characteristics of a Proper Pupil	10.6%	Work Habits and Characteristics of a Proper Pupil	10.5%
	School Competence	8.2%	Good Athletic Performance	8.2%
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	6.7%	School Competence	6.7%
	Social Self as Expressed in Class	5.8%	Part of Proper Social Self	6.3%
			Part of Proper Social Self	6.0%
			Part of Proper Social Self	5.4%
RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU	Social Self	41.7%	Proper Girl's Characteristics	44.5%
	Motivated Happy Pupil	10.5%	School Competence	10.6%
	Adjusted at School	7.3%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	9.3%
	Harmony at Home	6.8%	Social Self	7.4%
	Interpersonal Relations	6.4%	Orderliness	5.8%
	Parental Approval	5.3%		

TABLE 5.19

SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE ATHENS (n=228)

	pct.va	eigenvalue			pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	53.2%	12.06042		FACTOR II	10.0%	2.26877

SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY

TEACHER

polite	.72
attentive pupil	.68
disciplined and obedient	.63
lovable	.62
well-behaved in class	.62
useful and helping everyone	.62
nice to my teacher	.60
good child	.59
orderly	.59
eager	.57
strong-willed	.54
the teacher likes me	.52
someone parents are proud of	.52
good brother	.50
hard-working	.50
studious	.49
intelligent	.49
I always do my homework	.45

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

good pupil	.79
good at school work	.79
studious	.72
I always do my homework	.58

	pct.va	eigenvalue			pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.5%	1.92379		FACTOR IV	6.0%	1.35117

SATISFACTION IN THE SOCIAL

CONTEXT

clean and neat	.77
in harmony with my family	.56
good friend	.47
happy	.43
good neighbour	.41

COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY

timid	.80
brave	.70
good athlete	.41

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.5%	1.25170

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

selfish	.68
stubborn	.66
quick-tempered	.60

total variance, and refers to the virtues of a proper child-pupil relationship as reflected by the teacher and conceived by the pupil. SCHOOL COMPETENCE, the boy's ability in class as a pupil is of secondary importance and appears as the second factor accounting for much less variance, only 10% compared to the first factor. The third factor describes the boy's perception of the view of himself as a boy who is in harmony with his family, a good friend, happy and a good neighbour. In the fourth factor, the ATH boy believes his teacher perceives him as someone with manly abilities such as his not being timid, being brave, and a good athlete. In the last factor, the ATH boy describes his teacher as not seeing him as a selfish, stubborn and quick-tempered boy.

5.1.1.16. Social Self-Concept - Rural Boys

Table 5.20 contains the five interpretable factors that emerged from the factor analysis of the Rr boys' item responses on the social self-concept, accounting for 79% of the variance. Thirty-one items contributed to the factor formation. The factors extracted were named: AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY, SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER, SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME, SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN CLASS, COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY. The Rr boy describes in the first factor his teacher's perception of him as a competent pupil and at the same time as a good boy. The second factor, SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER, shares some of the same items which appeared in the analogous ATH boys' factor, this being a much more condensed factor. The third and fourth factors refer to the teacher's conception of the boys' social self as expressed at home, in the social context in general and in class in particular. The COMPETENCE IN

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TABLE 5.20

SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RURAL (n=132)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	50.0%	12.28978	FACTOR II	10.6%	2.61873

AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY

good at school work	.81
good pupil	.79
studious	.73
I always do my homework	.68
good child	.57
lovable	.50
attentive pupil	.50
strong-willed	.50
well-behaved in class	.43
happy at school	.41
orderly	.40

SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER

polite	.70
good brother	.68
attractive	.59
useful and helping everyone	.48
someone parents are proud of	.42
eager	.42
attentive pupil	.40

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	7.5%	1.84082	FACTOR IV	5.8%	1.41498

SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME

good housekeeper	.73
hard-working	.68
in harmony with my family	.65
good neighbour	.60
nice to my teacher	.41

SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN CLASS

the teacher likes me	.57
playful	.55
happy at school	.50
mummy's pet	.44
brave	.43
nice to my teacher	.42

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.1%	1.24788

COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY

good athlete	.93
brave	.55
strong-willed	.44

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A MANLY WAY factor is very similar to the comparable one
presented by the ATH boys, with less emphasis on the being
brave perception of self.

5.1.1.17. Social Self-Concept - Boys from Rapidly Changing Milieu

Table 5.21 contains the six factors that emerged from the
RCM boys' item responses. The factors were named: SOCIAL SELF AS
PROMOTED BY TEACHER, AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY, OBEDIENCE, COMPETENCE
IN A MANLY WAY, and NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS,
accounting for 78.0% of the total variance. Thirty-one items
out of the 40 initial self-referent statements loaded onto the
factors. Looking at the factor and item pattern, it once more
becomes clear that the boys in this group resemble partly their
Athenian and partly their rural counterparts. SOCIAL SELF AS
PROMOTED BY TEACHER resembles the Athenian analogous factor and
AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY resembles the rural one. However, the
importance attributed to certain items and the absence of some
others give this group a flavour of its own and create an in-
ability to place it with either of the other two categories. For
example, almost all the items loading onto SOCIAL SELF AS PRO-
MOTED BY TEACHER factor are present in the respective Athenian
factor. Nevertheless, what differentiates the ATH boys from the
RCM ones is that the order of the items is very different, and
the loadings are of such a different intensity that in the case
of the RCM boys the focus falls on the boys' social and family
self-concept, while in the case of the ATH boys the focus falls
on the boy-pupil self.

Being happy is an item very rarely loading onto any factor

TABLE 5.21

SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU (n=157)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	48.0%	11.33692	FACTOR II	11.1%	2.61393

SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY

TEACHER

AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY

good brother	.75	good pupil	.80
useful and helping		good at schoolwork	.73
everyone	.65	studious	.71
in harmony with my family	.60	I always do my homework	.62
happy	.55	attentive pupil	.47
someone parents are proud		good child	.45
of	.53	good housekeeper	.41
eager	.53		
lovable	.53		
polite	.51		
hard-working	.51		
good friend	.51		
good neighbour	.44		
attentive pupil	.43		
good child	.40		

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	7.11%	1.66765	FACTOR IV	6.6%	1.55549

OBEDIENCE

COMPETING IN A MANLY WAY

disciplined and obedient	.66	brave	.60
orderly	.66	good athlete	.56
the teacher likes me	.65	romantic and sentimental	.48
clean and neat	.50		
well-behaved in class	.45		

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	5.2%	1.22671

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	.70
quick-tempered	.67
selfish	.60

in all subgroups. Another interesting composition of items is the one found in the COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY factor. Although there is importance attributed to being brave and a good athlete -- the same items that were found in the other two boys' groups -- the item being romantic and sentimental also loading onto the factor alters the essence conveyed by the other analogous factors.

Factor III refers to the profile of an obedient pupil which the boys believe their teachers have of them: disciplined and obedient, orderly, clean and neat, well-behaved in class, and consequently liked by the teacher. Factor V concerns the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS which the boys believe their teachers do not attribute to them.

Before proceeding to the girls' response analysis, the main points which emerged from the boys' self-concept profile will be briefly summarized: SCHOOL COMPETENCE, the most important factor from the real self-concept perspective, has lost its importance, and the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER has emerged as the first factor in both the cases of the ATH and the RCM boys. In the case of the Rr boys the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor, on the real level, has given place to AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY factor. Moreover, the factors referring to a SOCIAL SELF are many more when perceived through the social self-concept perspective rather than through the real self-concept perspective, for all the three subcultures. It should be noted that many more items load onto the factors compared to the real and ideal self-concept analysis. Further there is a certain similarity in meaning between the factors of the three groups but factor structure is in no way invariant across the three subcultures.

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5.1.1.18. Social Self-Concept - Athenian Girls

Table 5.22 presents the four factors which emerged from the ATH girls' item responses, accounting for 82.7% of the total variance. Thirty-five out of the 40 items contributed to the factor formation. The first factor, named SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER, is a very strong factor accounting for 58.2% of the vari-

TABLE 5.22

SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE ATHENS (n=253)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	58.2%	12.83834	FACTOR II	10.6%	2.34620

SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER | AN ACHIEVING GOOD GIRL

		good at schoolwork	.84
brave	.66	good pupil	.81
strong-willed	.58	studious	.77
clean and neat	.55	I always do my homework	.71
disciplined and obedient	.55	attentive pupil	.59
happy at school	.53	intelligent	.57
nice to my teacher	.53	someone parents are	
orderly	.49	proud of	.51
in harmony with my family	.49	orderly	.47
I always do my homework	.48	good child	.43
hard-working	.48	attractive	.41
good sister	.47	hard-working	.41
polite	.46		
eager	.43		

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.2%	1.79925	FACTOR IV	5.7%	1.25985

SOCIALLY COMPETENT IN A FEMININE WAY | NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

eager	.49	selfish	.65
attractive	.47	stubborn	.59
lovable	.47	naughty	.51
good sister	.47	sly	.44
the teacher likes me	.46	quick-tempered	.42

ance and refers to the girls' qualities as a woman who will be disciplined and obedient, clean and neat, orderly, a good sister, polite and always eager and ready to do anything asked of her. Moreover, the

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ATH girl feels her teacher regards her also as a brave and stong-willed girl. In her view, the teacher's perception of an ACHIEV-ING GOOD GIRL (Factor II) includes a competent and intelligent pupil who is a good and attractive child whose parents are proud of her. The ATH girl sees her teacher as regarding her as SOCIALLY COMPETENT IN A FEMININE WAY (Factor III) and appreciating her when she is eager and ready to do anything asked of her, when she is attractive, lovable and a good sister.

5.1.1.19. Social Self-Concept - Rural Girls

The profile of the Rr girls' social self-concept is presented in Table 5.23. Six interpretable factors emerged from the analysis, accounting for 82.5% of the total variance, and 33 items contributed to factor formation. The factors were named: SOCIAL SELF AS PRO-MOTED BY TEACHER, CONTENTMENT WITH SOCIAL SELF, SCHOOL COMPETENCE, NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, and PREPARING FOR A NOVEL ROLE.

In the first factor, the Rr girl describes her teacher's per-ception of her as a polite, eager and attentive pupil, as an orderly, well-behaved, disciplined and obedient child, a good sister and a good friend who is loved by the others, whose parents are pround of her and who is liked by the teacher, who is brave and at the same time romantic and sentimental. Her understanding of her teacher's notion of CONTENTMENT WITH HER SOCIAL SELF is one who is a good neigh-bour, attractive, strong-willed and intelligent, happy at school and in harmony with her family. SCHOOL COMPETENCE, merely as achievement, is of lesser importance appearing as a third factor and explaining only 8.4% of the variance. In the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARAC-TERISTICS factor the Rr girl describes her teacher as not perceiving

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TABLE 5.23

SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RURAL (n=109)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	49.5%	10.83069	FACTOR II	10.0%	2.75513

SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY

TEACHER

polite	.75
eager	.73
someone parents are proud of	.71
attentive pupil	.70
good sister	.66
orderly	.65
lovable	.54
well-behaved in class	.51
disciplined and obedient	.51
useful and helping everyone	.49
brave	.44
good friend	.42
the teacher likes me	.41
studious	.40
romantic and sentimental	.40

CONTENTMENT WITH SOCIAL SELF

good neighbour	.85
attractive	.62
happy at school	.60
strong-willed	.53
intelligent	.45
in harmony with my family	.43

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	8.4%	2.31569	FACTOR IV	7.7%	2.12436

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

good pupil	.83
good at school work	.82
studious	.75
I always do my homework	.58

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY

CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	.74
quick-tempered	.68
selfish	.45
in harmony with my family	.44

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	6.9%	1.75331

PREPARING FOR A NOVEL ROLE

sly	.78
brave	.76
good athlete	.56
hard-working	.54

her as a stubborn, quick-tempered and selfish girl and consequently
she is in harmony with her family. The last two factors refer to
her perception of her teacher as seeing her PREPARING FOR A NOVEL
ROLE; that is, hard-working and not sly, brave, and a good athlete.

5.1.1.20. Social Self-Concept - Girls from Rapidly Changing Milieu

Table 5.24 presents the six factors which were derived from
the analysis of the RCM girls' responses, and which account for
86.9% of the total variance. The first and strongest factor (ex-
plaining 50.1% of the variance) refers to her awareness of her
teacher's regarding her as a GOOD COMPETENT pupil. Compared to the
other girls' responses, this factor with such a strong emphasis on
achievement is quite different. SCHOOL COMPETENCE as mere achieve-
ment did not emerge from the ATH girls' responses and in the case
of the Rr girls it appeared third in importance, accounting for
only 8.4% of the total variance. On the other hand, the second factor
refers to some other self who is a good housekeeper, a good and polite
child, the pride of her parents, the lovable, attractive, good
friend who is happy. In the third factor, her docile social self
turns into a DYNAMIC GIRL perceived by her teacher as non-timid,
brave, hard-working. The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS
factor presents a surprise; as already encountered in the case of
the analogous real self-concept factor, these negative characteristics
are once more positively expressed: my teacher thinks I am stubborn,
I am selfish, I am quick-tempered, naughty and sly. At the same time
her teacher thinks she is playful, romantic and sentimental. The
same seductive attitude encountered on the real self-concept level
is now being expressed with items such as naughty, sly, romantic and
sentimental. Her perception of her teacher's contradictory demands

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TABLE 5.24

SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU (n=133)

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR I	50.1%	12.50883	FACTOR II	14.0%	3.48650

SCHOOL COMPETENCE

studious	.78
good pupil	.77
good at school work	.75
I always do my homework	.68
attentive pupil	.53
nice to my teacher	.48
good athlete	.47
disciplined and obedient	.41

SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER

good housekeeper	.78
someone parents are proud of	.63
good child	.62
polite	.54
good friend	.50
happy	.46
attractive	.44
lovable	.42

	pct.va	eigenvalue		pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR III	7.4%	1.85099	FACTOR IV	6.3%	1.57035

DYNAMIC GIRL

timid	.70
in harmony with my family	.69
brave	.64
good neighbour	.56
hard-working	.55
clean and neat	.50

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

stubborn	-.86
selfish	-.75
quick-tempered	-.63
naughty	-.61
romantic and sentimental	.53
playful	.48
sly	-.43

	pct.va	eigenvalue
FACTOR V	4.7%	1.18166

OBEDIENT BUT STRONG-WILLED

disciplined and obedient	.66
the teacher likes me	.59
strong-willed	.58
I always do my homework	.42
happy at school	.40

is again prominent in Factor V where she believes her teacher sees her as disciplined and obedient but at the same time strong-willed.

In summarizing the findings which emerge from the girls' item response analysis from a social self-concept perspective, as in the case of the ATH boys and also in the case of the ATH girls, SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER emerges as the first and most powerful factor. SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER is just as important for the Rr girls' social self-concept, while for the RCM girls it assumes a secondary position and SCHOOL COMPETENCE becomes their primary focus. The idea of SOCIAL SELF becomes very important on this level just as in the case of the boys.

Table 5.25 presents a summary table of the percentages of variance explained by each factor for each separate analysis from the social self-concept perspective.

Findings and comparisons between boys and girls across all three milieux from all three self-concept perspectives will be interpreted and discussed in the following chapter. Thus factor structure, apart from its statistical significance, will have meaning in terms of social psychology.

The first function of factor analysis, the exploratory detection of variable patterns, showed that the factors were widely variant across milieux, and consequently the researcher was faced again with the question of whether these variations should be qualitatively, as well as quantitatively, compared. A later section in the chapter will deal with the possible comparisons within and between the different subgroups. Moreover, there arose the problem of whether, with a variant factor structure, a discrepancy score comparing real, ideal and social self-concept could be computed. Undoubtedly, since the factor analyses of real, ideal and social self-concept revealed dif-

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TABLE 5.25
SUMMARY TABLE OF VARIANCE EXPLAINED
BY SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT FACTORS

	BOYS		GIRLS	
ATHENS	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	53.2%	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	58.2%
	School Competence	10.0%	An Achieving Good Girl	10.6%
	Satisfaction in the Social Context	8.5%	Socially Competent in a Feminine Way	8.2%
	Competence in a Manly Way	6.0%		
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	5.5%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	5.7%
RURAL	An Achieving Good Boy	50.0%	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	49.5%
	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	10.6%	Contentment with Social Self	10.0%
	Social Self as Expressed at Home	7.5%	School Competence	8.4%
	Competence in a Manly Way	5.1%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	7.7%
	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	48.0%	Preparing for a Novel Role	6.9%
RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU	An Achieving Good Boy	11.1%	School Competence	50.1%
	Obedience	7.11%	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	14.0%
	Competing in a Manly Way	6.6%	Dynamic Girl	7.4%
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	5.2%	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	6.3%

ferent factors underlying the three perspectives of self, there is
no way discrepancy scores can appropriately be computed. As already
mentioned in the beginning of the present chapter many researchers
have shown that different perspectives of self-concept possess vari-
able factor structures (Hansen and Bormann, 1969; Miron and Osgood,
1966; Tucker, 1971; Truax, Schuldt and Wargo, 1968; Judd and Smith,
1974).

The initial hypothesis that the cultural and psychological differences characterizing the three different milieux would be reflected in the self-concepts of the preadolescents under study was confirmed. The way each specific subculture has led to the shaping of the specific preadolescents' self-concept profiles will be accounted for and discussed in the next chapter.

5.1.2. Development of Scale

The second use of the factor analytic technique, as mentioned in the beginning of the present chapter, was that of a measuring device. A scale deriving from the factor analytic pattern was to be developed so that it could be used as a self-esteem measure. At this point, a remark concerning semantics should be made. The reader will notice that although the term self-concept has been consistently used, suddenly in this section it is changed to self-esteem. This use of the term is intentional in the sense of designating the self-evaluative component of self-concept.*

The procedure pursued was the following: the factors which emerged from the factor analyses of the combined boys' and the combined girls' samples were converted into scales by multiplying the item scores of each subject by its respective factor loading and by summing the weighted scale scores for each subject.

Next the factor means and standard deviations were determined. The weighted factor scores were then normalized and percentile scores based on the normalized standard scores were determined for each weighted scale score. Table 5.26 lists the means and standard deviations of each scale for boys and girls separately. Table 5.27 lists

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*There are writers, as mentioned in Chapter 2, e.g. Burns (1979), who feel that "self-concept" and "self-esteem" can be regarded as synonymous, both being evaluated beliefs about the person which can range along a positive-negative continuum.

the weighted scale scores, the normalized standard scores and the
percentile scores for the boys and Table 5.28 for the girls, on the
real self-esteem scales.

TABLE 5.26
SCALE MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE COMBINED SAMPLE
OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM SCALES

	MALE			FEMALE	
Scales	$\bar{x}$	sd	Scales	$\bar{x}$	sd
Social Self	11.7	3.08	Social Self	12.67	3.51
Achievement	8.03	2.67	Achievement	8.41	2.63
Non-Acceptable			Non-Acceptable		
Characteristics	5.00	2.66	Characteristics	2.28	3.04
Adjusted at			Individual Assets	2.95	1.32
School	3.21	1.33			

However, as has already been mentioned, one may argue that the
factors which emerged from the pooling of the three different sub-
cultures have become obscured, and if one were to measure the self-
esteem of any given Greek child one should rather take into account the
specific milieu and measure it on the scales which emerged from the
factor analyses of each separate subculture. Consequently, it was
decided to convert into scales all the factors which appeared from
the factor analytic pattern, for each subculture and for each sex
independently. Until more research and development are carried out on
the measure, one cannot determine whether the scale derived from the
combined sample or the separate scales derived from each specific
subculture are more valid for a Greek preadolescent.

Table 5.29 lists the means and standard deviations of each scale
for each subculture, and for each sex independently. Furthermore,
tables 5.30 to 5.35 list the weighted scale scores, the normalized
scores and the percentile scores for the ATH, Rr and RCM boys, and

TABLE 5.27

WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM SCALES
MALE COMBINED SAMPLE

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile
23	3.66	9999									
22	3.34	999									
21	3.01	999									
20	2.69	996	18	3.73	9999						
19	2.37	991	17	3.35	9996						
18	2.04	98	16	2.98	998						
17	1.72	95	15	2.61	995						
16	1.39	91	14	2.23	98	11	2.25	99			
15	1.07	86	13	1.86	97	10	1.87	97			
14	.74	78	12	1.48	93	9	1.50	93			
13	.42	66	11	1.11	88	8	1.12	87			
12	.09	54	10	.73	77	7	.74	77	8	3.59	9998
11	-.22	42	9	.36	64	6	.37	63	7	2.84	998
10	-.55	28	8	-.01	49	5	-.003	50	6	2.09	98
9	-.87	20	7	-.38	35	4	-.37	35	5	1.33	91
8	-1.20	12	6	-.76	22	3	-.75	23	4	.58	72
7	-1.52	07	5	-1.13	12	2	-1.13	12	3	-.16	55
6	-1.85	04	4	-1.50	07	1	-1.50	07	2	-.91	18

S_I = School Competence
S_{II} = Social Self
S_{III} = Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics
S_{IV} = Adjusted at School

TABLE 5.28

WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM SCALES
FEMALE COMBINED SAMPLE

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile
23	2.93	999									
22	2.64	996									
21	2.36	991									
20	2.07	98	17	3.26	9995						
19	1.79	96	16	2.88	998						
18	1.50	93	15	2.50	994						
17	1.22	90	14	2.12	98						
16	.94	82	13	1.74	96	10	2.53	995			
15	.65	74	12	1.36	91	9	2.21	98			
14	.37	64	11	.98	84	8	1.88	97			
13	.08	54	10	.60	73	7	1.55	94	7	3.06	999
12	-.19	42	9	.22	59	6	1.22	89	6	2.31	99
11	-.48	32	8	-.15	44	5	.89	81	5	1.55	94
10	-.76	22	7	-.53	30	4	.56	71	4	.79	77
9	-1.05	14	6	-.91	18	3	.23	59	3	.03	51
8	-1.33	09	5	-1.29	10	2	-.09	47	2	-.71	25
7	-1.62	05	4	-1.67	04	1	-.042	33	1	-1.47	07

S_I = Social Self
S_{II} = School Competence
S_{III} = Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics
S_{IV} = Individual Assets

TABLE 5.29

SCALE MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF ALL SUBGROUPS INDEPENDENTLY

REAL SELF-ESTEEM SCALES

MALES									FEMALES								
ATHENS n=265			RURAL n=160			RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU n=189			ATHENS n=291			RURAL n=134			RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU n=158		
	x	sd		x	sd		x	sd		x	sd		x	sd		x	sd
Scale 1	7.94	2.72	Scale 1	10.9	3.61	Scale 1	8.49	2.68	Scale 1	9.95	3.01	Scale 1	8.37	2.42	Scale 1	7.68	2.37
Scale 2	3.51	3.02	Scale 2	7.38	2.65	Scale 2	5.59	1.95	Scale 2	9.9	3.14	Scale 2	7.26	2.44	Scale 2	8.19	2.58
Scale 3	4.41	1.28	Scale 3	3.77	1.38	Scale 3	5.6	1.97	Scale 3	2.07	.92	Scale 3	4.32	1.54	Scale 3	9.39	1.90
Scale 4	2.95	1.31	Scale 4	5.43	1.88	Scale 4	4.41	1.43	Scale 4	6.0	2.55	Scale 4	3.52	1.12	Scale 4	3.00	1.10
			Scale 5	2.93	1.14	Scale 5	6.07	2.72				Scale 5	-.97	1.88	Scale 5	2.89	1.04
			Scale 6	5.79	2.39							Scale 6	2.87	.99			

TABLE 5.30
WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM SCALES
MALE ATHENS

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile
18	3.69	9999									
17	.3.33	9996									
15	2.59	995									
14	2.22	98	11	2.48	99						
13	1.86	97	10	2.14	98						
12	1.49	93	9	1.81	96						
11	1.12	87	8	1.48	93	9	3.58	9999			
10	.75	77	7	1.15	87	8	2.80	998	7	3.09	999
9	.38	65	6	.82	79	7	2.02	98	6	2.32	99
8	.02	50	5	.49	69	6	1.24	89	5	1.56	94
7	-.34	36	4	.16	57	5	.46	68	4	.80	79
6	-.71	24	3	-.16	43	4	-.32	37	3	.03	51
5	-1.08	14	2	-.50	28	3	-1.10	13	2	-.72	23
4	-1.44	07	1	-.83	20	2	-1.88	03	1	-1.48	07

S_I = School Competence
S_{II} = Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics
S_{III} = Obedience
S_{IV} = Social Self

TABLE 5.31

WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE OF REAL
SELF-ESTEEM SCALES - MALE RURAL

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile
20	2.52	99						
18	1.96	97						
17	1.68	95						
16	1.41	92						
15	1.13	87	16	3.31	9996			
14	.85	80	14	2.54	995			
13	.58	72	12	1.77	96			
12	.30	62	11	1.39	91			
11	.02	51	10	1.00	85	8	3.25	9995
10	.24	40	9	.62	73	7	2.48	993
9	.52	30	8	.23	59	6	1.71	95
8	-.80	21	7	-.14	45	5	.94	83
7	-1.08	14	6	-.53	29	4	.17	57
6	-1.35	09	5	-.91	18	3	-.59	28
5	-1.63	05	4	-1.3	09	2	-1.36	08

S_I = School Competence
S_{II} = Prosocial Behaviour
S_{III} = Social Self

TABLE 5.31 (cont.)

WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM
MALE - RURAL

Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_V	z Scores	Percentile	Scores $_{VI}$	z Scores	Percentile
						12	2.59	995
						11	2.17	98
12	3.49	9996				10	1.76	96
10	2.43	993				9	1.34	91
9	1.89	97				8	.92	83
8	1.36	91				7	.50	69
7	.83	79	6	2.69	996	6	.08	53
6	.30	62	5	1.81	96	5	-.33	37
5	-.22	41	4	.93	82	4	-.74	23
4	-.76	22	3	.06	53	3	-1.16	12
3	-1.29	10	2	-.81	21	2	-1.58	05

S_{IV} = The Reactions of Others
S_V = Individual Assets
S_{VI} = Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics

TABLE 5.32
WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM SCALES
MALE - RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_V	z Scores	Percentile
18	3.54	9996												
17	3.17	9995												
15	2.42	993										12	2.18	98
14	2.05	98				13	3.75	9999				11	1.81	96
13	1.68	95	12	3.28	9995	11	2.74	997				10	1.44	92
12	1.30	90	11	2.77	997	10	2.23	98				9	1.07	86
11	.93	83	10	2.26	98	9	1.72	96	9	3.20	9995	8	.70	76
10	.56	71	9	1.74	96	8	1.21	90	8	2.51	994	7	.34	63
9	.19	57	8	1.23	89	7	.71	76	7	1.81	96	6	-.02	49
8	-.18	43	7	.72	77	6	.20	42	6	1.11	87	5	-.39	34
7	-.55	29	6	.21	58	5	-.30	38	5	.41	66	4	-.76	23
6	-.92	18	5	-.30	38	4	-.81	21	4	-.28	39	3	-1.12	13
5	-1.30	09	4	-.81	21	3	-1.31	09	3	-.98	16	2	-1.49	06
4	-1.67	05	3	-1.32	09	2	-1.82	03	2	-1.68	04	1	-1.86	03

S_I = School Competence
S_{II} = Social Self
S_{III} = The Reactions of Others
S_{IV} = Obedience
S_V = Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics

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TABLE 5.33

WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF REAL SELF-ESTEEEM SCALES
FEMALE   ATHENS

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile
20	3.33	9996	18	2.57	99						
17	2.34	99	17	2.26	98						
16	2.00	98	16	1.94	97						
15	1.67	95	15	1.62	95				12	2.35	99
14	1.34	91	14	1.30	90				11	1.96	97
13	1.01	85	13	.98	84				10	1.56	94
12	.68	75	12	.66	41				9	1.17	88
11	.34	63	11	.35	64				8	.78	78
10	.01	51	10	.03	51				7	.39	65
9	-.31	38	9	-.28	39	5	3.18	99	6	.00	50
8	-.64	26	8	-.60	27	4	2.09	58	5	-.39	35
7	-.98	16	7	-.92	18	3	1.01	54	4	-.78	20
6	-1.31	09	6	-1.24	10	2	-.07	47	3	-1.17	12
5	-1.64	05	5	-1.56	06	1	-1.16	12	2	-1.56	06

S_I = School Competence
S_{II} = Proper Girl's Characteristics
S_{III}= Individual Assets
S_{IV}= Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics

TABLE 5.34
WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM - FEMALE RURAL

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile
17	3.56	9999	14	2.76	997			
14	2.32	99	13	2.35	99			
13	1.91	97	12	1.94	97	10	3.68	9999
12	1.50	93	11	1.53	94	9	3.03	999
11	1.08	86	10	1.12	87	8	2.38	99
10	.67	75	9	.71	76	7	1.74	96
9	.26	60	8	.30	62	6	1.09	86
8	-.15	44	7	-.10	46	5	.44	67
7	-.56	29	6	-.51	30	4	-.20	42
6	-.97	16	5	-.92	18	3	-.85	20
5	-1.39	08	4	-1.33	09	2	-1.50	06

S_I = Proper Girl's Characteristics
S_{II} = School Competence
S_{III}= Social Self as Expressed in Class

TABLE 5.34 (cont.)
WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDRARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF
REAL SELF-ESTEEM - FEMALE RURAL

Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_V	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{VI}	z Scores	Percentile
			3	-1.07	14			
			2	-.54	30			
6	2.21	98	-1	.01	50	6	3.16	999
5	1.32	91	-2	.54	71	5	2.15	98
4	.42	66	-3	1.07	86	4	1.14	87
3	-.46	32	-4	1.60	94	3	.13	55
2	-1.35	09	-5	2.14	98	2	-.87	19

S_{IV} Social Self as Expressed at Home
S_V Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics
S_{VI} The Reactions of Others

TABLE 5.35
WEIGHTED SCALE SCORES, NORMALIZED STANDARD SCORES AND PERCENTILE SCORES OF REAL SELF-ESTEEM SCALES
FEMALE - RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU

Scores S_I	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{II}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{III}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_{IV}	z Scores	Percentile	Scores S_V	z Scores	Percentile
16	3.51	9996												
15	3.08	999	15	2.63	996	15	2.95	999						
14	2.66	996	14	2.25	98	14	2.42	992						
13	2.24	99	13	1.86	96	13	1.90	97						
12	1.82	96	12	1.47	93	12	1.37	91						
11	1.40	92	11	1.08	86	11	.84	80						
10	.97	83	10	.70	76	10	.32	63						
9	.55	71	9	.31	61	9	-.20	42						
8	.13	45	8	-.07	47	8	-.73	24	6	2.72	996	6	2.99	998
7	-.28	39	7	-.46	32	7	-1.25	095	5	1.81	96	5	2.02	98
6	-.70	24	6	-.84	20	6	-1.78	040	4	.90	81	4	1.06	85
5	-1.13	10	5	-1,23	10	5	-2.31	010	3	.00	50	3	.10	54
4	-1.-5	06	4	-1,62	05	4	-2.83	002	2	-.90	18	2	-.76	22

S_I = Proper Girl's Characteristics
S_{II} = School Competence
S_{III} = Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics
S_{IV} = Relating to Teacher Romantically
S_V = Individual Assets

for the ATH, Rr and RCM girls. Obviously, only self-concept from
the real perspective was considered appropriate for the development
of the Scale or Scales.

This study attempted, apart from the determining of the in-
fluence of milieu-complexity on shaping self-concept, to contribute
to the construction of a self-esteem measure since, as already stated,
there is no such measure in Greece. As Wylie (1974) has pointed out,
most self-concept and self-esteem measures have been devised for a
particular study, used in that instance and forgotten afterwards
without much attempt at assessing the adequacy of the measurement.
The result is that most measures are not only short-lived but also
of unknown quality. It is not desired that this study should be
regarded as such; on the other hand, the writer makes no contention
that a finalyzed Greek measure has been established. Bearing
continuously in mind the background of measurement and validity
problems considered in the previous chapters, the researcher is
aware of the limitations of this measure. It is suitable only for
a specific age and more evidence concerning reliability and validity
is needed. However, its advantages are that it is based on an adequate
sample and that it was rigorously constructed. This study has aimed
modestly at setting the foundations for the development of a new
measure. It is hoped that this instrument will enjoy further uses
and will be developed for use with other age-groups as well. Repeated
uses of the same instrument combined with other performance criteria
will contribute to a better establishment of its valididty.

5.2. Comparisons Across and Within Subcultures

The next step was to decide which quantitative comparisons of
self-esteem across the three different milieux were feasible. For
example, might the self-esteem of children from Athens be higher or

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lower than <ins>that of</ins> their rural counterparts? The factor analysis clearly demonstrated that factors are structurally variant across the different milieux. Consequently, it is not methodologically feasible to make cross-subcultural quantitative comparisons on the level of factor performance when the factor structure is variant (Lesser, Fifer and Clock, 1965; Stodolsky and Lesser, 1968).

Buss and Royce (1975), state that since it seems highly unlikely that all the factors of a typical test battery will turn out to be structurally invariant across two given cultures as determined by some index of factor similarity, a more defensible procedure is to abandon cross-cultural quantitative comparisons for the factors which have demonstrated structural variance. In addition, Buss and Royce (p. 130) argue: "If cross-cultural quantitative comparisons should be made on structurally variant factors how useful is it to identify potentially unifying theoretical constructs? ...If a particular test can be shown to be completely isomorphic with a specifiable construct, would it be methodologically appropriate to use that test in making cross-cultural comparisons?" An analogous question arises in the present situation: if two scales are structurally variant but isomorphically similar would it be methodologically appropriate to compare them with one another? It was decided not to attempt such an isomorphic comparison because as Buss and Royce (Ibid) state, one should be cautious in using such an approach. To sum up, a theoretically effective procedure, according to Buss and Royce, would be to assess the cultural boundary conditions of factors as follows: a)obtain the factors for each culture; b)determine the degrees of factor similarity across cultures; c)make quantitative comparisons on those factors in which invariance has been demonstrated; and d)note any structural or quantitative differences in factors (i.e.

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non-invariance) and avoid quantitative comparisons in such cases. Buss and Royce's procedure was followed in the present study.

As previously mentioned, no structurally identical factors were found across the three subcultures. On the other hand, it would be interesting to attempt some sort of comparison of the level of self-esteem across the three subcultures, and between boys and girls. Thus, it was decided to choose the two factors, SCHOOL COMPETENCE and NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS whose item composition was almost identical across the three subcultures and between the sexes (see Tables 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10).

It is, however, necessary to re-emphasize that because the item composition across subcultures and sex is not identical, such comparisons are somewhat arbitrary. Nevertheless, it was decided to employ t-tests in order to make all possible comparisons, with the awareness that this reflects only a tentative and exploratory attempt.

Table 5.36 presents the t values of the comparison of the means of the weighted factor scores.

TABLE 5.36

t VALUES - COMPARISON OF MEANS ACROSS THE THREE SUBCULTURES

School Competence							
Male				**Female**			
	t	df			t	df	
Athens vs Rural	.65	424	p>.05	Athens vs Rural	.69	424	p>.05
Athens vs R.C.M*	.14	453	p>.05	Athens vs R.C.M	.44	448	p>.05
Rural vs R.C.M	.53	348	p>.05	Rural vs R.C.M	.26	292	p>.05
Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics							
Male				**Female**			
	t	df			t	df	
Athens vs Rural	.59	424	p>.05	Athens vs Rural	.99	424	p>.05
Athens vs R.C.M	.62	453	p>.05	Athens vs R.C.M	.86	448	p>.05
Rural vs R.C.M	.75	348	p>.05	Rural vs R.C.M	1.58	292	p>.05
*R.C.M Rapidly Changing Milieu							

All t values proved to be non-significant at p=.05 level.
There is no difference in the self-esteem of the girls or the boys
from different milieux in regard to the SCHOOL COMPETENCE and the
NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS.

The effects of difference of sex on self-esteem on these same
factors within the three different milieux was also tested. Table
5.37 presents the t values of the comparison of the means of the
weighted factor scores between boys and girls.

All t values are non-significant at p=.05 level. There are no
differences between boys and girls from all three milieux on the
SCHOOL COMPETENCE and on the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTER-
ISTICS factors.

TABLE 5.37

t VALUES - COMPARISON OF MEANS BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES

School Competence			
	t	df	
Athenian boys vs Athenian girls	.49	555	p > .05
Rural boys vs Rural girls	.57	293	p > .05
R.C.M boys vs R.C.M girls	.08	346	p > .05
Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics			
	t	df	
Athenian boys vs Athenian girls	.86	555	p > .05
Rural boys vs Rural girls	1.58	293	p > .05
R.C.M boys vs R.C.M girls	.99	346	p > .05

Thus, one can tentatively conclude that there is no evidence
to demonstrate that sex or milieu affects the level of self-esteem
as measured by the SCHOOL COMPETENCE and the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSON-
ALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor.

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5.3. <u>Effect of Father's Occupation, Father's Education, I.Q. and</u>

<u>Relative Achievement on Self-Concept Factors</u>

The next step was to investigate how the different,measured

variables relate to the self-concept factors from all three per-

spectives: real, ideal and social. As previously mentioned, the

variables which were hypothesized to influence self-concept were:

a)children's sex, b)father's occupation, c)father's education, d)

I.Q., e)relative school achievement, and f)milieu specificity.

The influence of children's sex and that of milieu specificity

has already been investigated by the factor analyses conducted.

The following section analyses the influence of the other vari-

ables.

Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficients were com-

puted between FATHER'S OCCUPATION, FATHER'S EDUCATION, I.Q., RE-

LATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and the different factors separately for

each subgroup on every level. A step-wise multiple regression

analysis* was then conducted in order to determine the relative

effect of each variable on self-concept. The analysis involved

a maximum of four steps and the regression equation used was

$F = \alpha + \beta_1 + \beta_2 + \beta_3 + \beta_4$ where F = Self Concept factor, α = constant,

β_1=father's occupation, β_2= father's education, β_3= I.Q. and

β_4= relative school achievement.

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*The SPSS programme was used (Nie et al, version 1975). Option 2
determined that missing data would be processed through pair-wise
deletion of missing data.The variable that explains the greatest
amount of variance in the dependent variable is entered first, the
variance in conjunction with the first is entered second, and so on.
(p, 345).

5.3.1. Real Self-Concept - Athenian Boys

Table 5.38 presents the simple correlations between the four variables and Factor I, Factor II, Factor III and Factor IV which emerged from the analysis of the ATH boys' item responses, on the real self-concept level.

As Table 5.38 shows, the correlations betwen FATHER'S OCCUPATION, FATHER'S EDUCATION, I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT are all highly significant (p < .01), the strongest of all being between FATHER'S EDUCATION and FATHER'S OCCUPATION (r=.801) and between pupils' RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and their I.Q. (r=.677). The correlations between FATHER'S EDUCATION and I.Q. (r=.336) and between FATHER'S EDUCATION and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.340) are stronger than these between FATHER'S OCCUPATION and I.Q. (r=.209) as well as between FATHER'S OCCUPATION and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.233).

The correlations between SCHOOL COMPETENCE and FATHER'S OCCUPATION, FATHER'S EDUCATION, I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT are all significant (p < .01), the highest being between SCHOOL COMPETENCE and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.541). It is the multiple regression analysis results* (Table 5.39) that determine the weights of those variables in predicting self-concept.

The multiple regression analysis in Table 5.39 indicated that RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT explains 29.3% of the variance of SCHOOL COMPETENCE, while the increment in variance added by FATHER'S OCCUPATION is only 1.0%. Thus it can be concluded that neither FATHER'S OCCUPATION, nor FATHER'S EDUCATION, nor I.Q. adds significantly to the explained variance.

*The multiple regression analyses tables include information only about those variables entering the equation and being significant at either p=.01 level or p=.05 level.

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TABLE 5.38

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS, REAL SELF-CONCEPT
MALE ATHENS (n=265)

	F_I School Competence	F_{II} Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	F_{III} Obedience	F_{IV} Social Self	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.
Father's Occupation	.224**	.089	.019	.086	–	–	–
Father's Education	.253**	.104	.032	.147	.801**	–	–
I.Q.	.433**	.067	.007	.115	.269**	.336**	
Relative Achievement	.541**	.047	.042	.109	.233**	.340**	.677**

With d.f. = 263 a correlation coefficient of $r \geqslant .138$ is significant at the p=.05
level and a correlation of $r \geqslant .181$ is significant at the p=.01 level

*p $<$ .05   **p $<$ .01

TABLE 5.39
REGRESSION ANALYSIS REAL SELF-CONCEPT

MALE ATHENS

Factor I School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement Father's Occupation	.541 .550	.293 .303	.293 .010	.541 .224	p = .01 p = .0001
School Competence	CONSTANT = 16.29 +	β_1 1.03 Relative Achievement			β_2 .28 Father's Occupation	
Factor IV Social Self	Father's Education	.147	.021	.021	.147	p = .05
Social Self	CONSTANT = 3.39 +	β_1 .136 Father's Education				

FATHER'S EDUCATION explains only 2.1% of the variance of
SOCIAL SELF, too small a percent for adequately predicting social
self-concept. In the case of the other two factors, NON-ACCEPT-
ABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS and OBEDIENCE, no variable
significantly explains the variance in self-concept.

5.3.2. Real Self-Concept - Rural Boys

Table 5.40 presents the simple correlations between the four
variables and the six factors which emerged from the analysis of
the Rr boys' item responses, on the real self-concept level.

Table 5.40 reveals a high correlation between FATHER'S EDU-
CATION and FATHER'S OCCUPATION (r=.572), p<.01), as well as between
FATHER'S EDUCATION and pupils' RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.205,
p<.01). There is also a significant correlation (r=.205, p<.05)
between the pupils' I.Q. and their FATHER'S EDUCATION. An element
of surprise is that there is no significant correlation between the
pupils' RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and their I.Q., contrary to the
ATH boys,who provided a correlation of r=.677.

TABLE 5.40

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS
REAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RURAL (n=160)

	F I	F II	F III	F IV	F V	F VI	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.
Father's Occupation	.137	.049	.001	.003	.018	.081	-	-	-
Father's Education	.133	.077	.028	.009	.115	.137	.572**	-	-
I.Q.	.088	.003	.072	.037	.115	.018	.205*	.070	-
Relative Achievement	.551**	.060	.133	.029	.102	.101	.136	.270**	.093

F I	F II	F III	F IV	F V	F VI	Father's	Father's	I.Q.
School Competence	Prosocial Behaviour	Social Self	The Reactions of Others	Individual Assets	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	Occupation	Education	

With d.f. =158 a correlation coefficient of $r \geqslant .159$ is significant at the p=.05 level and
a correlation of $r \geqslant .208$ is significant at the p=.01 level

*p < .05   **p < .01

Table 5.41 indicates which are the important (statistically significant) variables explaining the self-concept factors of the Rr boys.

The multiple regression analysis (Table 5.41) shows that RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT explains 30.3% of the variance of SCHOOL COMPETENCE. I.Q. adds only 1.9% to the variance, an insignificant amount. In other words, it is virtually only RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT that predicts SCHOOL COMPETENCE. Neither FATHER'S OCCUPATION nor FATHER'S EDUCATION explain a significant amount of variation in self-concept. The rest of the factors: PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR, SOCIAL SELF, THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS, INDIVIDUAL ASSETS and NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS are independent of all four variables considered.

TABLE 5.41

REGRESSION ANALYSIS REAL SELF-CONCEPT
MALE RURAL

Factor I School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement I.Q.	.551 .569	.303 .323	.303 .019	.551 .088	p = .01 p = .0001
School Competence $=$ CONSTANT 20.49		β_1 + 1.22			β_2 + .87	
		Relative Achievement			I.Q.	

5.3.3. Real Self-Concept - Boys from Rapidly Changing Milieu

Table 5.42 presents the simple correlations between the four variables and the five Factors which appeared from the analysis of the RCM boys' responses on the real self-concept level. FATHER'S OCCUPATION is highly correlated with FATHER'S EDUCATION ($r=.534$),

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TABLE 5.42

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU   (n=189)

	F I	F II	F III	F IV	F V	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.
	School Competence	Social Self	The Reaction of Others	Obedience	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics			
Father's Occupation	.111	.003	.033	.073	.026	–	–	–
Father's Education	.298**	.030	.009	.008	.000	.534**	–	–
I.Q.	.551**	.082	.143	.049	.128	.168*	.374**	–
Relative Achievement	.621**	.055	.166*	.019	.025	.213**	.408**	.739**

With degrees of freedom 187 a correlation coefficient of r ⩾ .159 is significant at the p=.05 level and a correlation of r ⩾ .208 is significant at the p=.01 level

*p < .05   **p < .01

RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.213) and I.Q. (r=.168). The
highest correlation is between I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVE-
MENT (r=.739), I.Q. and FATHER'S EDUCATION are also significantly
correlated (r=.347). FATHER'S EDUCATION and pupils' RELATIVE
SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT presents an r=.408. SCHOOL COMPETENCE is
significantly correlated with FATHER'S EDUCATION (r=.298), pupils'
I.Q. (r=.551) and their RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.621).
RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT also correlates (r=.166) significantly
(p<.05) with THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS.

Table 5.43 reveals that of the four variables only two enter
the regression equation. RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT explains 38%
of the variance of SCHOOL COMPETENCE and I.Q. 2.4%. It is clear
that the contribution of I.Q. is very small compared to that of
RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT. The rest of the variables did not
significantly add to the variance explained. All four variables
proved to be independent of the other four self-concept factors:
SOCIAL SELF, THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS, OBEDIENCE and NON-ACCEPTABLE
PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS.

Before continuing with the analysis of the effect of the four
variables considered on self-concept factors for the girls, there
are some general comments and a summary of results which should be
taken into account in the boys' sample from the real self-concept
perspective. Tables 5.39, 5.41 and 5.43 reveal that for the boys
RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT is the strongest predictor, accounting
for almost all of the variance explained of SCHOOL COMPETENCE in
all three milieux. FATHER'S OCCUPATION is second in the case of the ATH
boys, but accounts for very little of the explained variance --the
R^2 is only .01. For the Rr and RCM boys, I.Q. is second and the
explained variance contributes only 1% and 2% respectively.

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TABLE 5.43
REGRESSION ANALYSIS REAL SELF-CONCEPT
MALE - RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU

Factor I School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement I.Q.	.616 .636	.380 .404	.380 .024	.616 .560	p = .01 p =.001

$$\text{School Competence} = \text{CONSTANT} \atop 17.09 + \underset{\text{Relative Achievement}}{\overset{\beta_1}{.649}} + \underset{\text{I.Q.}}{\overset{\beta_2}{.424}}$$

5.3.4. Real Self-Concept - Athenian Girls

Table 5.44 presents the correlations between the four variables
and the correlations between the variables and the factors which have
emerged from the analysis of the ATH girls' item responses, from the
real self-concept perspective.

Table 5.44 reveals that FATHER'S OCCUPATION is highly correlated
(p < .01) with FATHER'S EDUCATION (r=.758), I.Q. (r=.238) and pupils'
RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.218). FATHER'S EDUCATION is also
significantly (p < .01) correlated with pupils' I.Q. (r=.254) and their
RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.242). RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT
and I.Q. are significantly (p < .01) correlated (r=.538).

Factor I, SCHOOL COMPETENCE, is correlated significantly with
all four variables, while these seem to correlate with no other factor
except for I.Q. correlating significantly (p < .05) with PROPER GIRL'S
CHARACTERISTICS and with the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS.
The multiple regression analysis conducted shows (Table 5.45) which
of the variables predict the self-concept of the four factors. SCHOOL
ACHIEVEMENT explains 16.8% of the variance of SCHOOL COMPETENCE. This
percentage is lower compared with the analogous one in the boys' case,
which was 29.3%. I.Q. adds only 1.7% to the total variance, an in-

TABLE 5.44

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS
REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE ATHENS
(n=291)

	F I	F II	F III	F IV			
	School Competence	Proper Girl's Charac- teristics	Individu- al Assets	Non-Accept- able Person- ality Character- istics	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.
Father's Occupation	.149*	.021	.013	.042	-	-	-
Father's Education	.140*	.005	.032	.013	.758**	-	-
I.Q.	.332**	.150*	.087	.143*	.238**	.254**	-
Relative Achievement	.411**	.090	.078	.033	.218**	.242**	.538**

With degrees of freedom 289 a correlation coefficient of $r > .138$ is significant at the p=.05 level and a correlation of $r > .181$ is significant at the p=.01 level

*p $<$ .05   **p $<$ .01

TABLE 5.45
REGRESSION ANALYSIS REAL SELF-CONCEPT
FEMALE ATHENS

Factor I School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement I.Q.	.411 .431	.168 .186	.168 .017	.411 .332	p =.0001 p =.0001
School Competence =	CONSTANT 19.72	β_1 + .70 Relative Achievement			β_2 + .34 I.Q.	
Factor II Proper Girl's Characteristics	I.Q.	.150	.022	.022	.150	p = .02
Proper Girl's Characteristics =	CONSTANT 6.30	β_1 + .35 I.Q.				
Factor IV Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	I.Q.	.143	.020	.020	.143	p = .02
Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics =	CONSTANT 3.20	β_1 + .27 I.Q.				

significant amount. Neither FATHER'S OCCUPATION nor FATHER'S EDU-
CATION adds significantly to the explained variance.

5.3.5. Real Self-Concept - Rural Girls

The correlations between the four variables as well as the
correlations between those variables and the factors that appeared
from the analysis of the Rr girls' item responses on the real self-
concept level are shown in Table 5.46. FATHER'S OCCUPATION is high-
ly correlated (p<.01) with FATHER'S EDUCATION (r=.682), pupils' I.Q.
(r=.288) and their RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.313). FATHER'S
EDUCATION correlates significantly with I.Q. (r=.309, p<.01) and
with pupils' RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.264), p<.01). I.Q.
correlates highly (r=.653, p<.01) with RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT,
in contrast to the respective correlations for the Rr boys.

TABLE 5.46

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS

REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RURAL (n=134)

	F I Proper Girl's Characteristics	F II School Competence	F III Social Self in Class	F IV Social Self at Home	F V Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	F VI The Others' Reactions	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.
Father's Occupation	.038	.174*	.012	.079	.056	.101	-	-	-
Father's Education	.005	.158	.063	.056	.001	.040	.682**	-	-
I.Q.	.154	.268**	.089	.053	.110	.244**	.288**	.309**	-
School Achievement	.002	.686**	.036	.019	.068	.136	.313**	.264**	.653**

With d.f. =132 a correlation coefficient of $r \geqslant .174$ is significant at the p=.05 level
and a correlation of $r \geqslant .228$ is significant at the p=.01 level

*p $<$ .05   **p $<$ .01

As far as the correlations between the four variables and the factors are concerned, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, I.Q. and SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT are correlated only to the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor.

The regression analysis assessed the degree to which the four variables affected the Rr girls' self-concept (Table 5.47). SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and I.Q. explain 52.7% of the variance of SCHOOL COMPETENCE; the greatest percentage being attributed to SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (47.1%) and 5.6% being attributed to I.Q. I.Q. also explains 5.9% of the variance of the OTHERS' REACTIONS factor. FATHER'S OCCUPATION and FATHER'S EDUCATION do not add significantly to the explained variance of either factor. The other factors were found to be completely independent of the variables considered.

TABLE 5.47
REGRESSION ANALYSIS REAL SELF-CONCEPT
FEMALE RURAL

Factor II School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement I.Q.	.686 .726	.471 .527	.471 .056	.686 .268	p =.0001 p =.0001
School Competence	= CONSTANT 15.34	β_1 + 1.49 Relative Achievement			β_2 + .42	I.Q.
Factor IV The Others' Reactions	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	I.Q.	.244	.059	.059	.244	p = .01
The Others' Reactions	= CONSTANT 4.14	β_1 + .13 I.Q.				

5.3.6. Real Self-Concept - Girls from Rapidly Changing Milieu

Table 5.48 shows the correlations between the four variables and the correlations between those variables and the factors which emerged from the analysis of the RCM girls' responses, on the real

TABLE 5.48

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS
REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU (n=158)

	F I Proper Girl's Characteristics	F II School Competence	F III Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	F IV Relating to Teacher Romantically	F V Individual Assets	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.
Father's Occupation	.077	.143	.028	.015	.002	-	-	-
Father's Education	.091	.071	.042	.062	.037	.646**	-	-
I.Q.	.066	.414**	.167*	.095	.037	.320**	.249**	-
School Achievement	.054	.640**	.176*	.178*	.092	.344**	.261**	.658**

With d.f. =156 a correlation coefficient of $r \geqslant .159$ is significant at the p=.05 level
and a correlation of $r \geqslant .208$ is significant at the p=.01 level

*p $<$ .05   **p $<$ .01

self-concept level. Examination of the Table reveals that FATHER'S

OCCUPATION is significantly correlated (p$<$.01) with FATHER'S EDU-

CATION (r=.686), I.Q. (r=.320) and girls' ACHIEVEMENT (r=.344);

FATHER'S EDUCATION with the girls' I.Q. (r=.249) and with their

SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT (r=.261). SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT is highly corre-

lated with I.Q. (r=.658, p$<$.01). SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT shows a high

correlation with the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor and a less high corre-

lation with both the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

factor and the RELATING TO TEACHER ROMANTICALLY factor. I.Q. shows

a high correlation with the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor and a less

high one with the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor.

These correlations become more interpretable with the regression

analysis which reveals the effect of all four variables on the dif-

ferent self-concept factors (Table 5.49).

TABLE 5.49
REGRESSION ANALYSIS REAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE
RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU

Factor II School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement Father's Education	.640 .647	.409 .419	.409 .009	.640 .071	p = .01 p = .01

Factor II = CONSTANT 18.35 + β_1 1.02 Relative Achievement + β_2 .28 Father's Education

Factor III Non-Accept-able Person-ality Charac-teristics	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.176	.031	.031	.176	p = .04

Factor III = CONSTANT 7.88 + β_1 .20 Relative Achievement

Factor IV Relating to Teacher Romantically	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.178	.031	..031	.178	p = .05

Factor IV = CONSTANT 3.88 + β_1 .11 Relative Achievement

RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and I.Q. explain 41.9% of the variance of SCHOOL COMPETENCE; SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT explains 40%; while I.Q. adds only 1.9% to the total variance explained. Thus, SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT's effect on the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor is considerable. RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT explains also 3% of the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor and 3% of the RELATING TO THE TEACHER ROMANTICALLY factor. The percentage of variance explained of the two latter factors is too small to consider.

To summarize thus far regarding the girls' responses from the real self-concept perspective, the variance of the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor for all three milieux is explained by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT. The second variable is I.Q. for the ATH and the Rr girls, while it is FATHER'S EDUCATION for the RCM girls. Nevertheless, one cannot seriously consider the variables added at the second step because the variation increment attributable to these variables ranges between 0.9% and 3%. None of these variables considered -- SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, I.Q., FATHER'S OCCUPATION and FATHER'S EDUCATION -- have any predictive value for any other factor on the real self-concept level. This finding holds true for both girls and boys from all three milieux.

In order to facilitate the reader, a summary table (Table 5.50) of the regression analyses conducted thus far, according to sex and milieu on the real level, presents those self-concept factors which are partly predicted by the four variables, the variables that significantly predict the variance of the factors, the multiple correlation coefficients and the amount of variance explained.

The relationship between the four variables and the self-concept factors which have emerged from the children's response analysis on the ideal level was then investigated.*

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*The correlations between the four variables were presented above when the findings concerning the real level were shown. (Tables 5.38, 5.40, 5.42, 5.44, 5.46, 5.48).

TABLE 5.50

SUMMARY TABLE - REGRESSION ANALYSIS - REAL SELF-CONCEPT

	FACTORS	VARIABLE(S) ENTERING THE EQUATION AT FINAL STEP	MULTIPLE R	R^2
MALE ATHENS	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.541	.293
		Father's Occupation	.550	.303
	Social Self	Father's Education	.147	.021
MALE RURAL	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.551	.303
		I.Q.	.569	.323
MALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.616	.380
		I.Q.	.636	.404
FEMALE ATHENS	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.411	.168
		I.Q.	.431	.186
	Proper Girl's Characteristics	I.Q.	.150	.022
	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	I.Q.	.143	.020
FEMALE RURAL	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.686	.471
		I.Q.	.726	.527
	The Others' Reactions	I.Q.	.244	.059
FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.640	.409
		Father's Education	.647	.419
	Non-Acceptable Peronality Characteristics	Relative Achievement	.176	.031
	Relating to Teacher Romantically	Relative Achievement	.178	.031

5.3.7. Ideal Self-Concept - Athenian Boys

It is shown in the Table 5.51, presenting the simple corre-
lations between four variables and the factors that have emerged
from the boys' responses from all three milieux from an ideal self-
concept perspective, that no variable correlates significantly with any
of the Athenian factors.

5.3.8. Ideal Self-Concept - Rural Boys

As far as the Rr boys are concerned, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT
correlates significantly ($p < .01$) with: SOCIAL SELF, RELATING AT
SCHOOL and CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL, SCHOOL COMPETENCE, NON-
ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS and SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED

TABLE 5.51

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS
IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALES

	Factors	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.	Relative Achievement
Athens (n=274)	F_I The Self in the School, Social and Family Context	.044	.026	.107	.087
	F_{II} Harmony at Home	.084	.072	.018	.029
	F_{III} Relating at School	.142	.115	.003	.027
	F_{IV} Social Self at Home	.109	.067	.034	.034
	F_V Non-Acceptable Characteristics	.071	.086	.077	.046
Rural (n=159)	F_I Social Self	.073	.044	.138	.268**
	F_{II} Relating at School ...	.010	.040	.114	.192*
	F_{III} School Competence	.030	.169*	.035	.398**
	F_{IV} Non-Acceptable Characteristics	.128	.066	.045	.318**
	F_V Social Self at Home	.126	.081	.135	.238**
Rapidly Changing Milieu (n=190)	F_I Social Self	.039	.089	.276**	.262**
	F_{II} Motivated Happy Pupil	.033	.091	.335**	.324**
	F_{III} Adjusted at School	.102	.235**	.412**	.500**
	F_{IV} Harmony at Home	.157	.092	.143	.171*
	F_V Interpersonal Relations	.028	.088	.216**	.307**
	F_{VI} Parental Approval	.028	.049	.211**	.247**

$*p < .05$ $**p < .01$

AT HOME factors. The SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor also correlates

significantly (p < .05) with FATHER'S EDUCATION (Table 5.51).

Table 5.52 presents the significant multiple regression

results. As the table shows, RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT, I.Q. and FATHER'S

OCCUPATION taken together   explain 12% of the variance of

the SOCIAL SELF factor. R^2 is rather low and R^2 change is very

small. RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT explains 15.9% of the vari-

ance of the NON-ACCEPTABLE PEROSNALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor,

the other variables not adding significantly to the explained

TABLE 5.52
REGRESSION ANALYSIS IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT
MALE RURAL

Factor I Social Self	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.268	.072	.072	.268	p = .001
	I.Q.	.314	.099	.026	.138	p = .001
	Father's Occupation	.349	.121	.022	.073	p = .001

Social Self = CONSTANT 11.69 + β_1 .41 Relative Achievement + β_2 .75 I.Q. + β_3 .43 Father's Occ

Factor III School Competence	Relative Achievement	.398	.159	.159	.398	p =.0001

School Competence = CONSTANT 7.28 + β_1 .41 Relative Achievement

Factor IV Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	Relative Achievement	.318	.101	.101	.318	p =.0001

Non-Acceptable Characteristics = CONSTANT 7.86 + β_1 .46 Relative Achievement

Factor V Social Self as Expressed at Home	Relative Achievement	.238	.056	.056	.238	p = .005
	Father's Occupation	.287	.082	.025	.126	p = .003
	I.Q.	.350	.122	.039	.135	p = .001

Social Self at Home = CONSTANT 4.33 + β_1 .146 Relative Achievement + β_2 .225 Father's Occupation + β_3 .297 I.Q.

variance. RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, I.Q. and FATHER'S OCCU-
PATION overall explain a 12.2% of the variance of the SOCIAL SELF
AS EXPRESSED AT HOME factor.

5.3.9. Ideal Self-Concept - Boys from Rapidly Changing Milieu

The factors that emerged from the RCM boys' response analysis
all correlate significantly with RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT. More-
over, I.Q. correlates significantly ($p < .01$) with the SOCIAL SELF
factor, with ADJUSTED AT SCHOOL, with MOTIVATED HAPPY PUPIL, with
INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS and PARENTAL APPROVAL factors. The ADJUST-
ED AT SCHOOL factor also correlates significantly ($p < 01$) with
FATHER'S EDUCATION (Table 5.51).

Table 5.53 presents the significant multiple regression results
for the RCM boys. As Table 5.53 shows, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT
explains 25% of the variance of the MOTIVATED HAPPY PUPIL factor,
9.4% of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS factor and 6% of the PARENTAL
APPROVAL factor. The rest of the variables do not add significantly
to the explained variance of these three factors. I.Q. explains 7.6%
of the variance of the SOCIAL SELF factor and along with RELATIVE
SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT 12.5% of the variance of the WORK HABITS factor.
RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and FATHER'S OCCUPATION explain 4.4% of
the variance of the HARMONY AT HOME factor.

As a general comment it can be said that the R^2 between the
four variables and the self-concept factors for the boys' subgroups
is altogether very low. This is an indication that, overall, the four
variables assessed explain little variance of the ideal self-concept
scores.

Factor I Social Self	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 change	r	significance
	I.Q.	.276	.076	.076	.276	p = .001

Social Self $= \begin{matrix}\text{CONSTANT}\\5.67\end{matrix}$ $+ \begin{matrix}\beta_1\\.231\end{matrix}$ I.Q.

| Factor II Motivated Happy Pupil | I.Q. Relative Achievement | .335 .353 | .112 .125 | .112 .012 | .335 .324 | p =.0001 p =.0001 |

Work Habits $= \begin{matrix}\text{CONSTANT}\\8.24\end{matrix}$ $+ \begin{matrix}\beta_1\\.232\end{matrix}$ I.Q. $+ \begin{matrix}B2\\.146\end{matrix}$ Relative Achievement

| Factor III Adjusted at School | Relative Achievement | .500 | .250 | .250 | .500 | p =.0001 |

Motivated Happy Pupil $= \begin{matrix}\text{CONSTANT}\\4.33\end{matrix}$ $+ \begin{matrix}\beta_1\\.237\end{matrix}$ Relative Achievement

| Factor IV Harmony at Home | Relative Achievement Father's Occupation | .171 .211 | .029 .044 | .029 .015 | .171 .157 | p = .023 p = .01 |

Harmony at Home $= \begin{matrix}\text{CONSTANT}\\1.39\end{matrix}$ $+ \begin{matrix}\beta_1\\.336\end{matrix}$ Relative Achievement $+ \begin{matrix}\beta_2\\.682\end{matrix}$ Father's Occupation

| Factor V Interpersonal Relations | Relative Achievement | .307 | .094 | .094 | .307 | p =.0001 |

Interpersonal Relations $= \begin{matrix}\text{CONSTANT}\\3.14\end{matrix}$ $+ \begin{matrix}\beta_1\\.138\end{matrix}$ Relative Achievement

| Factor VI Parental Approval | Relative Achievement | .247 | .061 | .061 | .247 | p = .001 |

Parental Approval $= \begin{matrix}\text{CONSTANT}\\3.56\end{matrix}$ $+ \begin{matrix}\beta_1\\.139\end{matrix}$ Relative Achievement

5.3.10. Ideal Self-Concept - Athenian Girls

Moving on to the girls, Table 5.54 presents the correlations
betwen the four variables and the factors which have emerged from the
responses of the girls from all three different milieux. The Table
shows that no variable correlates significantly with any factor per-
taining to the ATH girls.

TABLE 5.54
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS
IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALES

		Factors	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.	Relative Achievement
Athens (n=312)	F_I	Proper Girl's Characteristics	.003	.067	.067	.077
	F_{II}	School Competence	.045	.015	.089	.029
	F_{III}	Work Habits	.049	.026	.013	.045
	F_{IV}	Happy Homemaking	.018	.005	.043	.014
	F_V	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	.013	.024	.045	.005
Rural (n=158)	F_I	Acceptable in School Relations	.066	.118	.031	.058
	F_{II}	Work Habits	.089	.062	.209**	.127*
	F_{III}	Good Athletic Performance	.031	.108	.000	.018
	F_{IV}	School Performance	.145	.027	.187*	.396**
	F_V	Proper Social Self	.100	.091	.185*	.125
	F_{VI}	Proper Social Self	.128	.035	.443**	.273**
	F_{VII}	Proper Social Self	.064	.078	.013	.046
Rapidly Changing Milieu (n=134)	F_I	Proper Girl's Characteristics	.132	.014	.215**	.258**
	F_{II}	School Competence	.190*	.162	.347**	.397**
	F_{III}	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	.079	.080	.032	.053
	F_{IV}	Social Self	.039	.062	.036	.079
	F_V	Orderliness	.111	.049	.036	.104

*p $<$ .05   **p $<$ .01

5.3.11. Ideal Self-Concept - Rural Girls

Few dispersed correlations can be noted between the factors that have emerged from the Rr girls' responses and the four variables; the WORK HABITS and CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL factors correlate significantly with I.Q. ($p<.01$) and with RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT ($p<.05$); the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor correlates significantly with I.Q. ($p<01$) and with RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT ($p<.05$). Factor V and Factor VI, both concerning PROPER SOCIAL SELF, correlate with I.Q., and I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT respectively (Table 5.54).

Multiple regression analysis showed the "influence" of those four variables on the ideal self-concept. Table 5.55 presents the significant multiple regression results for the girls. I.Q. explains

TABLE 5.55
REGRESSION ANALYSIS IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT
FEMALE RURAL

Factor II Work Habits	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	I.Q.	.209	.044	.044	.209	p = .02
Work Habits..	CONSTANT $=$ 5.49 $\quad$ β_1 + .159 $\quad$ I.Q.					
Factor IV School Competence	Relative Achievement	.396	.157	.157	.396	p = .0001
School Competence	CONSTANT $=$ 4.62 $\quad$ β_1 + .224 $\quad$ Relative Achievement					
Factor V Proper Social Self (1)	I.Q.	.185	.034	.034	.187	p = .04
Proper Social Self	CONSTANT $=$ 2.48 $\quad$ β_1 + .747 $\quad$ I.Q.					
Factor VI Proper Social Self (2)	I.Q.	.443	.196	.196	.443	p =.0001
Proper Social Self (2)	CONSTANT $=$ 2.70 $\quad$ β_1 + .126 $\quad$ I.Q.					

a small percentage (4%) of the variance of the WORK HABITS and

CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL factor, 18% of the variance of

PART OF PROPER SOCIAL SELF (I) and 44% of the variance of PART

OF PROPER SOCIAL SELF (II). RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT explains

15.7% of SCHOOL COMPETENCE. Neither FATHER'S OCCUPATION nor

FATHER'S EDUCATION adds significantly to the explained variance

of any factor. It is I.Q. which is the strongest predictor of

the Rr girls' ideal self-concept (Table 5.55).

5.3.12. Ideal Self-Concept - Girls from Rapidly Changing Milieu

As far as the RCM girls are correlated, the PROPER GIRL'S

CHARACTERISTICS factor correlates significantly ($p < .01$) with both

I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, and the SCHOOL COMPETENCE

factor correlates significantly with FATHER'S OCCUPATION ($p < .05$)

and with I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT ($p < .01$). (Table 5.54)

Table 5.56 presents the significant multiple regression

results for the RCM girls. The Table shows that RELATIVE SCHOOL

ACHIEVEMENT explains a 6% of the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS

TABLE 5.56

REGRESSION ANALYSIS - IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT

FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU						
Factors	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2Change	r	significance
Factor I Proper Girl's Characteristics	Relative Achievement	.258	.067	.067	.258	p = .003
Proper Girl's Characteristics =	CONSTANT 9.55	+	β_1 .343	Relative Achievement		
Factor II School Compet.	Relative Achievement I.Q.	.397 .424	.157 .180	.157 .022	.397 .374	p = .0001 p = .0001
School Compet. =	CONSTANT 5.70	+	β_1 .154	Relative Achievement	β_2 1.57 I.Q.	

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factor in the case of the RCM girls, and combined with I.Q. accounts for 18% of the variance of SCHOOL COMPETENCE - RELATIVE, SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT accounts for 15% while I.Q. adds only 2%. In other words, it is RELATIVE ACHEVEMENT which is the strongest predictor of ideal self-concept for the RCM girls. As in the case of the real self-concept, it is the contribution of RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT, at times small and at times more appreciable, that accounts for the largest portion of variance of ideal self-concept. RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT appears more often as the sole variable entering the regression equation, or it is combined with I.Q., FATHER'S OCCUPATION or with both. However, the residual variance is in most cases large much larger than it was on the real level.

Table 5.57 is a summary table of the regression analyses on the ideal level concerning both sexes from all three milieux; it presents the self-concept factors that are significantly predicted by the four variables; the variables that significantly predict the variance of the factors; the multiple correlation coefficients and the amount of variance explained.

The last set of comparisons conducted concerned the variables and the self-concept factors that emerged from the children's response analysis on the social self-concept level.

5.3.13. Social Self-Concept - Athenian Boys

Table 5.58 presents the correlations between the four variables and the factors that emerged from the boys' responses from all three different milieux from a social self-concept perspective. As shown in the Table, in the ATH boys' case, all four variables correlate significantly ($p < .01$) with the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor; I.Q. and

TABLE 5.57
SUMMARY TABLE - REGRESSION ANALYSIS - IDEAL SELF-CONCEPT

FACTORS	VARIABLE(S) ENTERING THE EQUATION AT FINAL STEP	MULTIPLE R	R^2
MALE RURAL			
Social Self	Relative Achievement	.268	.072
	I.Q.	.314	.099
	Father's Occupation	.349	.121
School Competence	Relative Achievement	.398	.159
Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	Relative Achievement	.318	.101
Social Self at Home	Relative Achievement	.238	.056
	Father's Occupation	.287	.082
	I.Q.	.350	.122
MALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU			
Social Self	I.Q.	.276	.076
Motivated Happy Pupil	I.Q.	.335	.112
	Relative Achievement	.353	.125
Adjusted at School	Relative Achievement	.500	.250
Harmony at Home	Relative Achievement	.171	.029
	Father's Occupation	.211	.044
Interpersonal Relations	Relative Achievement	.307	.094
Parental Approval	Relative Achievement	.247	.061
FEMALE RURAL			
Work Habits	I.Q.	.209	.044
School Competence	Relative Achievement	.396	.157
Part of Proper Social Self (I)	I.Q.	.185	.034
Part of Proper Social Self (II)	I.Q.	.443	.196
FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU			
Proper Girl's Characteristics	Relative Achievement	.258	.067
School Competence	Relative Achievement	.397	.157
	I.Q.	.424	.180

RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT also correlate significantly ($p < .01$) with the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor. Finally, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT correlates significantly, the correlation being considerably smaller than the previous ones, with the COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY factor.

It is the multiple regression analysis conducted that reveals which of the variables are explanatory of the way self-concept is manifested. As Table 5.59 shows RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT explains 10.9% of the variance of the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor, while RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and I.Q. explain 31.9% of the variance of the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor. The increment in R^2 contributed by I.Q. is only 2.9%. Neither FATHER'S OCCUPATION nor FATHER'S EDUCATION adds significantly to the explained variance.

TABLE 5.58

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES AND THE FACTORS
SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - MALES

		Factors	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.	Relative Achievement
Athens (n=228)	F_I	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	.079	.004	.244**	.330**
	F_{II}	School Competence	.293**	280**	.435**	.538**
	F_{III}	Satisfaction in the Social Context	.078	.041	.137	.095
	F_{IV}	Competence in a Manly Way	.059	.071	.016	.185**
	F_V	Non-Acceptable Characteristics	.060	.111	.047	.053
Rural (n=132)	F_I	An Achieving Good Boy	.075	.074	.40	.509**
	F_{II}	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	.197**	.164*	.060	.336**
	F_{III}	Social Self as Expressed at Home	.197**	.004	.086	.149*
	F_{IV}	Social Self as Expressed in Class	.121	.056	.244**	.244**
	F_V	Competence in a Manly Way	.064	.113	.144*	.149*
	F_I	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	.042	.121	.232**	.279**
	F_{II}	An Achieving Good Boy	.062	.151*	.364**	.392**
	F_{III}	Obedience	.139*	.119	.111	.159*
	F_{IV}	Competence in a Manly Way	.136	.084	.159	.121
	F_V	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	.059	.073	.072	.171*

$*p < .05$ $**p < .01$

TABLE 5.59

REGRESSION ANALYSIS SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT
MALE ATHENS

Factor I Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.330	.109	.109	.330	.009
Social Self as Promoted by Teacher =	CONSTANT 25.9	β_1 + 1.06 Relative Achievement				
Factor II School Competence	Relative Achievement I.Q.	.538 .565	.289 .319	.289 .029	.538 .293	.01 .0001
School Competence =	CONSTANT 12.17	β_1 + .843 Relative Achievement		β_2 + .401 I.Q.		

5.3.14. Social Self-Concept - Rural Boys

As far as the Rr boys are concerned, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVE-
MENT correlates significantly at times at the p=.05 level and at
times at the p=.01 level with all five factors that have emerged
from the Rr boys' responses on social self-concept. I.Q. correlates
with the SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN CLASS factor and with the COM-
PETENCE IN A MANLY WAY factor. FATHER'S OCCUPATION correlates sig-
nificantly (p<.01) with the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER and
SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME factor. FATHER'S EDUCATION corre-
lates (p<.05) with the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor
(Table 5.58).

Table 5.60 presents the significant multiple regression results
predicting the Rr boys' social self-concept factors. RELATIVE ACHIEVE-
MENT, I.Q. and FATHER'S EDUCATION explain 50.1% of the variance of
AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY factor. The predictive value of these vari-
ables working together is quite substantial. RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT
and I.Q. seem to share the percentage of variance explained, 25.9%

TABLE 5.60
REGRESSION ANALYSIS SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT
MALE RURAL

Factor I An Achieving Good Boy	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.509	.259	.259	.509	.0001
	I.Q.	.679	.462	.202	.40	.0001
	Father's Education	.708	.501	.039	.074	.0001

An Achieving Good Boy $= 25.92 + 1.51$ Relative Achievement $+.31$ I.Q. $+ 1.10$ Father's Educ.

Factor II Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Relative Achievement	.336	.113	.113	.336	.003
	Father's Education	.428	.183	.070	.164	.0001

Social Self as Promoted by Teacher $= 9.91 + .56$ Relative Achievement $+ .81$ Father's Education

Factor IV Social Self as Expressed in Class	I.Q.	.244	.059	.059	.244	.02
	Relative Achievement	.363	.132	.072	.244	.004

Social Self as Expressed in Class $= 10.62 + .11$ I.Q. $+ .41$ Relative Achievement

and 20.2% respectively, while FATHER'S EDUCATION adds only 3.9%. RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT and FATHER'S EDUCATION explain 18.3% of the variance of SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor, while I.Q. and RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT explain 13.2% of the variance of SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN CLASS.

5.3.15. Social Self-Concept - Boys from Rapidly Changing Milieu

All the factors which have emerged from the RCM boys' responses, apart from the COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY, correlate with RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT. The SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER, the ACHIEVING GOOD BOY and the COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY correlate significantly with I.Q. There are significant ($p < .05$) but low correlations between FATHER'S OCCUPATION and the OBEDIENCE factor and FATHER'S EDUCATION and AN ACHIEVING GOOD BOY factor. (Table 5.58)

The multiple regression analysis indicates which of the variables explain self-concept. Table 5.61 presents the results of the multiple regression analyses conducted for the RCM boys. RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT explains a small percentage (7.8%) of the variance of the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor, while the other variables, I.Q. FATHER'S EDUCATION and FATHER'S OCCUPATION,do not add significantly to the explained variance. RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT also explains 15.4% of the ACHIEVING GOOD BOY factor. The predictive value of the four variables in the way self-concept is manifested in the case of the RCM boys is rather weak.

In general, the RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT was the strongest predictor of those self-concept factors which referred to SCHOOL COMPETENCE, ACHIEVEMENT and the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER. These findings are quite similar to those of the other subgroups.

TABLE 5.61

REGRESSION ANALYSIS SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT
MALE - RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU

Factor I Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.279	.078	.078	.279	.008
Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	= CONSTANT 16.01	+ β_1 .59 Relative Achievement				
Factor II An Achieving Good Boy	Relative Achievement	.392	.154	.154	.392	.0001
An Achieving Good Boy	= CONSTANT 13.62	+ β_1 .59 Relative Achievement				

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5.8.16. Social Self-Concept - Athenian Girls

Table 5.62 presents the correlations between the four variables and the factors that emerged from the girls' responses from all three diffferent milieux. The Table shows that in the case of the ATH girls, the factors AN ACHIEVING GOOD GIRL and SOCIALLY COMPETENT IN A FEMININE WAY correlate significantly with all four variables, while the factors SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER and NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS correlate significantly, the first at p=.01 level and the second at p=.05 level, with I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT.

It is, however, the multiple regression analysis that reveals the contribution of each one of the variables, or a set of variables on the self-concept. Table 5.63 presents the significant multiple regression results estimated for the ATH girls. As the Table reveals, RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT accounts for 10.9% of the variance of the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor, while RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT and FATHER'S OCCUPATION combined account for 31.9% of the variance of the ACHIEVING GOOD GIRL factor. However, while both variables account for 31.9% of the variance, the RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT contributes 28.9% and FATHER'S OCCUPATION only 2.9% to the variance explained.

TABLE 5.63

REGRESSION ANALYSIS SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT
FEMALE ATHENS

Factor I Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.330	.109	.109	.330	.009
Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	CONSTANT = 25.9	β_1 + 1.06 Relative Achievement				
An Achieving Good Girl	Relative Achievement Father's Occupation	.538 .565	.289 .319	.289 .029	.538 .293	.01 .0001
An Achieving Good Girl	CONSTANT = 12.17	β_1 + .843 Relative Achievement			β_2 + .401 Father's Occupation	

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TABLE 5.62

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES AND FACTORS, SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT

FEMALE

	Factors	Father's Occupation	Father's Education	I.Q.	Relative Achievement
Athens (n=253)					
F_I	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	.076	.069	.272*	.317**
F_{II}	An Achieving Good Girl	.178*	.206**	.484**	.573*
F_{III}	Socially Competent in a Feminine Way	.173*	.138*	.304**	.251**
F_{IV}	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	.036	.055	.144*	.172*
Rural (n=109)					
F_I	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	.254*	.251*	.129	.050
F_{II}	Contentment with Social Self	.018	.048	.173	.050
F_{III}	School Competence	.340**	.335**	267**	629**
F_{IV}	Non-Acceptable Personality Characteristics	.025	.087	.174	.045
F_V	Preparing for a Novel Role	.134	.044	.143	.157
Rapidly Changing Milieu (n=133)					
F_I	School Competence	.267**	.199*	.485**	.604**
F_{II}	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	.162	.024	.254**	.363**
F_{III}	Dynamic Girl	.187	.154	.206*	.184*
F_{IV}	Non-Acceptable Characteristics	.002	.009	.063	.143
F_V	Obedient but Strong-Willed	.122	.097	.257**	.291**

*p $<$ .05   **p $<$ .01

5.3.17. Social Self-Concept - Rural Girls

In the case of the Rr girls, the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor correlates significantly ($p < .01$) with all four variables and the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor correlates with FATHER'S OCCUPATION and FATHER'S EDUCATION (Table 5.62).

The multiple regression results indicate that the only factor predicted by any of the variables is SCHOOL COMPETENCE. RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT, I.Q. and FATHER'S EDUCATION combined account for 47.8% of the variance of the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor. The "influence" of RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT, of I.Q. and FATHER'S EDUCATION appears to be larger than the "influence" of I.Q. and FATHER'S EDUCATION independent of RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT (39.6% versus 3.6% and 4.5%) (Table 5.64).

TABLE 5.64
REGRESSION ANALYSIS SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT
FEMALE RURAL

Factor III School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.629	.396	.396	.629	.0001
	I.Q.	.657	.432	.036	.267	.0001
	Father's Education	.691	.478	.045	.335	.0001

School Competence	CONSTANT	β_1		β_2	β_3	
	= 12.89 +	1.12 Relative Achievement	+	.36 + I.Q.	.65	Father's Education

5.8.18. Social Self-Concept - Girls from Rapidly Changing Milieu

As far as the RCM girls are concerned, the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER factor correlates with I.Q. and SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT as well as the OBEDIENT BUT STRONG-WILLED factor; the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor correlates with all four variables, and the DYNAMIC GIRL factor with FATHER'S OCCUPATION, I.Q. and RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT ($p < .05$).

Table 5.65 shows the significant multiple regression results
estimated for the RCM girls. As the Table reveals, RELATIVE ACHIEVE-
MENT accounts for 36.5% of the variance of the SCHOOL COMPETENCE
factor, for 13.2% of the variance of the SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY
TEACHER, and for 8.5% of the variance of the OBEDIENT BUT STRONG-
WILLED factor. The "influence" of RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT on SCHOOL
COMPETENCE is quite appreciable, while it is much smaller on the
other two factors.

TABLE 5.65
REGRESSION ANALYSIS SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT - FEMALE
RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU

Factor I School Competence	Variable(s) entering the equation at final step	Multiple R	R^2	R^2change	r	significance
	Relative Achievement	.604	.365	.365	.604	.0001
School Competence =	CONSTANT 19.01 +	β_1 1.20 Relative Achievement				
Factor II Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Relative Achievement	.363	.132	.132	.363	.002
Social Self as Promoted by Teacher =	CONSTANT 13.10 +	β_1 .60 Relative Achievement				
Factor V Obedient but Strong-Willed	Relative Achievement	.291	.085	.085	.291	.01
Obedient but Strong-Willed =	CONSTANT 7.55 +	β_1 .34 Relative Achievement				

Table 5.66 is a summary table of the regression analyses on
the social self-concept level. It presents the self-concept factors
that are significantly predicted by the four variables, the variables
that significantly predict the variance of the factors, the multiple
correlation coefficients and the amount of variance explained.

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TABLE 5.66
SUMMARY TABLE - REGRESSION ANALYSIS - SOCIAL SELF-CONCEPT

	FACTORS	VARIABLE(S) ENTERING THE EQUATION AT FINAL STEP	MULTIPLE R	R^2
MALE ATHENS	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Relative Achievement	.330	.109
	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.538	.289
		I.Q.	.565	.319
	An Achieving Good Boy	Relative Achievement	.509	.259
		I.Q.	.679	.462
		Father's Education	.708	.501
MALE RURAL	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Relative Achievement	.336	.113
		Father's Education	.428	.183
	Social Self as Expressed in Class	I.Q.	.244	.059
		Relative Achievement	.363	.132
MALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Relative Achievement	.279	.078
	An Achieving Good Boy	Relative Achievement	.392	.154
FEMALE ATHENS	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Relative Achievement	.330	.109
	An Achieving Good Girl	Relative Achievement	.538	.289
		Father's Occupation	.565	.319
FEMALE RURAL	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.629	.396
		I.Q.	.657	.432
		Father's Education	.691	.478
FEMALE RAPIDLY CHANGING MILIEU	School Competence	Relative Achievement	.604	.365
	Social Self as Promoted by Teacher	Relative Achievement	.363	.132
	Obedient but Stron-Willed	Relative Achievement	.291	.085

The most significant results which emerged from the multiple regression analyses conducted are as follows: the RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT variable -- either by itself or combined with the other variables -- was the strongest predictor of those self-concept factors referring to SCHOOL COMPETENCE, ACHIEVEMENT and SELF IN THE SCHOOL context from all three perspectives of self-concept -- real, ideal and social.

The following chapter will include evaluation and discussion of: the factor analytic patterns, the quantitative comparisons across and among the three subcultures, as well as the multiple regression analyses results indicating the effect of FATHER'S OCCUPATION, FATHER'S EDUCATION, I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT on self-concept factors.

6. DISCUSSION

The dramatic changes which Greece has witnessed over the last decade or so have been reflected in the self-concept of the children who inevitably experienced these changes in a direct, profound and significant fashion. As already extensively discussed in the beginning of this study, in this decade Greece has moved out of a dictatorship; the per capita income has risen from $ 1,370 to $ 4,210; cars have multiplied; television has violently invaded Greek life; the consumer-society has taken root and has risen to a peak to date; and urbanism has grown and expanded while the rural population has decreased about 8%.

The self-concept patterns which emerged will be discussed first for the boys from the three different milieux from the perspective of the real self, followed by the girls. The same analysis will be made for boys and girls, from the ideal perspective, and then from the social self-concept perspective.

6.1. Real Self-Concept
6.1.1. Real Self-Concept of Boys from the Three Different Milieux
6.1.1.1. Search for Academic Excellence

The first and most significant factor which emerged from the item responses of all the three boys' groups --ATH, Rr and RCM-- was named SCHOOL COMPETENCE. It focuses completely on achievement: <u>I am a good pupil</u>, <u>I am good at schoolwork</u>, <u>I am studious</u>, <u>I always prepare my homework</u>, <u>I am an attentive pupil</u>. This SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor is the primary and strongest, explaining 40-45% of the variance. This finding is consonant with the way education and achievement are emphasized in Greek society.

Georgiou-Nilsen (1980), in her book <u>The Family through the Elementary School Textbooks</u>, stresses the great importance attributed

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to school achievement by parents and the frequency with which the topic comes up in children's textbooks. Academic success, Nilsen believes, is presented to the child of that age as firmly related to the family's happiness. As already stated in the first chapter, if the child is not first in his class or at least among the first, the repercussions are far greater than those involving a pupil-teacher relationship. School achievement plays the first and greatest role in the family relations and is responsible for the happiness or un-happiness of the parents. Several passages are cited by Georgiou-Nilsen where this attitude is very clear. For example, in the first-grade reader: "Anna is looking at her report card. She looks at her grades and says: 'I've got an A.'" And the writer clarifies: "Grand-ma will be happy. Parents will be happy. Everybody will be happy when they see her report card (p.31)." Education, concludes Nilsen, is presented through the elementary school textbooks, and consequently by the ruling national ideology, as synonymous with school achieve-ment and social success (Ibid.).

Similarly, Vassiliou (1966) underlines the "distorting and utopian" character that children's achievement (school achievement or other) has for Greek parents. Achievement on the part of the child is taken so much for granted and is so highly cherished that disillusion-ed parents regard failure as a "terrible betrayal," rather than the result of the objective ability of their child. In research conducted by Tsiandis et al (1981) concerning suicide attempts by children and adolescents in Greece, conflict between the child and the family and pressures for academic success are the most frequently mentioned reasons which lead children and young adolescents to suicide.

The Greek family has already been described as a highly child-oriented one. There is a shared interest in the child's future. The

child is the agent for the actualization of goals and plans which the whole family is expected to benefit from. The progress and achievement of the child are considered less of a duty on the part of the child and more of a demand on the part of his parents, indicating, says Vassiliou (1966), that parents try to fulfil personal ambitions and wishes indirectly through the child. The urban child was described in the first chapter as being the pillar holding the family together and thus the more he achieves the stronger the pillar becomes.

The intense desire for children's education and achievement is also very clear in a recent study conducted by Batha et al (1982) regarding the influence of cultural variables on school achievement in the first two grades of elementary school. Fifty-one percent of mothers, from a sample of Athenian mothers from various socioeconomic backgrounds, stated that they hoped for a university education for their children. It is interesting to note that the sample under study included an increased percentage of retarded children.

Tsoukalas (1977) mentions that this intense focus on education characterizing the Greeks dates back to the 19th century, and Moustaka (1964) attributes this tendency to the fact that education constitutes the only vehicle for social mobility and progress.

In support of all the above, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, Burns (1979) believes that it is not surprising that children employ academic attainment as a very important index of self-worth, given the heavy emphasis on competition and the pressures applied by teachers and parents on children to achieve success.

The SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor that emerged from the Rr boys' responses, apart from the strictly achievement items (good at schoolwork, good pupil, studious, I always prepare my homework and attentive pupil

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which are shared by both the ATH and RCM boys), includes also items like I am a good child, I am someone parents are proud of and intelligent. This last item possibly does not refer to a high I.Q. in the way it is measured by the psychological tests, but rather refers to the ability of learning and responding in a quick way. Intelligence along with being a good child seem to place the achievving Rr boy more in the context of real life than that of the classroom. These characteristics of a good pupil, coupled with diligence, make "parents proud", and, in the eyes of the Rr boy, take on a different quality from the one found in the achieving factors of the other subgroups, especially if seen in the context of the rural community where the child enjoys emotional security, has a clear position and well-prescribed responsibilities.

6.1.1.2. What One Should Not Be

The second factor that emerged from the ATH boys' responses refers to the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS. The same factor was the least significant one in the case of the other two boys' groups; it appeared sixth in the case of the Rr boys and fifth in the case of the RCM boys. Items loading onto the ATH factor were: I am not selfish, I am not stubborn, I am not quick-tempered, I am not naughty, I am not sly.

It should be once more recalled that from the basic formulations of James, Cooley and Mead it has become axiomatic that self-identity is in large part determined by relations with others. Combining this proposition, as Sherwood (1965) states, with the Lewinian concept of the psychological environment, it is assumed that self-identity is a function of subjective public identity --i.e.

the perception by the subject of his objective public identity --
and subjective public identity is in turn a function of objective
public identity, objective public identity being defined as the
perception of the subject by referent others.

Referent others, states Georgiou-Nilsen (1980) in her research
on the image of the Greek family through the school textbooks, base
their formula of functional relationships on the child's ability to
fulfil their demands. Referent others could correspond to the in-
timate family, to the school, or to the rules and regulations of the
wider social milieu. Georgiou-Nilsen produces a table which includes
the complete rules and regulations which appear in the elementary
school textbooks and correspond to the qualitites that the child
should possess if he seeks the approval of the referent others. This
table will be included here since it describes very eloquently the
child's expected personal qualities.

TABLE 6.1

THE QUALITIES A PROPER CHILD SHOULD POSSESS
ACCORDING TO THE GREEK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS*

On a Personal Level	On a Social Level
To be respectful	To greet and say "thank you"
To be well-behaved, polite, well-bred	To kiss the hand of the teacher, the priest and the elders
To be brave	To be well-behaved when at table
To be intelligent	To stand up in front of elders
To have "philotimo"	Not to litter one's books and the
To be clean	walls of the school
To be thrifty	Not to cry in front of the teacher
To give to friends and to the poor	
To be honest	
To be modest and not boastful	
Not to be greedy and insatiable	

*Georgiou-Nilsen (1980) Ibid., p.57.

In other words, if the objective public identity is the one described in Table 6.1 then the subjective public identity would be the one revealed by the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor. The ATH boy should not, and consequently does not, perceive himself as stubborn-- a stubborn boy is never "respectful"; does not regard himself as selfish, since a selfish boy is "greedy and insatiable", cannot be "modest" and cannot give to friends and ingroup; does not consider himself as quick-tempered since a "well-bred" and "polite" boy cannot be quick-tempered and irritable; and does not perceive himself as naughty. Can he be so if his being "well-behaved" is what is approved? And finally he cannot be sly if what he must always be is "honest."

These NEGATIVE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS are fewer and of much less importance in the case of the Rr boys since they appear in the last factor explaining only 4.5% of the variance, compared to 13% explained by the analogous Athenian factor. The Rr boy perceives himself as not stubborn, not quick-tempered and not selfish. Being naughty*-lively does not pertain to them. It is the ATH boy who should not play ball in the apartment house, who should be quiet when the people downstairs are resting, when daddy comes home tired after a day at the office, etc. Moreover, the negative characteristics of the Rr boy connote that he has not yet been socialized the same way his Athenian counterpart has. The Rr boy has been socialized in the group while the ATH boy is a product of the dyadic relation; being naughty and sly harm the dyadic relation, while in the traditional milieu the group acts as a shock absorber for such kind of behaviour.

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*The word "naughty" in Greek is literally translated from the word "lively". Semantically it can have both a negative and a positive connotation.

The corresponding factor in the case of the RCM boys also appears last and items loading on it are: I am not stubborn, I am not quick-tempered, I am not selfish, I am not naughty. The list clearly lies between the other two subgroups; the "not being naughty", an Athenian characteristic, is also perceived by the RCM boys.

Similarly in her research on the Cultural Function of Mother-Child Interaction Christea-Doumanis (1978) in exploring the mothers' subjective perception of the maternal role by using the Triandis (1972) antecedent-consequent technique, revealed that to both the rural and the Athenian mothers what makes a "good child" is his "not talking back", "his having good manners", "his being respectful". Christea-Doumanis also mentions that many more of the expectations spelled out from the urban mothers compared to the rural ones, instead of delineating what the child should do in order to enjoy a positive interaction, appeared to be emphasizing what he should avoid doing in order to avoid conflict. The negative expression of one's aspirations was similar to that of this particular study; moreover, the Athenian mothers' more pronounced tendency to stress behaviour that should be avoided in the Christea-Doumanis study could be considered parallel to the present finding, where the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor is decidedly stronger and richer in the case of the ATH boys.

6.1.1.3. Obedience versus Prosocial Behaviour

The third factor emerging from the ATH boys' responses is called OBEDIENCE and can be regarded as corresponding to the fourth factor of the RCM boys and to the second of the Rr boys, which were, however, named PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR. The Athenian boy perceives himself as hard-working, intelligent, eager, showing obedience to the parental

desire for academic excellence and consequently making his parents proud of him, and himself useful and helpful towards everyone. One could speculate that "useful" and "helpful" are related more to the child-centerdness of the nuclear family than to child's need for relating. It is the child, the pillar of the family, as already mentioned, who feels he has to fulfil the family's shared goal, i.e. his own future achievement, and by doing so he "helps" to keep the family closely together.

In trying to relate the second to the third factor, i.e. NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS to OBEDIENCE, one might refer to a substantial body of research, which probes the relationship between self-esteem and conformity (Constanzo, 1970). If the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor is attributed to a preoccupation with self-blame and the OBEDIENCE factor is attributed to conformity, then this finding could be paralleled with the generally advocated and substantiated relationship between self-blame and conformity (Berkowitz and Lundy, 1957; Janis and Field, 1959; Constanzo, 1970). Considering the degree of self-blame as an attributive consequence of the degree of self-esteem, one would expect that high self-blame subjects would show patterns of conformity behaviour.

In comparing the ATH boy to the RCM boy in the OBEDIENCE factor, the latter conceives himself as <u>orderly</u> and <u>tidy</u>, as <u>a good housekeeper</u>, <u>hard-working</u> and <u>clean</u>. In other words, he shows obedience, or rather compliance, to static, irrelevant values for a boy of that age where orderliness and cleanliness are the last virtues applying to a preadolescent boy.

The analogous factor in the case of the Rr boys was named PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR. The Rr boy regards himself as <u>well-behaved in class</u>, <u>disciplined</u> and <u>obedient</u>, <u>eager</u> and <u>polite</u>, characteristics that make him <u>a good neighbour</u>, <u>happy at school</u> and <u>liked by the teacher</u>.

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<u>Discipline and obedience</u> are perceived on the one hand but also <u>happiness</u> on the other. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that this factor implies that adherence to the rules depends on motives which are related to a prosocial goal.

The concept of prosocial behaviour as used in the context of the rural culture needs clarification. There have been several studies maintaining that agriculturally based groups, representing tighter cultures, exhibit generally higher levels of conformity than others (Whittaker and Meade, 1967). For example, reference is made to strong traditional group influence (Huang and Harris, 1973; Meade and Barnard, 1973), strong childhood compliance training (Munroe and Munroe, 1975), communal social organization (Bolds, 1976) or authoritarian social structure (Chandra, 1973). A reasonable interpretation of these various terms (strong, communal, authoritarian, etc.) is that they all point to the effect of a "tight" socio-cultural context on the level of individual conformity exhibited. However, Moscovici and Faucheux (1972) strongly question these basic assumptions about social interactions. They advocate that: "In the first place, the relationship of the individual to the authority is viewed as a unilateral one, the authority source always being considered as norm sender and the individual as norm receiver... (p.151). By imposing this condition, one inevitably confines the individual to a closed social system in which he has no alternatives of choice " (p. 152). And Moscovici and Faucheux go on to suggest that when individuals are deprived of all contact with the social context where norms are regularly reinforced, naïve subjects, like any socially isolated minorities, are overwhelmed by uncertainty and submit to authority. Social pressure is undoubtedly the true source of conformity and especially, believes Moscovici, when the individual is

isolated. Berry (1979) agrees with this view by saying that in-

creased settlement in urban areas does bring greater authority pres-

sures to bear upon individuals, (as for example police, teachers,

courts, administrators, bosses, etc.) but, these being non-tradition-

al sources of influence, such authority may be rejected.

Considering what Moscovici and Faucheux have said about con-

formity one might draw the conclusion that the ATH boy is definitely much

more isolated and alienated compared to the Rr boy; the former who per-

ceives the "distorting and utopian" parental expectations, as Vassiliou

(1966) has called them, is more likely to conform. On the other hand,

the Rr boy,who also seems conforming as he is concerned with well-

behaving in class, discipline and obedience, eagerness and politeness,

at the same time   feels happy about it, and in positive relations

with others,e.g. neighbours and teachers. He sees, as Moscovici and

Faucheux (1972) state,"the influence process as a process of trans-

formation from a natural state to a social one, rather than simply

a method of establishing dependency, and considers that the goal of

social life is not merely to adapt oneself to a reality that exists,

but rather to establish norms for a man-made reality that one masters "

(p.199).

It is very interesting to note that good neighbour, an item

absent in the Athenian factors, is mentioned only by the Rr and the

RCM boys. The neighbourhood has played a very important socializing

role in every traditional society and the neighbour has in Greece

inspired many sayings such as: "God and neighbour", or:"First in life

you meet your neighbour and then God", or:"The difficult years pass;

the difficult neighbour does not". As is natural, urban life destroys

the concept of neighbourhood; the forces of city life seem, from

studies of the Chicago School of urban sociology, as early as 1925, to be destroying the city neighbourhood (Park, Burgess et al, 1925). For example, Appleyard, Lynch and Meyer (1964) have shown that a sense of community among neighbours on a street was created in an inverse ratio to the amount of traffic on the street.

6.1.1.4. Interdependence versus Individualism

SOCIAL SELF appears as the last factor in the case of the ATH boy while being only second and third in the case of the RCM and the Rr boys respectively. The ATH boys perceive a SOCIAL SELF as one who is nice to the teacher, liked by the teacher and in harmony with his family. Comparison of the ATH to the Rr boys reveals that the ATH boy exhibits a more individualistic orientation while the Rr boy seems to be based on interdependence. The Rr boy is concerned with concepts such as being a good brother, a good friend, useful and helful towards everyone and a good housekeepr; he develops relationships in a context where the individual activates all his potential in order to serve his interests in the best possible way, serving above all the interests of his own people, his own ingroup. Good brother, good friend, useful and helpful towards everyone emphasize relating, commitment to relating and strong interdependence. Past studies of the Greek milieu seem to be in full support of this present finding. Vassiliou, Katakis and Vassiliou (1968) have noted that in the low complexity milieu, relations with others are described as being positive, immediately rewarding and tangible in content. As far as the good brother perception of the Rr boys is concerned, Christea-Doumanis (1978) mentions that one of the prerequisites of a "good child" as mentioned by the rural mothers was "he loves his siblings."

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Staub (1978) and Hoffman (1977) give evidence that boys, and males in general, show less concern about another's welfare on various experimental tasks than do girls and women, at least in Western culture. Moreover, they suggest that this would increase the likelihood of oppositional reactions to requests for help. In the present study, Staub and Hoffman's findings seem relevant to the ATH boys' social self-concept where a "Leave me alone" ideology is manifested: "I am nice towards the significant other", "He is nice towards me", "I am doing what I am supposed to be doing", no friction, no tension, no commitment, "everything lies in harmony". Going back to the Christea-Doumanis (1978) study, it is interesting to note that a "good child" is considered by the Athenian mothers to be the one who "does not create problems", who clearly in the presnt case is "in harmony with his family". Being a good brother and a good friend are absent in both the ATH boys' factor and the one of the RCM boys. Being a good brother, being a good friend, being useful and helpful contain a challenge, a give-and-take through trial and error, and presuppose a certain extent of self-awareness and differentiation in establishing one's boundaries. One inevitably might ask oneself whether in the Athenian reality there is time and place for friendship and brotherhood to be developed. In school, as Vassiliou and Vassiliou (1982) claim, children are thrown into antagonistic relations, in the context of evergrowing academic competition, and they are deprived of all real group participation which could foster their emotional differentiation.

The perception of SOCIAL SELF by the RCM boys is defined primarily by the family and much less by the community -- the expected trend from the higher systems of the community and ingroup down to the

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lower systems of the nuclear family and the individual. The items

loading on this factor once more indicate that the RCM boys are

moving from the rural to the Athenian reality.

It is very revealing that the Athenian self-portrait consists

of only four factors while the rural self-portrait consists of six

and the one projected by the RCM boys is made up of five. The great-

er number of factors elicited from the Rr boys and the greater number

of items loading on the factors (30 compared to 18 and 24 in the case

of the ATH and the RCM boys respectively) could be interpreted as an

increased differentiation in the conception the Rr boy has of himself,

a self that operates on more dimensions. It may seem paradoxical that

the Athenian boys who live in the midst of multistimulation would be

less differentiated than their rural counterparts. Yet it is this same

finding that comes as a constant complaint from so many school teachers,

that their students' essays are so identical, so non-individualized that

one could think that it is one and the same essay written by all

thirty students (Angelinaras, 1983; personal communication). This

same remark is made by Vassiliou and Vassiliou (1982) when they argue

that young people today are inadequately socialized, far less mature

and less differentiated than their rural counterparts.

The analysis which follows refers to the rest of the factors

that have emerged from the other two subgroups' item responses.

6.1.1.5. When Acceptance is Provided by the Other

The fourth factor which emerged from the Rr boys' item responses

referred to the perception of THE REACTIONS OF OTHERS, as did the third

factor which emerged from the RCM boys' responses. The Rr boy perceives

himself as lovable, his mummy's pet, someone whose parents are proud of

him, as well as a good and attractive child. The fact that these

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Rr boys feel loved and approved of leads the researcher to assume
that significant others do react approvingly towards them. This
factor seems to be of paramount importance since self-esteem depends
on how one is viewed by others. It has been both clinically and
theoretically substantiated that there is a strong relationship
between feelings towards the self and feelings towards others as well
as feelings towards the self and the esteem of others (Horney, 1937;
Sheerer, 1949; Fey, 1954; Dittes, 1959; Rogers, 1961; Maslow, 1968).
Horney stated that the person who does not believe himself lovable
is unable to love others and Maslow, in carrying Horney's statement
further, said that one who does not believe himself accepted, recognized,
appreciated and important enough cannot believe himself worthwhile
and lovable. Others have stressed that factors such as parental
respect and interest (Wessman and Ricks, 1966) and emotional security
with parents (Mistry, 1960) are essential for the development of a
strong sense of self. On the other hand, a distant impersonal relation-
ship with parents may well lead to low self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965).
Especially in cultures which are intensely family-oriented societies
(e.g. the Filipino study by Watkins and Astilla, 1980), family accept-
ance and intercommunication and a greater degree of shared satisfaction
with family both lead to an increased sense of self-worth. Katakis,
(1978b) in investigating the relationship between perception of self
and others in relation to milieu complexity by using the T.A.T.
method of Arnold's (1962) Story Sequence Analysis, showed that children
from a traditional milieu felt that they were receiving care, guidance
and support from their parents, while the Athenian children showed
ambivalence and indecisiveness. One can assume that this guidance,
support, care and acceptance which the traditional children felt they

were receiving from parents, friends and the community in general
in the Katakis study, are feelings very similar to the ones experienced
by the Rr boys in the present study. Norem-Hebeisen and Johnson
(1981), in exploring interdependence and ways of deriving self-esteem,
showed that secondary school students who indicated a positive attitude
towards cooperative relationships and interdependence reported patterns
of higher self-esteem, described greater personal expressiveness (basic
acceptance), and feelings of personal well-being and satisfaction;
while students who indicated positive attitudes towards competitive
or individualized patterns reported greater vulnerability in dimensions
of self-esteem, reflecting sensitivity to experience of success,
approval and support of others.

Moreover, the Rr boy perceives himself as attractive. Neither
the Athenian nor the RCM boy perceives himself as being attractive.
It was a surprise to the researcher to see that despite the fact that
these Rr boys, most of whom had their heads shaved according to school
regulations for reasons of hygiene, were poorly dressed and were far
less well nourished than their Athenian counterparts, were pleased
with their looks. However, like all other elements of self-conception,
as Burns (1979) claims, body image is subjective and it is the feed-
back from others that provides the positive gain. Drositou, Stavrianou
and Metaxas (1981) in their study Body Image and School Success in 9
and 10 Year Old Children in Greece have shown that the way the child-
ren felt about being attractive or not was rarely related to their
objective looks but rather to the extent they felt reassured about
their self-image. Moreover, the traditional viewpoint of being
attractive is that the good child is also good-looking since it is his
inner soul that reflects on his face.

The RCM boys also perceive themselves as <u>lovable</u> and the <u>pride</u> <u>of their parents</u>. Is it, though, because they obey by being <u>polite</u> and <u>well-behaved in class</u>? In other words, this boy behaves in the way he is expected to and, as Georgiou-Nilsen (1980) maintains, he gains the love and approval of the significant others. Once again this trend of moving from the traditional to the urban Athenian reality is prominent. The RCM boy still shows an interest in how others react towards him while the ATH boy seems to have renounced that part of his self. One, however, wonders whether the love offered by the others to the RCM boys is not perceived as a form of exchange --you behave the way I want you to and consequently I love you, a trend absent in the Rr boys' reality.

6.1.1.6. <u>Individual Qualities</u>

The fifth factor, in the case of the Rr boys, refers to what was called INDIVIDUAL ASSETS, a factor which emerged exclusively from the Rr boys' responses. In this factor, the Rr boy perceives himself as <u>brave</u>, <u>strong-willed</u> and <u>a good athlete</u>, clearly the portrait of the traditional model of a man. The name of the factor might seem paradoxical since what the reader might have thought thus far is that the Rr children conceive of themselves as inseparable from the group and consequently do not focus on individualistic characteristics. However, as already mentioned in the first chapter, the ingroup is operational as long as it functions as an open system with common goals, permitting the individual to act independently, constructively and self-reliantly, the main objective being for the individual to ultimately serve these common goals.

Another surprise and a seeming contradiction to the researcher is that being <u>a good athlete</u> is mentioned only by those Rr boys who have the least sports facilities, grounds, games and tournaments, while it

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is the ATH boys who are immaculately-dressed in sports-outfits
and are the consumers who succumb to the endless sports advertising.
At the same time, however, while sports are swamping our life, while
the Olympic Games are getting fancier and grander every year, there
is a world-wide,evergrowing questioning of whether we are moving away
from the real athletic spirit and genuine sportmanship. Similarly,
the ATH boy who is "dressed like an athlete", when it comes to self-
perception, does not actually perceive himself as a good athlete.

In summary, the four Athenian factors are: SCHOOL COMPETENCE,
NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, OBEDIENCE and SOCIAL
SELF. The ATH boy sees himself as trying hard, by great personal
effort, to succeed in the school context without at the same time
feeling happy or satisfied about it, apart from contributing to
parental satisfaction. He seems to focus on what not to do, that is,
behaviours he must eschew rather than behaviours he must embrace.
Moreover, he seems to think that to the extent he is a hard-worker
he is accepted by both family and teacher. What is revealed from such
a self-portrait is that he sees his social self in a lonely way,
where he receives very little from others but at the same time he
does not seem to commit himself to them. The Rr boy, on the other
hand, looks as if he is trying to achieve in the school context, his
effort making his parents proud of him but also making himself happy.
He feels lovable, attractive, his parents' pride and their beloved
one. Could it be because he knows how to share and, most important of
all, he knows how to be useful and helpful towards others? The
RCM boy seems to see himself lying in between the other two: he
belongs neither here nor there, and he reminds the Athenian model of the
good achieving pupil, bringing along at the same time all the tradition-
al values that have sustained themselves on the surface, but not in
essence.

6.1.2.   Real Self-Concept of Girls from the Three Different Milieux

6.1.2.1. Female Role Conflict

The first factor that emerged from the ATH girls' item responses referred to SCHOOL COMPETENCE and explained 47% of the variance, while it assumed a secondary position for both the Rr and the RCM girls (explaining 12.5 and 12.9% of the variance respectively). This big difference concerning school competence between the ATH girls and those coming from the provinces is very revealing. A difference between the girls and the boys would be anticipated since being a school achiever has not been among the role requirements of the woman. Social change has, however, brought the Athenian girls closer to the boys. It is indicative that it is the girls who score higher in the University entrance examinations. The Greek woman in the traditional culture was expected to be strong and giving; her husband was often away for long periods of time either as a fighter, as an emigrant or as a mariner, and it was she who had to take things in hand, pulling the family through all adversities and difficulties. This strength, which characterizes the traditional woman, has nowhere to be directed in her new urban reality; one might expect that a good part of this vigour would be channeled into education.

Another interpretation of the similarity between the ATH boys and girls could be the one offered by Connell and Johnson (1970). In a study of early adolescents from Chicago, they suggest that, for the early adolescent at least, the male role may have reward value above and beyond that of the female role regardless of whether the role is adopted by a male or female. They believe that societal definitions of the male role place a great deal of emphasis on mastery and competence, whereas society, in defining the female role, appears to emphasize some

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apparently negative characteristics such as dependency and submissive-
ness. Consequently the female may be positively reinforced by adopt-
ing certain male characteristics, such as, for example, academic com-
petence.

The ATH girl is concerned with the image of the good, studious,
attentive pupil but she also considers intelligence important, in con-
trast to the ATH boy, who does not, as well as being nice to her teacher
and being liked by him. The "proper daughter" in the Christea-Doumanis
(1978) study is considered by the Athenian mothers to be the one who
is "cultured", the one who is rewarded with money for her piggy bank
when she brings home a good report-card in the Georgiou-Nilsen (1978)
study. At the same time however, the "proper Athenian daughter", says
Christea-Doumanis, is the one who "thinks of her parents" and "listens
to them". The Statistical Yearbook of Greece (1980) shows that women
comprise 28% of the economically active population in Greece. In other
words, 1 out of every 3 financially active Greeks is a woman; 35% of
the professionals and 36% of the employees of governmental or private
organizations in the urban areas are women. Even more significant is
the fact that the number of young girls seeking employment for the first
time exceeds the number of boys. However, despite all these changes
which have occurred, the culturally imposed values not only survive but
prevail. The sterotype of the "proper woman" is the good housewife,
who takes good care of her children and her family (Vassiliou, 1966;
Potamianou, 1978; Diacou-Alivizatos, 1977; Nicolaidou, 1975).

Similarly in the second factor that emerged from the ATH girls'
responses, called the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS, the ATH girl per-
ceives herself as polite, orderly, disciplined and obedient, clean, a
good housekeeper, hard-working, well-behaved, a good neighbour and a
good sister. This is a much longer list of traits demanded of the ATH
girl in comparison to the ATH boy, who is primarily required to work

hard and achieve at school. Among the factors considered by both
male and female respondents to make a woman happy, in a study by
Vassiliou (1966), a successful career is rarely mentioned while the
factors "good marriage" and "good family" prevail. Along the same
lines, the profile of the proper girl which is projected in the
school textbooks is the one who is "polite", "with good manners",
"decent", "modest" and "useful". Consequently, there is no way to
avoid a female role conflict.

The same female role conflict apparent in this study was also
noted by Christea-Doumanis (1978). She contends that the picture
of the female role which has emerged from her study clearly illustrates
the ambiguities, inconsistencies and contradictions which ensue when
certain values change as a result of a new social reality, while
others remain loaded with traditional elements which become less and
less functional and tend to assume the form of stereotypes. "The
urban woman must, as a daughter, be responsible and cultured since the
social environment does offer her opportunities for education and
autonomy, but she must at the same time be respectful and obedient to
her parents. (The problem of deciding whether to obey a parental
command or a professional demand in case of conflict is hers to re-
solve). As a woman she is expected to have many interests but focus
she must on her family. As a mother she expects her baby to be in-
dependent and self-sufficient, controlling his demands and his temper,
and then she expects him to shift to the interdependence model as he
grows old, showing respect and consideration for his parents in their
old age " (p. 148).

6.1.2.2. Anger and Rebellion

In this light it is quite predictable that the ATH girls feel
frustrated and angry. At this point comes the third factor, INDIVIDUAL

ASSETS, which is made up of only two items, I am brave, I am not a coward, being the same statement phrased twice in an opposite manner. This factor transmits a very strong and aggressive flavour. Is it the ATH girl who is trying to break the traditional stereotype of the timid and shy girl? Is she trying to adopt manly characteristics which are valued and treasured in the new reality? Or is it only her explosion and anger towards incompatible expectations and goals? Whatever it is, this factor is reminiscent of the women's liberation movement where sometimes anger and aggression are so prominent. Moreover, it is this same factor that leads young Athenian women to describe their selves as: "I don't know who I am. I don't know what I want to ask from life: things for myself, or shall I comply with others' needs?" (Golfinopoulou, 1980; Roussos, 1980; Coutroubis, 1980). It is this great inability to work through the current conflict between "dependence" and "independence" and to choose between the problem of "being" and "becoming", which characterize the modern Athenian woman.

The last factor completing the ATH girls' sketch is the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS. I am not stubborn, I am not selfish, I am not quick-tempered, charactersitics which are parallel to those she perceived in the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS factor. She cannot be stubborn, selfish and quick-tempered if she is a polite, disciplined, obedient and well-behaved young girl.

The same trend, as in the case of the boys, is noticed, that of the ATH girls' self-portrait consisting of fewer factors compared with the other two subgroups. It can once more be conjectured that the ATH child's self-concept is more restricted and less differentiated compared with the Rr one. The rest of the analysis will concern those factors which emerged from the item responses of the Rr and the RCM girls.

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6.1.2.3. <u>Dimensions of a Meaningful Personal and Collective Life</u>

The profile of the Rr girl contains those traditional elements which have been shaping the girl's identity for centuries. PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS is the factor which appears first. She is concerned with <u>being useful and helpful towards everyone</u>, <u>a good neighbour</u>, <u>a good housekeeper</u>, <u>clean</u>, <u>disciplined and obedient</u>, <u>eager</u>, <u>good child</u>, <u>happy at school</u> and <u>attractive</u>. The basis of her person- ality seems to be designated by positive social behaviour, by what was earlier described as prosocial behaviour. <u>Being useful and help- ful towards everyone</u> is the first item of the first factor, clearly defining the whole self-concept of the Rr girls as that of being at the service of the community, since, as already described in the first chapter, in the traditional milieu the child did and still does today stress the value of conserving the collective effort. Studies in Andros (Polemi-Todoulou, 1981), in Patmos and Crete (Katakis, in press) have shown that even in 1983, children continue to perceive inter- dependence, cooperation and the interest of the group as necessary presuppositions of a creative life within the community. These child- ren continually stress that the only way to a successful personal and collective life is to integrate the emotional security which is offered through human relationships with the self-esteem which is gained by the accomplishment of personal goals and pursuits (Polemi- Todoulou, 1981; Katakis, in press). Staub (1980), who relates situation- al dimensions to the potential activation of prosocial goals, further relates prosocial goals to helpful behaviour. He stresses the social appropriateness -- the surrounding conditions of social influence -- which defines a helping situation. In the rural milieu such "helping" is not only accepted, but even more expected and prescribed by the

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social norms that guide social behaviour in the traditional culture.
The Rr girl, exactly like the Rr boy "complies" with such behavioural
expectations as being disciplined and obedient, eager, a good house-
keeper, clean, but at the same time she perceives herself as happy at
school, happy in being the way she is. This happiness could not but
reflect in her face; consequently she perceives herself as attractive,
another similarity with the Rr boy. Being attractive is, in the girls'
case as well as in the boys', mentioned by no other subgroup apart
from the rural one.

SCHOOL COMPETENCE appears as a second factor, explaining much less
of the self-concept variance compared to the first factor. SCHOOL
COMPETENCE is seen by the Rr girl in strictly academic performance
terms. She seems to separate academic performance from SOCIAL SELF AS
EXPRESSED IN CLASS, emerging as Factor III, where she refers to relating
in class and to the qualities appreciated in the school context. The
Rr girl likes her teacher and is liked by him since she is an intelligent
and hard-working girl. Another facet of her SOCIAL SELF is the one AS
EXPRESSED AT HOME, which emerges as separate, Factor IV. She perceives
herself as polite, well-behaved, a good child and consequently in harmony
with her family.

6.1.2.4. "Ingratiation with Contempt"

The Rr girl's NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS consist of
her not being quick-tempered, sly and naughty. Sly and naughty were
items not loading onto the analogous factor among the Rr boys. Never-
theless, sly and naughty would take on a completely different meaning
when referring to a girl rather than a boy. As already mentioned in
the previous chapter, sly and naughty, when describing a girl, allude to
seductive behaviour. These characteristics are consistent with find-
ings by Triandis, Vassiliou and Nassiakou (1968), where in testing

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the perception of social behaviours, they described the role per-
ception of the Greek wife towards her husband as being one of showing
"ingratiation with contempt". In the traditional culture, the role
of the woman in the family transaction was always to be subordinate to
her husband, since he was the "protector", the "supporter",the "leader".
"Fearing the husband", "lying and cheating him", on the one hand, and
"crying with him" and "caressing him", on the other, were the roles
found among the traditional women (Vassiliou, 1966). Thus, the woman
was always obliged to act in an idirect way to manipulate and manoeuvre
the husband. Consequently, this naughty and sly item,elicited from the Rr
girl in the present study, might mean that the girl, the future woman,
is "naughty", flattering and seductive towards the other sex by using
her "slyness" and cunning.

6.1.2.5. Reactions of Others

The last significant factor which has emerged from the Rr girls'
item responses is the REACTIONS OF OTHERS. This is one more factor
where the Rr girl resembles the Rr boy, and it is a factor that
appears only in the rural subgroup. The Rr girl perceives others
regarding her as lovable, good friend and her parents' pride. The
justification given for this factor in the case of the Rr boys also
holds for the Rr girls. The Rr girl perceives herself loved and cherish-
ed; could it be because above all she is contented with herself?

6.1.2.6. Confusion

The analysis of the factors that have emerged from the RCM
girls responses shows most dramatically the confusion and the conflicts
which the girl of the 1980s is facing under the impact of such a fast
social change.

The first factor refers to the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS, the first amd most important item being that of I am polite. The girl perceives herself as polite, eager, good housekeeper, well-behaved, orderly, attentive pupil and her parents' pride. Comparing her with the Rr girl, it becomes clear that it is the others who determine her self-conception without, however, being prosocially oriented in the way the Rr girl seems to be. Where the Rr girl mentioned her being useful and helpful towards everyone, the RCM girl mentions her being polite. It is the stereotyped determinants of a proper girl which have remained while, what made them functional has disappeared. It is the interdependence which was the integrating force, while in the absence of a close social circle interdependence seems an empty, if not a disfunctional concept, as Christea-Doumanis notes. Similarly, this factor describes an empty face. The emerging identity of the RCM girl is unclear, vague and full of contradictions. The same confusion encountered in the ATH girl is also found in the RCM girls.

6.1.2.7. Role Confusion and Negative Self-Conception

The second factor of the RCM girls refers to SCHOOL COMPETENCE. In contrast, however, to the analogous factor in the case of the ATH girls, the RCM girls do not seem to be worried as much about school achievement but rather perceiving the facade of the proper girl. How does one, however, explain the fact that the number of those who successfully pass the stringent university entrance examinations is larger in the provinces than in Athens? Is it, then, a new role, that of a girl who is educated, self-sufficent and independent, that is catching up with her? The RCM girl must feel that her present equipment will not prove to be sufficient in the future reality she will have to meet. However, she must also feel uncertain of what the role must be. She

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probably feels angry with this role confusion in the same way as the ATH girl. And it is this anger that leads her to the third factor, the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS. She claims she perceives herself as stubborn, naughty, quick-tempered, selfish and sly. These are all characteristics which both girls and boys from all three milieux had perceived as characteristics to be eschewed. What creates this negative self-perception in the RCM girls? Katakis's ascertainments might offer an answer to this question. She indicates (under publication) that the T.A.T. problematics which emerged from the Athenian children made clear that when goals are missing or are unclear or, even more, when these goals are in conflict, the reaction is either to become angry with the significant other,"to blame the other who doesn't understand you", "who doesn't want your well-being", "who has selfish motives"; or, finally, to blame yourself because you are not the way the significant other would have wanted you to be, and consequently to reject yourself. Clearly the latter, self-blame and self-rejection, are the outcome of lacking or conflicting goals. As Staub (1980) states: "When less firmly held but important hypotheses are questioned or disconfirmed by current experience, self-concern may arise or negative self-evaluation may result " (p. 241).

Confusion becomes even greater with Factor IV, RELATING TO THE TEACHER ROMANTICALLY. I am nice to my teacher, I am liked by him, and this give-and-take between the teacher and the girl takes place in a context where she perceives herself as romantic and sentimental. In other words, the role of the pupil looks as if it goes hand-in-hand with the role of a seductive one. It is interesting to note that when the Rr girl was describing her good relations with the teacher she was attributing them to her hard work and intelligence, the obvious role one would have expected from a pupil. The RCM girl began to

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emerge from her traditional "passivity" but she has no appropriate role behaviours to draw from. The rigid structure of the rural milieu, on the one hand, which she is already familiar with, she feels to be suffocating, and therefore she is ready to reject it. On the other hand, the complete lack of structure characterizing the Athenian milieu naturally creates fear and anxiety. The greater the fear and anxiety the more disfunctional the individual tends to become.

In summing up the three profiles of the girls from the three different milieux, as they have emerged from the factor analysis of their item responses, certain general points are noted. The ATH girl perceives herself foremostly as an achiever. The expectations, however, of a previous role are still prominent. She perceives herself caught between the two role requirements and she seems confused and angry. The RCM girl finds herself in a similar situation. Consequently their emerging identity is unclear, vague and contradictory. They both seem to feel trapped and angry and they both explode. The ATH girl declares that she is 'brave" leading one to believe that she will not give up and she will pull through the present difficulties. The RCM girl from her side, with less crystallized views compared with the ATH girl, turns against herself in self-blame and self-accusation. The Rr girl's self-concept, on the other hand, sounds more quiet. She seems to disclose no explosion. Her very first concern is being useful and helpful towards everyone, a long existing pattern of behaviour which she can fulfil and feel happy and content about, since she feels that the others (authority figures and friends) love her and are proud of her. Clinical data consistently show (Golfinopoulou, 1980) that the young urban women today bitterly complain about continually giving (which is the proper Greek woman's

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role assumption) and at the same time feeling that none of it is being returned or even acknowledged by the others. Thus they feel empty-handed.

6.2. Ideal Self-Concept

This section is devoted to a discussion of the ideal self-concept, that is the children's view of what they aspire to or what they believe they ought to be. The statistical analysis showed that the factor structure found in the ideal self-concept did not resemble the factor structure of the real self-concept measure. Consequently, there was no way that a real-ideal discrepancy score between them could be calculated. Moreover, already in Chapter 3 dealing with the measurement approaches to the assessment of self-concept, the reservations of several researchers as to the methodological problems entailed in the self-ideal discrepancy score were discussed. It was thus decided to discuss qualitatively the self-image disparity in terms of self-satisfaction, self-acceptance or even personal adjustment. Wells and Marwell (1976) state that this particular kind of attitude, in contrast to the attitude of extracting discrepancy scores, is that the former leave implicit the standard for evaluation --the potential state with which the actuality is compared-- while discrepancy self-esteem scores explicitly include this standard. The major difference between attitudinal and disparity predictions seems to be in the way they are translated into empirical operations purporting to measure self-esteem.

Looking at the ideal self-concept, many points that were implicit on the real level are now clarified and understood better. The ideal self-conception, by its nature, has not the real immediacy inherent in the real self-perception; it has an hypothetical quality; consequently it may be less threatening and more disclosing. The lack of accept-

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ance, the lack of emotional exchange in the context of the group, fears related to the parental and societal aspirations and the need for emotional exchange and contentment are revealed on the ideal level.

6.2.1. Ideal Self-Concept of Boys from the Three Different Milieux
6.2.1.1. Excessive Aspirations

This first factor in the case of the ATH boy is a long list of items, the content of which cannot easily be classified in one homogeneous grouping. Thus the factor was named: THE SELF IN THE SCHOOL, SOCIAL AND FAMILY CONTEXT. The first items with the highest loading are the ones referring to the school competence image of the boy who would like to be studious, good at school work, an attentive, intelligent, good pupil who would always like to do his homework. Another group of items refers to a social self where the ATH boy would like to be lovable, a good friend, useful and helpful towards everyone, liked by the teacher, polite and a good child and most important of all he would like to be happy.* The third set of items refers to the boy's relations in the context of his family; I would like to be someone my parents would be proud of and I would like to be in harmony with my family.

This factor pattern is widely different from the pattern of the first factor perceived from a real self-concept perspective, where the boy was only describing a competent, achieving self. At

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*The word "happy" translated in English from the Greek language cannot semantically produce the same meaning. "Being happy at school" (haroumenos sto skolio) and "being happy" (eftihismenos) in Greek have widely different meanings. "Happy at School" means satisfied, contented at school and connotes a confinement of the feeling in time and place; one can, in that sense, be happy with one thing and unhappy with another, or be happy today and unhappy tomorrow; while "happy" has a much more intense connotation: it means blissful, it is an overall feeling of well-being and presupposes a continuity over a time span. As feelings change and become more diffused, words expressing those feelings change as well.

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this level, achievement and competence at school seem to be ideally conceived as one aspect of self-concept, embedded in a context where social skills would be present and where there would be functional relating with the others, whether peers, family or teacher. Under such circumstances, the ATH boy would have felt that he was being loved and accepted, and he would have thus gained happiness for himself.

This is a large factor with sixteen items loading onto it, explaining 55% of the variance. Actually, with such a strong factor, the scale could have been taken as a unifactorial one. If not, it clearly defines the whole scale. One has the feeling of being overwhelmed by the ATH boys' deluge of desires. Is it the excessive and, at the same time, blurred, parental aspirations that have led the ATH boy to an ideal self-image where everything is included, where he distinguishes no priorities and an inability to assign his aspirations to a hierarchy? One might contemplate that an "unreality" has been created by the family rules, an "unreality" that these ATH boys are striving toward.

Items such as intelligent, good friend, lovable, happy are items absent from any factor on the real level. It is extremely interesting to note that for these children who perceived no interaction, no encouragement, no support and reactions from others on the real level, the IDEAL is still achievement, but this time embedded in another reality where there would be active exchange with the others, meaningful support and acknowledgement from the family. There would be friendship and they would feel worthy of esteem and love, and, above all, happiness. Katakis (in press) mentions, that when Athenian boys responded to the Cantril self-anchoring scale, they attributed great importance to their professional future, but at the same time they

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stressed their hope for future harmonious relationships with the
family. However, they had doubts about whether they would achieve
both, and expressions such as, "I wish there were no problems" or
"I wish I could live a life with no problems" were very frequent.
The way in which their pursuits would materialize was never mention-
ed. It looks as if the aspirations revealed in this first factor
are similar to the ones detected by Katakis.

The rest of the factors are smaller and will be discussed in
a general fashion. HARMONY AT HOME: The ATH boy would have liked
to be hard-working, strong-willed, intelligent, to always do his
homework, to be brave and a good athlete, while the ultimate goal
of this effort would have been to secure harmony at home. This
factor has a very similar meaning to the one received from the
first factor, as well as to the conception of real self. He is
the pillar which is holding the family together; he has thus to
respond to the parental aspirations and hard-working and intelligent
enough so as to achieve in practically everything. The more he
achieves the happier the parents are and the easier it is to secure
harmony at home. However, at the same time, there is a demand for
happiness and the ATH boy must very well know from his traditional
heritage that happiness comes with interpersonal commitment. In the
factor named RELATING AT SCHOOL, the ATH boy would have liked to be
disciplined and obedient at school, nice to his teacher, and he would
have expected to feel happy at school. A happy child, happiness at
school seem to be a recurrent theme when he projects an ideal self.
Out of school, in SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME, he would have
liked to be a good brother and a good neighbour. Relating, which was
entirely absent in his real self-perception seems to come up con-

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tinuously in his ideal self-perception. The social self that had emerged at the real level is one connoting non-commitment, and disengagement, while the one emerging on the ideal level denotes a need for transactional give-and-take.

The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor -- behaviours that must be eschewed -- which was found to be of considerable importance at the real level moves from the second to the fifth position. I would not like to be coward, ... to be stubborn, ... to be selfish and .. quick-tempered. The first item did not load onto the analogous factors on the real level and one might speculate that the ATH boy needs to appeal to bravery in order to bridge the incongruence between the real and the ideal perception of self.

6.2.1.2. Proper Human Being

While one was overwhelmed by the ATH boys' wishful self-perception of being successful in every possible aspect of self-concept, where a lack of clarity and hierarchy was manifested, looking at the factors that have emerged from the ideal self-concept item responses of the Rr boys, one discerns a clear hierarchy. It is this same hierarchy characterizing the traditional values and priorities which the sociocultural system itself sets. The first factor refers to SOCIAL SELF. The Rr boy would have liked to be clean and neat,* intelligent, a good friend, a good neighbour, orderly and polite, a good child and, finally, happy. The image the Rr boys is projecting lies very close to the concept of "philo-timo", that of the proper human being. When the implicative mean-

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*Clean and neat can also have the meaning of straightforward; in the context of this factor, this second meaning seems more plausible.

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ing of "philotimo" was investigated (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1973),

as already mentioned at the beginning of the study, it was found

that the Greeks call "philotimos" the person who is honest, straight-

forward in the present case, loves others, (expressed here by the

good friend and good neighbour), conscientious, (that is orderly and

tidy), fulfils his duty, (represented here by the attentive pupil) and

is moral . It is important that the concept is alive in the ideology

of the culture, since "philotimo" was shown to be the regulatory

value of the culture, a value which secures interdependence through

concern for others and utmost cooperation. As long as these child-

ren live in their present low complexity reality, the ideal of being

a proper human being would be an asset for them since the structure

of the traditional milieu, as already mentioned often in the study,

is one which is meant to be at the service of its members with con-

stant help, care and availability. Consequently, in such a socio-

cultural context, being a proper human being means not only follow-

ing the rules of the game but also feeling happy, since the ingroup

which is acting as a feedback loop will provide the returns.

The second factor refers to RELATING AT SCHOOL AND CHARACTER-

ISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL. The Rr boy would like to establish a

good reciprocal relationship with one's teacher, would like to be

disciplined and obedient, hard-working and orderly, and would like to

feel happy at school. This factor resembles both in structure as

well as in essence the Prosocial Behaviour factor which also appeared

in the same order on the real level, and there seems to be no discrep-

ancy between real and ideal self-concept.

SCHOOL COMPETENCE is not denied by the Rr boys on the ideal

level. School competence is an important aspect of a young boy's

life and has to be faced, kept in perspective, and given its

appropriate place in his life. SCHOOL COMPETENCE does not emerge

first in order, as it did on the real level, but still emerges as

a distinct, clear-cut factor: I would like to be studious, to always

do my homework, to be a good pupil, good at school work. The Rr boy

conceives of this ideal pupil role in relation to the others by

being useful and helping everyone, since if he were to be competent,

he would have not only gained for himself, but he would also be "good",

an asset to the whole community and to his ingroup. This same notion

was also encountered in the Rr boys' real self-concept perception.

In the SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME factor, the Rr boy

expresses a desire to be a good brother, polite and a good house-

keeper, concepts already familiar from the real self-concept per-

spective.

The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS self-concept

has more or less retained the position it occupied on the real level

and refers to the following charactersitics: I would not like to be

quick-tempered, ...to be selfish, ...to be stubborn. I would not

like to be depressed is an item introduced on the ideal level. A

speculative question might be whether these rural boys foresee in

any way that the change which is around the corner will soon affect

them, and they wish to emerge out of it without becoming depressed.

What can thus far be concluded, in comparing the ATH to the

Rr boys, is that the disparity between the real and the ideal self-

concept is much greater in the case of the ATH boys. The Rr boys'

self-perception is more or less the same whether on the real or

ideal level. It is rather the order of the community which is re-

flected in the self-concept of the Rr boys, as well as the degree

to which the community is operating functionally. The Rr boys' view

of what they claimed to be corresponded quite closely to what they

claimed they ideally want to be. Consequently, the Rr boys express
what seems to be a rather comfortable view of themselves, while in
the case of the ATH boys there is a marked difference between the
self-picture and the ideal picture. Thus it appears that the ATH
boys, in their own eyes, are failing to live up to the mark and they
could be, in that same sense,self-rejecting individuals. This latter
view is substantiated by the fact that the ATH boys did not seem to
perceive any reactions and acceptance on the others' part on the real
level; they did not speak about feeling lovable, happy or having
friends; they only focused on obeying the parental prescriptions and
on avoiding what should be avoided.

6.2.1.3. Oscillating between the Traditional Heritage and the Technological Reality

As far as the self-concept of the RCM boys is concerned, the
same trend that has consistently been noticed within this subculture
was also prominent in this case. That is, the children belonging
to this subculture oscillate more than their counterparts between
their recent traditional heritage and the complex technological real-
ity, with all its effects which they find themselves every day con-
fronted with. ·

The first factor in the case of the RCM boy,as in the case of
the Rr boy, refers to an ideal SOCIAL SELF. This boy would
like to be a good brother, a good friend, lovable, a good child,
well-behaved in class. Good brother, good friend, lovable are con-
cepts introduced in an idealized self-perception; the same quest for
relating, prominent in the ATH boys' ideal self-concept, is also
present here.

Competence at school is expressed in the context of either the MOTIVATED HAPPY PUPIL self-concept factor or the ADJUSTED AT SCHOOL one. School competence which was such a pronounced perception on the real level for both ATH and RCM boys seems to be denied as such by both, when it comes to an idealized self-perception, in contrast to the Rr boys. The desire to be a good pupil, studious, orderly, strong-willed, eager, intelligent, is accompanied by the explicit desire to be happy. Another point in common with the ATH boys is that deriving from the HARMONY AT HOME factor, where hard work would lead to harmony with his family.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS, that is, I would like to be nice to my teacher, I would like to be a good neighbour and a good friend as a factor is also absent on the real level, and once more the RCM boys resemble the ATH ones in an idealized self-concept. The ATH boys have already been seen to project those desires in the first factors: Self in the School, Social and Family Context.

PARENTAL APPROVAL is similar to the Reactions of Others factor on the real level but now on the ideal level seems more pronounced. Moreover, it is the first time that RCM boys mention the desire to be attractive. Parental approval and esteem, as well as parental satisfaction, seem to play an all-important role for both the ATH and the RCM boys. Since the order in the community is beginning to disappear, and the community and the ingroup, which are breaking up, cannot any longer offer any feedback, these boys have to appeal to parental feedback.

In summarizing the ideal self-concept that emerged from the boys' item responses, it should be noted that as one moves from rural boys' self-perception to the Athenian one, the discrepancy between real and ideal self-concept seems to be increasing. Accord-

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ing to Rogers (1950), acceptance of self, that is, low self-ideal disparity, is a tendency of the person to "perceive himself as a person of worth, worthy of respect rather than condemnation", or, as Berger (1955) expresses it, "having faith in one's ability to cope with life and consider oneself a person of worth". On the other hand, the consequences of a high real-ideal discrepancy are clearly significant and, as Rogers (1951) mentions, it is a general indication of dissatisfaction and possible psychological maladjustment, as well as a source of vulnerability to threat or anxiety.

The writer would tend to attribute the degree of discrepancy manifested between real and ideal self-perception to the specific economicosocial organization in each milieu. It is thus once more apparent that Rr boys are more differentiated than their ATH counterparts. They are assisted by the existing structure of an orderly context in assigning their aspirations and wishes to a clear hierarchy where their primary desire is that of being "a proper human being", and their secondary focus is academic achievement in a context of a good relationship with the teacher, diligence, discipline and order. On the other hand the ATH boys' aspirations are presented in a blurred fashion, with no concrete goals, and there is a clear understanding that it is they who are responsible for the harmonious relations at home. This appeal to parental approval does not seem to represent the interdependence characterizing human relations in the rural milieu. It rather reveals dependence, a dependence which could hardly help the boy develop problem-solving and self-leading skills. How could the ATH boy, then, demonstrate the ability to define his aspirations clearly and assign them to a hierarchy, when he has not developed the self-directed boundary structuring of a functional individual?

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6.2.2. Ideal Self-Concept of Girls from the Three Different Milieux

6.2.2.1. The "Comme-Il-Faut" Girl

The ATH girl, instead of focusing on her school role as she did on the real level, now projects an ideal image referring to the PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS. The I am a good pupil on the real level is replaced with the I would like to be polite on the ideal level. She claims she would have liked to be a good neighbour, eager, disciplined and obedient, orderly, a good sister and an attentive pupil. Does this reveal a genuine aspiration or the way she believes she ought to be? On the real level, the ATH girl was primarily projecting an "achieving self". On the ideal level, she projects the image of the imported comme-il-faut urban ideal that was introduced into Greece from the french savoir-vivre during the first half of the twentieth century. This is such a self-contradictory model. When the woman was obedient, polite, silent, she was a follower; now that she visualizes the new role of the achiever, can she afford to play the role of the dutiful daughter?

At the second factor, she turns back to her earlier goals on the real level, SCHOOL COMPETENCE. She would like to always prepare her homework, be good at school work, strong-willed, studious. A new claim apparent in this ideal pupil role is that she would have wanted to be happy at school -- an item totally absent on the real level. This same wish was also expressed by the ATH boys when projecting their ideal self-image.

Katakis (in press) has shown that the main objective for the young Athenian girl, which is emphasized by everyone around her, is to have her own family. Thus, the girls, irrespective of their age, consistently emphasize that they want to combine their role in the

family with action outside the home. However, the projective material
that has been collected for this same study shows clearly that at a
less conscious level the prospect of commitment to the married and
maternal role frightens the girl and makes her ambivalent. Moreover,
her studies and her future professional success are a chance for her
to avoid this commitment and preserve her freedom and autonomy. The
Athenian preadolescent girls, while emphasizing their future double
role, simultaneously express fear and doubt as to whether they will
manage to combine the two: "I would like to become a good scientist.
I want to marry a good man and have two or three children. Still, I
am afraid I will fail in both". Similarly, the ATH girls in the
present study place upon themselves societal expectations which are
not only conflicting but point in opposite directions. If she is
going to make it as an achiever and a happy one how could she ever
reach this goal by wanting above all to be polite, a good neighbour,
disciplined and obedient? The ATH girl looks as if she wants to
avoid the conflict so explicitly revealed on the real level. However,
one might contemplate that this idealized self-perception is bound to
disappoint her more and lead her to more bitterness and confusion.

The other two factors, WORK HABITS and HAPPY HOMEMAKING, show
the exact same trend: hard-working, strong-willed, studious on the
one hand, good housekeeper, good and lovable on the other. The same
claim for happiness as with the ATH boys is reported. In a research
project with engaged couples the ambivalence towards the multiple
demands of the female role was clearly shown. Double messages were
consistently elicited. The young girls spoke about their future
careers, the possible obstacles others might set up to oppose their
aspirations, and the anger, the resentment and the anxiety such a

prospect raises in them. Yet when they were asked to project and
draw   their 'selves' ten years from now, they often drew a woman
knitting, embroidering, sunbathing, while the role of the profession-
al woman was completely absent (Katakis, Prattos and Tsounakis,
1980).

6.2.2.2. <u>Social Acceptance</u>

This ideal self-concept perception of the Rr girl may appear
to be a paradox. The Rr girl,who on the real level was focusing on
the Proper Girl's Characteristics, on the ideal level puts forward
ACCEPTANCE IN SCHOOL RELATIONS. <u>I would like to be nice to my teacher</u>,
<u>I would like to be liked by the teacher</u>, <u>I would like to be happy at</u>
<u>school</u>, <u>I would like to be non-timid</u>, <u>I would like to be intelligent</u>,
<u>...attractive</u>, <u>...someone parents would be proud of</u> and <u>...lovable</u>.
The defining characteristic of this factor is acceptance by others,
an element present also on the real level. However, attention shifts
from the proper girl's characteristics to school relations. The Rr
girl clearly wants to secure the qualities that rendered her lovable
and valued, and,by preserving that as a solid base,launch into the
new female role. The paradox mentioned at the beginning of the para-
graph lies in the fact that while the ATH girl leaves her achieving
role as secondary on the ideal level, the Rr girl's first concern is
with the school role. One might speculate that the Rr girl is more
grounded in reality and realizes she has to handle her new emerging
female role, which demands bravery, intelligence and successful re-
lations instead of the politeness and obedience projected by the ATH
girl. Achievement is a relatively new dimension of the self-concept
of the Rr girl, but she has realized that what she desires is to re-
main lovable and socially accepted in her effort to adapt to her new

double role. The ATH girl, on the other hand, has not found the solid base which the Rr girl has experienced and at the same time she has not yet managed to develop into a self-directed individual. It may seem paradoxical that the Rr girl is the one who has more quickly been "modernized", but as already stressed earlier in the chapter, the rural children seem to be more adequately socialized and more differentiated than their urban counterparts. The rural children are products of interrelated-interdependent and transacting group processes and, as Vassiliou and Vassiliou (1982) have stressed, the more children are integrated in the grouping process, the greater their personal differentiation.

The same quality is displayed by the second factor, WORK HABITS and CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROPER PUPIL. I would like to be orderly, ...eager, ...studious and attentive pupil, ...someone parents would be proud of and ...brave. A sense of order, of self-discipline to attain concrete goals is understood from these two factors, while at the same time the Rr girl has safeguarded the others' acceptance.

Factor III appeared in no other subgroup and was named GOOD ATHLETIC PERFORMANCE. To the Rr girl who is confined in a social reality where the occasions to assert herself and actualize her potential in a new female role are scarce, athletics is presented as an active opportunity. It moreover offers a chance for mobility and success. Studies or some other form of career might, for several reasons, be precarious, while athletics seem for that age to be an easy and attractive opportunity. Good athletic performance obviously requires training and one needs to be strong-willed in order to carry it through successfully; it also requires a certain amount of intel-

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ligence. Still, since these girls have always lived within the experience of the active community, and athletics and sports have always been practiced in the neighbourhood with friends, achievement in athletics would be a source of pride and prestige to the whole of the community. It would prove to be useful and helpful to everyone.

SCHOOL COMPETENCE has moved down from Factor II to Factor IV on the ideal level. This is clearly a school achievement oriented factor where the Rr girl is concerned with wanting to be good at school work, good pupil, having always done her homework and disciplined and obedient, as every good pupil ought to be. The Rr girl seems to be separating her relating and feelings at school --Factor I-- from the quality of work she would produce --Factor IV. The same trend was prevalent also when she was projecting her real self-concept.

Factors V, VI and VII are small two-item factors referring to a PROPER SOCIAL SELF where there is a fusion of home with school. Thus the Rr girl would like to be lovable and a good sister, an attentive pupil and well-behaved in class as well as in harmony with her family. The good sister, in the traditional milieu, probably refers to the mothering she performs to a younger sibling or the mothering she receives from an older sibling, the mothering which prepares her for the real mother role to come.

The incongruence between the Rr girls' real ideal self-image is larger than that manifested by the Rr boy, reasonably enough, since the Rr girl, rather than the Rr boy, is preparing herself to adapt to a new social role. The greater congruence between real and ideal self-concept was also manifested by Jorgensen and Howell (1969), who studied changes in real-ideal self-concept in both boys and girls,

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from ages 8 through 18, and they argue that the less complicated

identification process of the male may account for the finding

that the self-concept of the males tended to be more congruent than

that of the females. However, beyond the role of the identifi-

cation process, it should be mentioned that it is the woman who

seems to be affected more by social change, and it is the female

rather than the male role which seems to change in a more obvious

fashion.

6.2.2.3. Ideal Self-Perception of Girls from Rapidly Changing Milieu

The conflicts, the confusion and the anger which were so

apparent on the real level in the case of the RCM girl are not so

clearly obvious on the ideal level. There appears to be a lack of

consistency between the factors which seem neutral and vague. One

gets the impression that there are fragmented elements which are

non-operational, because they are not based on actual experience;

the RCM girl does not have the actual experiences (the solid base)

of the Rr girl, while the Athenian reality is still quite abstract

and distant for her.

The ideal self-concept of the RCM girls is defined more by

the family and less by the community, which, as already ascertained,

is the expected trend from the higher systems of the community and

ingroup down to the lower systems of the nuclear family and the in-

dividual. When she is describing her perception of the ideal PROPER

GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS she mentions: I would like to be someone

parents are proud of, ...a good housekeeper, ...a good child,

...eager, ...polite, ...orderly and ...lovable. The rest of the

items refer to a proper pupil. The question which arises is: to

what extent is ths girl equipped for the new role she is already

facing?

SCHOOL COMPETENCE has retained both the order and the structure it had on the real level: <u>I would like to be good at schoolwork</u>, <u>I would like to be a good</u>, <u>attentive</u> and <u>studious pupil</u>. The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor has also retained its order and structure. The only difference is that since this is an idealized self-image and possibly not as threatening as a real self-image would be, pressure, anger and explosion are not manifested and thus the non-acceptable personality characteristics have, in contrast with the real self-perception, retained their negative meaning. <u>I would not like to be stubborn</u>, <u>I would not like to be quick-tempered</u>, <u>I would not like to be selfish</u> and <u>I would not like to be sly</u>.

The ideal SOCIAL SELF expresses her wish to be a <u>good friend</u>, <u>a good neighbour</u>, <u>nice to her teacher</u>. The teacher on this ideal level has assumed his ordinary teacher's role, being one among others whom the girl conceives herself relating to. This confusion about what the teacher means to her, present on the real level, seems to have disappeared on the ideal level. Finally, the last factor refers to a desired <u>orderliness</u>, <u>cleanliness</u> and <u>neatness</u>.

Similarly to the ATH girl, the RCM girl reveals a lot of differences between the ideal and real self-concept perception. They both seem to want to avoid the explosion manifested on the real level. However, one remains with the difficult question of how, under the presently described conditions, these girls are going to avoid the conflict they dread.

In an attempt to summarize the self-concept which was elicited by boys and girls from a real and an ideal perspective, the following general points should be mentioned.

The ATH boys on the real level reveal compliance with both parental and societal expectations for school achievement. However, a remaining question is what happens when this highly desired school achievement is attained. Recent clinical data (the Athenian Institute of Anthropos; the Laboratory of Human Relations) consistently show cases of boys who successfully pass the University entrance examinations and after their triumphant admission feel unable to continue. When the ATH boys' self-concept was examined from an ideal perspective, wide discrepancies between real and ideal self-concept were shown. Dissatisfaction, threat or anxiety with the real self-concept is thus revealed. The ATH boys, on the ideal level, still seem to accept the excessive aspirations placed upon them, but at the same time, they wish they could feel happy, experience companionship and receive love.

As far as the ATH girls are concerned they seem rocked by the conflicting demands of the new female role. They sound afraid, confused and angry. This confusion is manifested in both the real and ideal self-concept.

The Rr boys' self-concept reveals no discrepancies between real and ideal level. A clear hierarchy of values, aspirations and wishes is discernible. There is a definite concern for school achievement, while at the same time human relations are highly valued. The Rr boys sound as if they feel accepted, loved and happy with themselves.

The Rr girls, in contrast to the boys, reveal a greater discrepancy between the real and ideal self-perception. It is because the girls rather than the boys are more affected by social change and it is currently they who have to live through the drastic and powerful changes. However, the Rr girls have all the positive life experiences which are manifested on the real level and which are a product of interrelated-

interdependent and transacting group processes. Thus on the real

level they express they are happy and loved, they are good friends

and a source of parental pride. Maybe this is the reason why the

Rr girls seem, on the ideal level, to be more prepared to handle

a new female role than their ATH or RCM counterparts.

The RCM boys and girls seem to be caught even more than the

others in the midst of the process of change. They know neither the

one nor the other way of life; they do not have the living experience

of the Rr children, while the Athenian reality has not fully touched

them. This trend is manifested on both the real and ideal self-concept

level.

6.3. Social Self-Concept

The following section is devoted to the discussion of the third

aspect of the triad comprising real, ideal and social selves. This

third administering of the self-concept inventory was aimed at reveal-

ing the children's view of how they believe they are seen by

others and specifically by their teachers. That is, a self derived

from the reflected appraisals of significant others in the Mead-Cooley

sense. Moreover, one might speculate that it is not the self perceived

by the teachers which the boys would report about, but the image they

think the teacher ought to have of them. The social self-concept is

this aspect of the self which, more than the other two, reflects the

social norms. It is this aspect which can be reported in a more "objecti-

fied" and distant fashion. Consequently, one would tend to identify

with it to a lesser degree than one would with the real or even the

ideal self-concept. It is the perception of others that one is reporting

on and thus one can renounce the responsibility of those perceptions.

The factor structure of social self-concept was found to be different from the real self-concept factor structure. Thus, as with the ideal self-concept, there was no way a real-social self-concept discrepancy score could have been calculated. The attempt was thus not to relate the two different administrations so as to provide indices of self-stability, but rather to describe self-concept within situations potentially involving different perceptions or different self-evaluative processes.

6.3.1.   Social Self-Concept of Boys from the Three Different Milieux

6.3.1.1. The Teacher, the "Social Father"

Since the boys were tested in the school context one would have expected them to focus foremostly on achievement, when presenting their concept of self through their teachers view point. However, the ATH boys mentioned first SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER rather than achievement. In this first perception of himself, the ATH boy reports his teacher viewing him as polite, disciplined and obedient, well-behaved in class, a good, orderly, eager child, a good brother who is lovable, useful and helful towards everyone, nice towards the teacher and liked by the teacher, someone parents are proud of. Qualities that are related to school work are not the ones praising achievement but the ones praising proper behaviour, effort, diligence, even natural gifts such as intelligence, irrespective of the outcome; my teacher thinks I am an attentive pupil, ...hard-working, studious and that ... I always do my homework.

This is a very long factor with 18 items loading onto it, explaining the substantial amount of 53.2% of the total variance. It is a long account of what a teacher might expect from a child, but happily enough it is not a list of conflicting expectations. It seems as if

the teacher praises most the qualities that he thinks would help this young boy become a proper man in society.

This finding is consonant with the way Greeks have been found to react towards authority and their conception of societal controls. It has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 that ingroup authority has been found to be related to concepts such as superordination on the one hand but nurture and benevolence on the other, involving behaviours such as helping, advising and counselling. Absence of these behaviours is interpreted as "lack of love" (Triandis, Vassiliou and Nassiakou, 1968). The responses of the subordinate towards such a benevolent authority are characterized by submissive acceptance and warmth. Achievement has been reported to require both one's personal effort and the help of authority figures (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972). The teacher clearly has always belonged to the ingroup authority and the present findings show that he still does. As teachers themselves maintain, they consider themselves "their pupils' social fathers" (Vassiliou, personal communication, 1983), thus they are above all expected to show their concern by monitoring their pupils' efforts by giving good advice and assistance. Even the restrictions imposed upon the ATH boys -- being disciplined and obedient, well-behaved, attentive -- aim at protecting them from others as well as from themselves. The teacher is restricting them because he loves them. This kind of behaviour has been found by Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) to be a part of the teacher's role perception.

The teacher's influence upon the personality development of his pupils has been widely recognized since the late 50s, as already reported in the second chapter (Perkins, 1958; Davidson and Lang, 1960; Palfrey, 1973; Hogan and Green, 1971). In the Triandis,

Vassiliou and Nassiakou study, the cross-cultural comparison between Greeks and Americans showed that Greek high-status persons (teachers) interacting with low-status persons (pupils) show more positive affect and friendship, less rejection, more superordination and more intimacy than the Americans. The ingroup high-status person in Greece is fully accepted, and as a result he is welcome to exert his influence on the low-status person.

The second factor refers to SCHOOL COMPETENCE in an achieving sense: my teacher thinks I am a good student, ...good at school work, ...studious, ...who always does his homework. This strong emphasis on achievement which was so prominent in the real self-concept perception seems to have weakened on the social self-concept level. Is it the same sort of avoidance or denial concerning school competence which was manifested on the ideal level? Or is it that in the pupils' conception a "social father" is someone who would be more concerned with his pupils' personality qualities than with their achievement? Yet looking at the same issue from the other side, a preliminary exploration of pupils' expectations from their teachers showed that 12-year-old pupils (both Athenian and rural) give most weight to the teacher's good manner and method of teaching and secondary emphasis to the teacher's personal qualities. However, when their teachers' own view of their role was asked, the teachers tended to stress personality qualities rather than teaching (Dragonas, under preparation).

It is clear throughout the history of the evolution of primary education in modern Greece that the focus of the Greek State's policy has always been on "moral, national and religious education" (Lefas, 1942). The educational policy, and most notably in the primary school, has always been conceived as the essential agent for promoting the values which the State judges most basic and important. It is through these that the essential character of the pupils will be developed

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(Georgiou-Nilsen, 1980). If the teacher is to mould personalities based on such premises, how could he ever manage to do so if he were not to focus primarily on the pupils' personality qualities?

The third factor regards the ATH boys' perception of their teachers' idea of their SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME. It is a very positive and optimistic perception of the teachers, viewing their pupils in harmony with their parents, good friends, happy, good neighbours and clean and neat. No such assured and satisfied self was accounted for when their real self-concept was reported and even in the case of idealized self-perception the respective factor was weaker, with fewer items loading onto it. One might speculate that the ATH boys' desire to live up to those expectations is so great that they manage to spell them out neither on the real level nor even on the ideal level. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, personal aspirations and desires can be more easily expressed if reported from someone else's view-point.

The teacher seems to perceive the ATH boy as competent not only in social skills and academic qualities but even in traits which would show him to be following the appropriate sex role model and stereotype, that of a COMPETENT MAN. The boys report that they believe their teachers think of them as not cowards, brave and good athletes. This factor also was absent in both real and ideal perspectives. It rather resembles the Rr boys' self on the real level. It would seem that the same trend demonstrated by the ATH girls at the real self-concept level, that is, to resort to bravery in order to pull through the present difficulties and manage to achieve the new necessary synthesis, is also being manifested here. At the same time, the good athlete might possibly represent some kind of success without as much pressure, in an attempt to avoid the extreme emphasis on academic achievement

which has pressured the ATH boys so much -- a case of new possibilities arising under new conditions.

NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS is the last factor and refers to the ATH boys' perception of their teachers' designation as non-selfish, non-stubborn and non-quick-tempered. These boys seem to want to avoid any sort of misbehaviour. Vassiliou, Katakis, Vassiliou (1968) have found misbehaviour conceived by Athenian pre-adolescents as bringing "harm" "because if it is discovered, it is punished and leads to rejection by the others." The perception of ingroup authority has been that of a benevolent reformer but surely the actual experiences of the ATH boys have not been so satisfying.* Thus the perception of the accepted authority is bound to change gradually. Consequently the ATH boys' behaviour would tend to become more conforming and less prosocial. They would tend to prefer to avoid misbehaviour and they would not perceive punishment as something instrumental to socialization.

It should be noted that self-concept researchers (e.g. Burns, 1979; Wells and Marwell, 1976) contend that real and social selves must contain similarity in content. The impression and inferences from statements and actions of others toward the individual gradually establish a self-concept as the person believes he is seen by others and will come to include a point of view on all aspects of the real self. However, in the present case of the ATH boys, there were hardly any similarities either in structure or in meaning between real and social self-concepts. The self-concept reported as stemming from the teacher's view-point has hardly been incorporated in the self-concept

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*The writer will never forget the long and painful efforts of the teachers to enforce discipline and retain respect, which she became aware of during her visits to the Athenian schools.

which was reported as "real." It is speculated by the writer
that this high discrepancy between what one thinks of as the
perception of others about one and what one thinks of oneself,
would be a strain and would create some sort of inner insecurity.

6.3.1.2. <u>Consistency between Real and Social Self-Concept</u>

Examining the social self-concept of the Rr boys, it becomes
apparent that when these boys are asked to report about their self-
concept as perceived by their teacher, they consistently stay close
to their initially reported real self-concept. Thus, in the first
factor they report about their conception, through their teacher's
eyes, of a good pupil and a good boy, an ACHIEVING GOOD BOY. This
same sort of pupil-self is the one which had also emerged from the
real self-concept item responses. <u>My teacher thinks I am good at</u>
<u>school work</u>, ...a <u>good studious pupil, who always does his homework</u>,
<u>an attentive pupil</u> who is <u>well-behaved</u> and <u>orderly</u>, but at the same
time is <u>strong-willed</u>, <u>a good child</u>, <u>lovable</u> and <u>happy at school</u>.
The traditional notion that the teacher is primarily interested in
the qualities of the proper child is present in items such as <u>well-</u>
<u>behaved</u>, <u>orderly</u>, <u>attentive</u>, <u>strong-willed</u>, but these qualities are
firmly embedded in a pupil identity. It appears that the finding
that Rr children are more grounded in reality than their ATH counter-
parts is once more exemplified. Since the pupils are asked to report
on their self-concept in a class situation and especially through their
teachers' eyes, the responses are bound to refer to a pupil self
accompanied by the characteristics of the proper boy. Similarly,
this social self-concept perception is also congruent with the pupils'
expectations of the teacher role, which has been a separate subject
of research by the present writer; that is, the teacher is above all
expected to do proper teaching (Dragonas, under preparation).

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Factors II, III and IV all concern a social self: SOCIAL
SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER, SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED AT HOME,
SOCIAL SELF AS EXPRESSED IN CLASS. The traditional teacher's concern
about his pupils' social skills and personality qualities is trans-
parent in all of these three factors. The teacher thinks I am polite,
...a good brother, ...useful and helpful towards everyone, someone
parents are proud of, eager and attentive pupil, as well as attractive.
The teacher, moreover, thinks that I am a good housekeeper, hard-
working, in harmony with my family, a good neighbour, and that I am
nice towards him. The same elements constituting the SOCIAL SELF or
PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR, or even the REACTIONS OF OTHERS factors, were
also present when self-concept was viewed from its real self-concept
dimension. The perception of being attractive, an item present at
the real level exclusively in the case of the Rr boys, reappears at
the social level. Further, the teacher is considered as perceiving
the Rr boys as liked by him, playful, happy at school, mummy's pet,
brave and nice towards the teacher. It seems that the Rr boy, having
safeguarded a contented real self-concept, a low discrepancy between
his real and ideal conceptualization of self, and the acceptance and
approval of others (as seen in the previous sections), can afford to
feel mummy's pet without feeling he is projecting the image of a
spoiled brat. Actually the mother-son relationship in the traditional
milieu has always been extremely powerful. It is only the Rr boys who
have reported being their mother's pet on both the real and ideal
self-concept level. It was already mentioned among the large number
of family roles that have been studied in Greece, Triandis, Vassiliou
and Nassiakou (1968) have found the greatest intimacy and reciprocity
to be attributed to the mother-son role.

COMPETENCE IN A MANLY WAY: being brave, a good athlete and strong-willed is similar to the respective Athenian factor, but the difference lies in the fact that these rural perceptions, in contrast to the Athenian, have been incorporated unaltered in the real self-concept perception.

In comparing ATH with Rr boys' social self-concept in a general fashion, it should be mentioned that the discrepancy between real and social self-concept in the case of the Rr boy is minimal compared with the real-social discrepancy manifested by the ATH boys. Pursuant to the argument that the higher the real-social discrepancy the higher the strain, the Rr boys are bound to feel more content that the conception they believe others hold of them is similar to the one they hold of themselves. Moreover, the traditional notion of the teacher being his pupil's "social father" was much more meaningful for both teacher and pupil in a context where the teacher-pupil relationship was also developing in the community outside the environment of the school and where the teacher was bound to know much more about each individual pupil. The moment these social conditions changed the teacher could hardly exercise the role of the "social father" and the boys were left with an idealized teacher's image which could hardly apply to the new reality.

6.3.1.3. Boys from Rapidly Changing Milieu

As consistently shown thus far, the RCM children resemble partly their rural and partly their Athenian counterparts. SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER is the first factor that emerged from the responses of the RCM boys. My teacher thinks I am a good brother, ...I am useful and helpful towards everyone, ...I am in harmony with my family, ...I am happy, ...I am someone parents are proud of, ...I am lovable, ...I am a good friend, ...I am a good neighbour. It seems

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that the RCM boys hold a social self-concept in which the teacher
is concerned with their interaction with their significant others--
siblings, parents, friends and neighbours-- as well as with their
feelings in the context of this interaction. The rest of the items
of this first factor refer to personality qualities such as polite,
hard-working, attentive pupil and a good child. This factor is
widely different from any notion of social self encountered when
self-concept was reported from its real perspective. Just as with
the ATH boys, the focus is first on social skills and personality
qualities, and then on achievement at school. However, the difference
is that the majority of items loading onto this factor refer to
qualities that the RCM boys would exercise in the context of the group,
while the majority of items loading onto the analogous Athenian factor
refer to personal qualities that the ATH boy would make use of in an
impersonal achievement-oriented society. Consequently, in this sense
the RCM boys resemble their rural counterparts.

There is a secondary emphasis on school achievement, an ACHIEV-
ING GOOD BOY. In this factor the RCM boys report about their con-
ception of a good pupil who is good at school work, studious and
attentive, always doing his homework, and who is at the same time
a good boy and a good housekeeper. The boys' conception of their
teacher's view of them as competent pupils is broader than the one
elicited at the real self-concept level. There the focus was directed
solely to achievement while his school competence is contained in a
more real life experience.

OBEDIENCE, which is the third factor, refers to perception such
as my teacher thinks I am disciplined and obedient, ...orderly, ...
liked by him, ...clean and neat, ...well-behaved. This factor con-
tains, on the one hand, similar feelings to those evoked by the

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analogous factor at the real level, that is, compliance to static and irrelevant values for that age, like <u>orderliness</u> and <u>cleanliness</u>; while, on the other hand, it justifies the teacher's role of a restrictive authority, one who is restrictive only because he thinks it is good for the child's advancement, and this restriction stems only from his love for the child. The fact that the boys report that they are <u>liked by their teacher</u> justifies their obedience to an authority who cares for them.

Like their Athenian and rural counterparts, the RCM boys report that they perceive themselves COMPETENT IN A MANLY WAY. A real man is <u>brave</u> and <u>a good athlete</u> but the media, especially television, project a new kind of ideal --the man who is <u>romantic</u> and <u>sentimental</u>. This latter item did not emerge in any other boys' group; it appeared uniquely from the item responses of the RCM boys. For centuries, the ideal of the hero, moulded by the image of famous ancestors, required achievement, fame and bravery, while now new elements seem to be entering the self-conception of the boys who have partly renounced the old models and are currently looking for new ones. This same indication is also found elsewhere, showing the tendency of the child who is living in fast-changing conditions to synthesize the old values with the new emerging ones. The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS: <u>my teacher thinks I am not stubborn, nor quick-tempered, nor selfish</u>, elicited from the RCM boys, are identical with the ones elicited from the ATH boys; one might again hypothesize that these characterisrics are related to the boys' desires to avoid misbehaviour and its consequences.

In summarizing, the factors which emerged from the item responses of the RCM boys reveal a high discrepancy between the real and social self-concept. The changing role perceptions pro-

moted by society in general have not yet had time to be assimilated
into the real self-concept. Yet, as already stated, the discrepancy
between all three aspects of self, real, ideal and social in the
case of the Rr boys was shown to be insignificant. The slowly develop-
ing complexity of the rural milieu has permitted the development of
norms of operational behaviours over a span of many generations; roles
in such a milieu are limited and clearly defined, values are uniform,
uniconceptual and sequential. Consequently there is no need, nor
even any room for questioning.

6.3.2. Social Self-Concept of Girls from the Three Different Milieux
6.3.2.1. Being Prepared for "Self-Contained Individualism"

The first factor elicited from the ATH girls' responses is
SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER. Similar to the ATH boys, the
vast majority of items loading onto this factor refer to qualities
that the ATH girls would make use of in the context of a "self-contain-
ed individualism", as Sampson (1977) describes the contemporary cultur-
al ethos. My teacher thinks I am brave, ...strong-willed, ...hard-work-
ing, clean and neat, ...disciplined and obedient, ...orderly, ...polite,
...eager, ...I always do my homework, ...in harmony with my family,
...good sister, ...happy at school. Since the ATH girls view their
teachers as promoting individualistic values, the ideal which is im-
plicitly or explicitly being advanced is one that does not require or
desire others for the completion of self. By pursuing such values,
Hogan (1975) says, the person is cast out of the social matrix at
the cost of both the individual and the society. Further, one is treat-
ed as an object by others and not only does this lead to social
estrangement but according to Mead's social mirror, each person begins
to perceive himself as an object.

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The second social self-concept factor that emerged from the ATH girls' item responses referred to school achievement, an ACHIEVING GOOD GIRL: My teacher thinks I am good at school work, good, studious, attentive pupil, who always does her homewrok, intelligent, orderly, good, hard-working child, attractive and someone parents are proud of. The emphasis placed on achievement on the real level has slackened on the social level. While school competence formely accounted for 47% of the total variance at the real level, now at the social level it only accounts for 11%. However, the flavour transmitted is similar to the one encountered at the real level. When it comes to the ATH girls' perception of their teachers' view about them, achievement is presented along with many other qualities, from being orderly to being intelligent and attractive: the attractive portrait of the woman who combines professional achievement with her feminine qualities is consistently encountered, an ideal that makes parents proud of their girl.

Apart from personal qualities and academic achievement, the ATH girl conceives of her teacher as regarding her as SOCIALLY COMPETENT IN A FEMININE WAY: eager, attractive, lovable, good sister, liked by the teacher. She has to be strong enough to live as a self-contained person in a social milieu which asks a great deal of her. Having achieved all that, she would sit on her pedestal and she would be liked, loved and admired. The role she sees her teacher promoting is as hard as the one which her parents and the rest of the society have designed for her.

The NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS is the last factor that emerged from the ATH girls' responses. She thinks her teacher does not consider her selfish, stubborn, lively, sly and quick-tempered. As mentioned when discussing the corresponding charac-

teristics from a real self-concept perspective, lively-naughty and sly are characteristics which would discredit an urban girl. It was extensively explained what lively-naughty and sly meant when the traditional woman accepted her subordinate position. There the woman had to use all her charms and cunning to come to terms with the superordinate male in her life, whether it was her father or her husband. However, in the context of the urban milieu where the woman is striving for equality, resorting to methods her mother and grand-mother were using in their interactions with their father or husband, these methods would likely be considered to represent a lack of self-respect.

6.3.2.2. Being Prepared for Interdependence

Similarly to the ATH girls, the Rr girls first reported about their SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY THE TEACHER, in contrast to the Rr boys whose first priority was achievement -- achievement in the context where he felt happy, accepted and loved. As is natural, the role of the achieving woman is much less ambitious for the Rr girls than for the Rr boys. Consequently, in the awareness of the teacher such a role would assume a secondary position. Thus a teacher would probably feel that qualities that should be promoted would be such as:My teacher thinks I am polite, ...eager, ...orderly, ...well-behaved in class, ...disciplined and obedient, ...brave, ...studious, ...romantic and sentimental, ...someone parents are proud of, ...good sister, ...lovable, ...useful and helping everyone, ...good friend and finally my teacher thinks he likes me. The first group of items are qualities that the teacher can easily discern in class while the second group refers to the girls' interrelating which the teacher can naturally observe since

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both teacher and girl function in the context of the same community. In contrast to the attributes the ATH girl perceives her teacher as promoting,these qualities perceived by the Rr girl are the ones which she would exhibit in active interaction with parents, siblings, friends, the teacher and all the other members of her ingroup towards whom she perceives herself as being useful and helpful.

Apart from perceiving herself as using her social skills competently, the Rr girl also regards her teacher as viewing her as exhibiting CONTENTMENT WITH HER SOCIAL SELF. This factor seems to add some elements to the previous factor and a definite prosocial character is manifested; she feels well with the others, neighbours and family; she feels well with herself; she perceives herself as attractive, happy, strong-willed and intelligent, a good neighbour and in harmony with her family.

The third factor, the Rr girls' focus on achievement at school, comes later in the picture and refers to SCHOOL COMPETENCE; if this analogous factor is traced from all three self-concept perspectives it becomes apparent that SCHOOL COMPETENCE never assumes a primary position. It appears second at the real level, third at the social level and fourth at the ideal level. A clear hierarchy is noticed throughout;social skills and personality qualities are always placed higher in the hierarchy and academic achievement takes a secondary position. Moreover, competence at school always appears stripped of any other qualities; the Rr girls have been found to separate work and achievement in school from the other facets of their personality. SCHOOL COMPETENCE refers to nothing but competence at school; it is not denied, it is not covered over with other indirect needs, but also the Rr girls never present a self-concept which is dominated by achievement.

The Rr girls' perception of the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY
CHARACTERISTICS refers to items such as my teacher thinks I am not
stubborn, neither quick-tempered, nor selfish. This secures her
harmony with the family. Qualitatively these negative characteristics
are very different from the negatively expressed characteristics
by the ATH girls and those to be reported by the RCM girls. Mis-
behaviour has to be avoided because the Rr girl wants to retain a
harmonious relationship with her own people. In such a context, where
the group one belongs to is very well prescribed, one wants to please
and avoid exhibiting a non-acceptable behaviour, while for the ATH
girls in an abstract social milieu the boundaries of which are much
more extensive, one wants to avoid misbehaviour in an impersonal
fashion. The implication of this difference in social behaviour is
very significant. The ATH girl would have to mobilize her own in-
ternal self-directed code in order to avoid misconduct, while the Rr
girl would do so either out of extreme loyalty towards her own people
or because it would be normatively prescribed.

The Rr girl seems to have understood that if she desires to be
functional in her new rising role she will have to desert certain be-
havioural patterns belonging to the past. Thus in PREPARING FOR HER
NOVEL ROLE she perceives her teacher regarding her as not sly; the
cunning that was a part of her traditional role will have to give way
to her ability to support her own view-point in life. She also per-
ceives her teacher viewing her as brave, a good athlete, hard-working.
Hard-working she always was, but now this hard work will have to be
directed towards her own self where the new dialogue will have to
take place; brave and good athlete are the roles that would be per-
ceived as equal to those of the boys; good athlete looks as if it
symbolically represents the new dimension in her interests and vocation.

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6.3.2.3. <u>Same Anger and Confusion as Reported at Real Self-Concept</u>
<u>Level</u>

The conflicting role and the resulting confusion which the
RCM girls presented on the real self-concept level are clearly mir-
rored in their social self-concepts. While both ATH and Rr girls
perceive their teacher as being interested primarily in their person-
ality qualities and social skills, the RCM girl conceives of her
teacher as being chiefly concerned with her COMPETENCE AT SCHOOL.
However, on both the real and ideal level the RCM girl seems to be
preoccupied with the proper female characteristics. When she is
reporting on her self-concept as conceived by her teacher, she seems
to be assigning more importance to being <u>studious</u>, <u>a good pupil</u>,
<u>good at school work</u>, <u>having always prepared her homework</u>, <u>being an</u>
<u>attentive pupil</u> who is <u>disciplined and obedient</u>, <u>being nice towards</u>
<u>the teacher</u> and <u>a good athlete</u>. Possibly this girl is the one who
has been bombarded, more than the other two, by the stimuli of
social change, who is dazzled by the new values that accompany the
new role. Her achievement in the academic field seems to be what
is motivating her right now. Probably she feels that this is the road
which will grant her independence and which will lead her out of
her present impasses.

However, what seems to be her notion of a SOCIAL SELF AS PRO-
MOTED BY THE TEACHER is a fossilized remnant of the past; <u>my teacher</u>
<u>thinks I am a good housekeeper</u>, <u>a good</u>, <u>polite</u> child whose <u>parents</u>
<u>are proud of</u> , who is <u>a good friend</u>, <u>happy</u>, <u>lovable</u> and <u>attractive</u>.
She represents on the one hand the model of the polite housekeeper,
on the other a woman who is loved because she is sweet, polite,
pretty and a dutiful daughter -- the same sort of girl who was project-
ed by the ATH girl on the ideal level, who is confused between the

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imported comme-il-faut urban ideal and the traditional values.

Exactly in the same way as with the real self-concept,
she cannot live up to this double message according to which she
has to operate, and she explodes. She projects the image of the
DYNAMIC GIRL. Her teacher does not think she is a coward, she is
brave and she manages, despite the contradiction that she is con-
fronted with, to be in harmony with her family, a good neighbour,
hard-working and proper. She seems to be angry. Is it with the
others who have put her in such a role? Or is it with hereself
because she has accepted this role? And then she comes to the
NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS factor where this anger
is turned towards herself and, as she did on the real level, she
claims that yes, her teacher thinks she is stubborn, sly, playful,*
romantic and sentimental. This is a very powerful factor revealing
the intense negative feelings that are created in the girl by the
contradictory tendencies concerning her own identity which seem to
be tearing her apart. Vassiliou, Triandis, Vassiliou and McGuire
(1972) have found that the self-stereotypes of the Greek woman and
the stereotypes concerning her have been very similar. The negative
picture that men were holding of women was shown to match the picture
women were holding of themselves. The image of the girl projected
in this factor is one where she is strongheaded, and wants to follow
her own path without listening to the advice and experience of the
elders or respecting the prevailing social norms and moral code.

The RCM girl possibly thinks that she has not convinced both
the reader and herself enough and persists with her claim that she
is OBEDIENT BUT STRONG-WILLED. Her teacher thinks she is disciplined
and obedient, her teacher likes her, she always responds to her duties

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*"Playful" concerning a female would take the same seductive meaning
of "lively-naughty."

by <u>doing her homework</u> but she is <u>strong-willed</u> and <u>happy at school</u>.

In summarizing the girls' social self-concept and comparing it with the real and ideal self-concept perception there seems to be a discrepancy between real and social self-reports of the ATH girls but not of the Rr girls nor of the RCM girls. All three subcultures are naturally facing the turbulences of the changing female role. However, it seems that the ATH girl is the most disoriented of the three; the social perception of her role is in great conflict with the perception she herself holds. On the other hand, the RCM girl seems to be the angriest of the three, holding a negative self-image both on the real and social levels. She has given up on the ideal level and refuses to spell out her aspirations. The Rr girls' self-concept does not manifest great discrepancies between real, ideal and social levels. Priority is consistently given to the human qualities and to the social skills that a woman living in the context of interdependence needs; at the same time she seems to be preparing herself for the new emerging role.

In the following section the comparison of self-concept among the three subcultures, for both boys and girls, will be discussed from the self-esteem point of view.

6.4. Comparison of Self-Esteem Within and Between Subcultures

As already shown in the previous chapter, the majority of the self-concept factors were structurally widely variant across the three subcultures. This finding has repeatedly been attributed to the fact that the perception of self-concept reflects the psychosocial differences being shaped, as well as shaping the particular sociocultural context. However, SCHOOL COMPETENCE and NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS, self-concept factors whose item

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composition was almost identical across the three subcultures
and between the sexes, were quantitatively compared on an evaluative
dimension. As the analysis showed, there was no difference found
in the self-esteem of either ATH, Rr and RCM boys or girls.

Previous studies of countries other than Greece in the field
of self-concept and urbanization do not seem to have agreed on
whether a particular environment is related to better self-image
or not. Trowbridge et al (1972), in studying American midwestern
urban and rural boys and girls from the ages of seven to fourteen,
found that the youth from the rural area had higher self-esteem as
measured by the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. Similarly, Wend-
land (1968), using the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale found that rural
southern American adolescents aged twelve and thirteen have more
positive self-image than their urban counterparts. In a study of
northern American high school students, Cook (1969), also using the
Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, found higher self-concept among rural
youth.

In contrast, Olsen and Carter (1974), using the Michigan State
Self-Concept of Academic Ability instrument, found that urban preado-
lescents (eight to twelve) had a higher academic self-concept than
rural youth. Similarly, Petersen, Offer and Kaplan (1979) found
that rural adolescent girls had poorer self-images in ten out of eleven
self-image areas of the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire. In another
study, Petersen, Offer and Kaplan (1978) obtained similar results
with rural adolescent boys.

Prendergast, Zdep and Sepulveda (1974) on the other hand, in
studying a large nationally representative sample of 1,800 American
girls from ages nine to seventeen, found no differences in self-esteem
among girls living in large or small cities, suburban areas or rural
areas. Their measure of self-image consisted of judgements of self

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on six items in three areas: ability, appearance and interpersonal relations.

There is no way in which Greek urban and rural realities can be compared to those of Americans and it must be recognized, as Dyer (1963) pointed out, that one of the difficult problems in research regarding self-concept is making generalizations across studies as well as interpreting these results in the context of various theories dealing with self. The non-existent differences in SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-concept across the three subcultures could be attributed to the same trend which continually reappears in the study. The universal value of education and academic achievement, always present in both urban and rural contexts, irrespective of socioeconomic status, would assimilate any possible differences in in the NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS self-concept factor the academic self-esteem. As far as the similarity/between the rural and urban children is concerned, one might hypothesize that it is due to a possible consensus when negative rather than affirmative self-referents are concerned. People are more likely to agree on what they are not rather than on what they are. McGuire et al (1978) faced the same tendency with their subjects who tended to agree on what they were not rather than on what they were when the subjects were asked: "Tell us about yourself" and "Tell us what you are not."

In summarizing, the preadolescents of the three milieux (Athenian, rural, rapidly changing milieu) perceive their selves differently in most areas of self-concept but they evaluate their selves similarly. Fitts (1981) has similarly drawn attention to the issue of "patterns versus levels", and he contends that many self-concept studies have been solely concerned with the level along some positive-negative continuum and have made no attempt to look at the patterns

and configurations which make each self-image unique. Many individuals, argues Fitts, may report the exact same level of self-esteem, yet have completely different patterns across other aspects of their self-concepts. In the present study, the urban or rural milieu does not account for higher or lower academic self-esteem, or for higher or lower self-esteem regarding the negative personality characteristics, while the pattern across the other facets of self-concept is entirely different in the three subcultures.

6.5. Effect of Father's Occupation, Father's Education, I.Q. and Relative School Achievement on Self-Concept Factors

In reviewing the self-concept studies in Chapter 2, it was mentioned that while the number of investigations of the relationships between self-concept and scholastic performance as well as between self-concept and socioeconomic status have been increasing, the relationship still remains unclear and findings appear to be in conflict. Another area of interest has been the relationship between pupils' academic performance and their socioeconomic status.

6.5.1. Relationships Between the Variables Themselves

All of the above issues have been dealt with in the following way. Firstly, the relationship between the pupils' RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and their FATHER'S OCCUPATION and EDUCATION were considered. Since the amount of information provided in the previous chapter is quite extensive, it is considered necessary for the benefit of the reader to repeat some of the correlation coefficients found. The correlations between FATHER'S EDUCATION and RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT were found to be $r=.34$ for the ATH boys, $r=.27$ for the Rr boys and $r=.40$ for the RCM boys; $r=.24$ for the ATH girls, $r=.26$ for the Rr girls and $r=.26$ for the RCM girls. Batha et al (1982) in their study

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on the influence of cultural variables on school achievement of Athenian first- and second-graders found a correlation coefficient of r=.25 between father's education and teacher-assigned marks for the boys and r=.34 for the girls. Georgas (1971), in exploring I.Q. in a representative Athenian sample of children six to thirteen years of age, found a correlation coefficient of r=.35 between socio-economic variables and achievement for boys and an r=.45 for girls.

The correlation coefficients between FATHER'S OCCUPATION and RELATIVE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT were found to be r=.23 for the ATH boys, r=.13 for the Rr boys and r=.21 for the RCM boys; r=.22 for the ATH girls, r=.31 for the Rr girls and r=.34 for the RCM girls.

The mean correlation* between FATHER'S EDUCATION and RELATIVE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT was r=.34 for the boys and r=.25 for girls, while the mean correlation between FATHER'S OCCUPATION and RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT was found to be r=.19 for the boys and r=.29 for the girls.

In the Batha et al study, father's education was found to have a slightly stronger influence on the child's achievement in comparison with father's occupation. In the present study, the FATHER'S EDUCATION-ACHIEVEMENT relationship was found to be stronger for the boys while the FATHER'S OCCUPATION-ACHIEVEMENT proved to be stronger for the girls. In other words, boys' SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT is more strongly in-fluenced by their FATHER'S EDUCATION level and less by their FATHER'S OCCUPATION, while it is the reverse for the girls. A possible ex-planation of this phenomenon might be that since FATHER'S OCCUPATION is usually a stronger predictor of S.E.S. (Trowbridge et al, 1972) teachers tend to grade girls according to the socioeconomic level at

*The means were computed after being transformed into z scores.

which they classify them, while, on the contrary they grade boys' achievement more objectively according to their real ability. This same finding as well as the same speculation was used in both the Georgas and Batha et al studies. Since societal pressures are stronger for the boys than the girls, teachers can afford to be more lenient with the girls.

The mean correlations between S.E.S. (FATHER'S EDUCATION/FATHER'S OCCUPATION combined) and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT were found to be $r=.25$ for the ATH children, $r=.24$ for the Rr children and $r=.30$ for the RCM children. International literature (International Study of Educational Achievement*) has emphasized the relatively strong effects of socioeconomic status on scholastic achievement. However, because the effect of S.E.S. is not uniform, Heyneman (1976) has raised the very interesting question as to how far the relatively strong relationships found in industrial societies may be generalized to include the non-industrial societies. In comparing similar results from Uganda and more industrialized societies, Heyneman has shown that the relationship between socioeconomic status and academic achievement appears weaker in less industrialized societies. He attributes this difference to three school characteristics which he contends eventually might prove to be universal predictors in less industrialized societies: the physical facilities of the school, the per capita number of textbooks (of critical value in areas of lower teacher quality) and the intellectual or verbal facility of teachers.

In Greece, however, Heyneman's attributions -- the first two being prevalent in the Greek rural milieu -- do not seem to affect the SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS-ACHIEVEMENT relationship. When comparing children

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*A complete listing of IEA publications up to 1974 is presented in the Comparative Education Review, 18, June 1974.

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from urban/Athenian milieu to those from the rural/non-industrialized milieu or from the rapidly changing milieu lying in between the other two, no significant differences were found between their S.E.S. and ACHIEVEMENT at school. It seems reasonable to speculate that since academic achievement in Greece has always been of such general value both in the urban and rural milieux, and in the higher and lower classes (Tsoukalas, 1977; Laskou-Nassiakou, 1977; Lambiri-Dimaki,1974), the socioeconomic status would not differ between urban and rural areas.

6.5.2. Relationships Between the Variables and Self-Concept

Another set of analyses focused on the relationship between self-concept and SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, self-concept and pupils' I.Q. as well as self-concept and S.E.S. The multiple regression analysis indicated the effect of FATHER'S EDUCATION, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, pupils' I.Q. and pupils' RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT on the different facets of self-concept as they have emerged from the factor analysis.

6.5.2.1. Self-Concept and Scholastic Achievement
6.5.2.1.1. Real Self-Concept

A universal finding has been that the RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT variables was the best predictor of that self-concept factor referring to SCHOOL COMPETENCE. RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT was sometimes found to "work together" with other variables, such as I.Q., or FATHER'S EDU-CATION, which were, however, found to contribute very little to the variance initially explained by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT. At this point it should be mentioned that the RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT vari-able is not independent of I.Q. (significant correlation coefficients were found ranging between $r=.53$ and $r=.73$). In other words they share variance, some portion of which is sometimes shared with the self-

concept factors. Kerlinger (1979) mentions that the best predictions
are obtained when the correlations among the independent variables
are low. The higher the correlations among the independent variables,
the less successive variables contribute to the prediction, and the
more difficult and ambiguous interpretation is. So the two influences
of RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and I.Q. on self-concept,work together
to a substantial extent, and it is not easy to disentangle them. Some
researchers, as for example Marjoribanks (1972), choose to treat more
variables as one independent variable in the partitioning analysis
--after first establishing that they are all well substantially posi-
tively correlated-- thus indicating that they are all measuring the
same thing. The question remains of how arbitrary it is to treat
RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and I.Q. as one independent variable.

RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT combined with FATHER'S OCCUPATION
was found to explain 30% of the variance of the SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-
concept factor in the case of the ATH boys. Their contributions
separately were 29% and 1% respectively. RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT
combined with I.Q. was also found to have a sufficient "influence" on
SCHOOL COMPETENCE (32%) in the case of the Rr boys. Here again their
separate contributions were: 30.8% by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and
1.9% by I.Q. In the case of the RCM boys, SCHOOL COMPETENCE was again
significantly explained by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT combined with
I.Q., accounting for quite a considerable amount of variance (40.4%).
However, it was RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT which explained 38% of
the variance while I.Q. added only 2.4% to the prediction of SCHOOL
COMPETENCE self-concept.

The findings concerning the girls have been very similar. RE-
LATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT combined with I.Q. explained 18.6% of the
SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-concept variance in the case of the ATH girls,
the effect of RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT overriding that of I.Q.

(16.8% of the variance contributed by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, 1.7% added by I.Q.). In the case of the Rr girls, once again RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT combined with I.Q. predicted 52.7% of the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor, I.Q. adding 5.6% to the prediction and finally, in the case of the RCM girls, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT along with FATHER'S EDUCATION predicted 41.9% of the SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-concept factor, FATHER'S EDUCATION adding only 0.9% to the prediction.

The influence of FATHER'S EDUCATION, I.Q. and RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT on the other self-concept factors was found to be very small, explaining between 2% and 5% of the total variance; despite the statistical significance of the above-mentioned self-concept factors, they hardly deserve mention and analysis.*

The lowest predictions of SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-concept as explained by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT were those of the ATH boys and the ATH girls. The amount of unknown SCHOOL COMPETENCE variance not accounted for is larger in the case of the Athenian pupils, both boys and girls, than in the case of the other two subgroups. Possibly the prediction of SCHOOL COMPETENCE would have been better if other variables such as, for example, measures of parental aspirations, socially defined expectations, and quality of family relationships were added to the prediction equation. One would hypothesize that since in the urban family, societal definitions of the pupil role are more rigorous, and parent-child relationships are more pointed, the suggested variables could have contributed to the understanding of the residual variance.

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*Father's occupation did not enter any prediction equation except in the prediction of School Competence self-concept, in the case of the Athenian boys, where it has a joint effect with Relative School Achievement.

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On the contrary, the highest prediction of SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-concept by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT combined with I.Q. was found amoung Rr girls. RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT and I.Q. seem to have a considerable "influence" on SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-concept. If the speculation made in the previous paragraph is carried through, other variables, such as parental and societal expectations, would have a smaller effect on SCHOOL COMPETENCE, when applied to Rr females.

The present finding -- that is, that the facet of self-concept related to academic achievement is the one described by the SCHOOL COMPETENCE self-concept factor and that no other part of self-concept, as measured in the study, shows any relationship to academic achievement -- is consistent with findings of many similar studies. Stilwell (1965) found that the global self-concept of sixth-graders shared no relationship with any of the achievement scores, while self-concept referring to a student-self displayed a highly significant relationship among girls. Brookover, Thomas and Patterson (1964), using specific self-descriptions of academic success, found moderate correlations (approximately .40) between self-concept and teacher-assigned grades. Muller and Spuhler (1976) in a laboratory study of the relationship between a highly specific measure of self-concept (self-description of ability to learn a foreign language) and performance on a paired-associates learning task, found a correlation of .59 between the two variables. Williams (1973), using a global measure of self-concept (an adaptation of Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory), found no correlation between self-concept and reading achievement on the first grades. Mintz and Muller (1977), Muller (1978), Larned and Muller (1979), Gose, Wooden and Muller (1980), consistently showed that only academic success self-measures were correlated with academic achievement. The correlations between academic self-concept and

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school marks were found by Anderson (1981) to range from .41 to .58. Finally in a study of preadolescent self-concept, as inferred by teachers and as related to academic ability, by Marsh, Parker and Smith (1983), the various academic measures tended to be more highly correlated with the particular academic self-concept (the correlation sometimes exceeding .70), while each of the non-academic self-concept scores was essentially uncorrelated with each of the different academic measures.

6.5.2.1.2. Ideal Self-Concept

On the ideal level as well, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT was found to be the strongest predictor of all four variables tested. It more often appeared as the only variable entering the regression equation, or it was less often combined with either I.Q. or FATHER'S OCCUPATION or even with both. However, while on the real self-concept level RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT was found to predict only factors concerning SCHOOL COMPETENCE, on the ideal level, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT either by itself or combined with I.Q. and FATHER'S OCCUPATION also predicted factors related to SOCIAL SELF, INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS, HARMONY AT HOME, PARENTAL APPROVAL, NON-ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY CHARACTERSITICS, PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS. However, the residual variance was often large, much larger than it was on the real self-concept level.

The factors that emerged from the item responses of the ATH boys and girls were not explained by any of the variables considered. As shown when the factor pattern was discussed, the ideal self-image presented by the ATH boys is blurred and undifferentiated, and there are no clear hierarchies set, only excessive demands upon themselves to succeed in every possible field. These excessive demands

seem to be above academic achievement, embracing "something" that surely neither children nor parents clearly can identify. Consequently, neither RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT nor any of the variables examined explained any of the factors which emerged. One might legitimately wonder which variables could have explained the Athenian factors. On the other hand, the ideal self-image of the ATH girls seems so confused and conflicting, depending on such vague, dubious and inconspicuous criteria that it is understandable how none of the variables considered were complex enough to explain such an intricate situation.

As far as the factors that were explained by the variables examined, and specifically by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, are concerned, one might speculate that the prediction of factors such as MOTIVATED HAPPY PUPIL, ADJUSTED AT SCHOOL along with HARMONY AT HOME, INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS and PARENTAL APPROVAL by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, in the case of the RCM boys, indicates that boys feel happy, content and appreciated by parents when they do well at school. PROPER GIRL'S CHARACTERISTICS, in the case of the RCM girls, is explained by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT possibly for the same reasons as with the boys from the same milieu but, since the conception of the role of the achieving girls is much weaker, the prediction is much less extensive.

With both Rr boys and girls the SCHOOL COMPETENCE factor, as is natural, is explained by RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT. SOCIAL SELF, in the case of the Rr boys, is also explained by RELATIVE ACHIEVEMENT, I.Q. and FATHER'S OCCUPATION combined. One might interpret this prediction by saying that the proper human being is one who utilizes his natural gifts, that is I.Q.; the prevailing

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circumstances, that is, the PATERNAL OCCUPATION; and the maximum

effort and labour, that is, SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT, in order to actualize

himself.

6.5.2.1.3. Social Self-Concept

On the social self-concept level, the regression analysis

revealed that it was once more RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT which was

the strongest predictor of self-concept, entering the equation either

alone or more rarely combined with one or more of the other variables

examined. As on the real level, RELATIVE SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT was found

to explain mainly those self-concept factors which referred to

SCHOOL COMPETENCE, ACHIEVEMENT or SOCIAL SELF AS PROMOTED BY TEACHER,

in both the boys' and the girls' cases, irrespective of milieu pro-

venance.

6.5.2.2. Self-Concept and Socioeconomic Status

The relationship between self-concept and scholastic achievement

having been examined and discussed, the next focus was the relationship

between self-concept and S.E.S. Multiple regression analysis showed

that the socioeconomic variables, FATHER'S EDUCATION and FATHER'S OCCU-

PATION, had no significant influence on any self-concept factor at any

self-concept level. Empirical evidence from international research has

shown that the relationship between self-concept and S.E.S. is often

conflicting. There have been studies which have found that higher S.E.S.

youth have a better self-image (Deutsch, 1967; Ausubel and Ausubel,

1963; Battle and Rotter, 1963; Sochet, 1964; Witty, 1967; Havinghurst

and Moorefield, 1967; Tannenbaum, 1967; Long and Henderson, 1968; Hawk,

1967; Bachman and O'Malley, 1977; Maruyama and Miller, 1980; Maruyama,

Rubin and Kingsbury, 1981) while other studies obtain the reverse

result (Soares and Soares, 1969; Trowbridge, 1970; Powers et al 1971; Trowbridge et al, 1972; Zirkel and Moses, 1971). Still other studies suggest that no significant difference in self-image exists for adolescents of different S.E.S. groups (Mason, 1954; Hill, 1957; McDonald and Gynther, 1963, 1965; Silverman, 1963; Godbold, 1967; McDaniel, 1967; Coleman et al, 1966; Scott, 1969; Cook, 1969; Coopersmith, 1968; Thompson, 1972; Calsyn and Kenny, 1977; Himmelweit and Swift, 1973). Rosenberg (1979) attributes the slight effect of social class on the self-esteem of children to the fact that children are not yet exposed to the class-related occupational conditions that shape self-esteem. Moreover, the child's effective interpersonal environment, which provides the primary social experiences which enter his phenomenal field, is largely a classless society, a world in which status plays little or no role. The child does see himself through the eyes of the others, and what he believes they think of him largely affects his self-image; however, the others do not think well or ill of him with reference to socioeconomic status. In contrast to what social class signifies to an adult, for whom social class is achieved, for a child it has entirely different meaning since social class is something he is born into. A child would most probably feel greater pride or shame in his school grades or other skills than in paternal achievements (Ibid.).

The findings of the present study seem to indicate that S.E.S. does not have any connection with self-concept. From the specific point of view of this particular study, with this specific instrument and in the present space and time, milieu complexity as an overall variable appears to have an overriding effect. In view of the fact that identical demographic classification may represent different sets of social experiences and be accorded different phenomenal interpretations, it should be said that it is not different cognitive processes or modes of conceptualization which characterize different groups, but

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rather that the same variables might enter the experience and be processed within the phenomenal field of each particular group, in a different fashion. It is thus important to see social class from the Greek viewpoint.

Greece has joined the economically developed countries only very recently and does not seem to be characterized by rigid class boundaries. The indices of social class as defined by social scientists in the developed Western world do not appear to apply to today's Greek reality. As already mentioned in the first chapter, the urban class which first developed in Greece during the 17th and 18th centuries within the structure of the Ottoman Empire, in contrast to the developing European comparable class, displayed different motives and ideals, and struggled for the acquisition of power by the enslaved nation rather than by a social class. It seems that most youngsters do not conceive of themselves in terms of some external, abstract standard of social class. Having found that in the present study the most determining criterion for self-conception has been that of milieu complexity, and the particular processes characterizing each particular milieu, one would rather speculate that these preadolescents define their conception of self in the more direct terms of their daily lives and face-to-face personal relationships. Similarly, Polemi-Todoulou (1981) found no major differences across social class in studying the cooperative process in a Greek island community. She claims that her findings confirm the essentially intimate and interdependent relations among social strata which community members themselves describe. Along the same line, it is very interesting to note that market research in Greece has consistently revealed how difficult it is to classify individuals according to social classes because there are no characteristics

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clearly defining each social class. For example, neither income,
nor education, nor location of residence, etc., help in assigning
to a social class. Social classes are extremely permeable. More-
over, applied market research has shown that the existing social
class determinants have not proved to be powerful enough to reveal
differentiation in attitudes related to life style, political
beliefs or consumer behaviour (Personal Communication, N. Blatzia,
1983).

6.5.3. Evaluative Comments

The multiple regression analysis having been processed and
discussed, the reader might remain dissatisfied with the possible
causal implications. In a dynamic interactional sense,
where the emphasis is on the process and not on the unidirectional
causal relationship, the constantly changing biocultural and
historical context affects and at the same time is affected by the
changing individual and his or her social environmnet. Bandura
(1978) raises similar objections by saying that explanations of human
behaviour have generally been conducted in terms of a limited set of
determinants, usually portrayed as operating in a unidirectional
manner. The interelatedness and complexity of the variables necessary
to understand human behaviour involves a circular function, rendering
the multiple regression analysis a rather "weak" and even "mechanistic"
method. A circular notion, Lerner and Spanier (1978) argue, implies
the need for new statistical models and new conceptualizations of the
variables analyzed within these models. "The utility of linear sta-
tistical models seems limited," they say, "and in turn, the variables
involved in this circularity may not be appropriately seen as ante-
cedent to or consequences of each other. Rather, since the point of

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entry into a circle is arbitrary, traditional notions pertaining
to independent and dependent variables seem anachronistic " (p. 15).

However, Lerner and Spanier recognize that despite the fact
that a dynamic interactional model might require a circular statistic-
al model, a conception of variables as constantly interrelated and
an assumption of constant change, statistical tools to meet these
needs do not exist at present. Clearly, "It is easier to raise
interesting issues than it is to resolve them," as Klein, Jorgensen
and Miller (1978, p.107) admit. Lerner and Spanier (1978), Baltes
and Cornelius (1977) and others argue that a further advancement in
scientific methodology is needed, an advancement that would take
into consideration that the nature, direction and extent of human
change are relative to the ever-changing context within which it
exists.

6.6. Conclusion

The import of the research findings of the present study is
that today's children who, later as young adults, will have to face
the extremely complex environment of the technological society, remain
unprepared. The observed increase of entropy in today's world at
all levels of systems, physiochemical, biological and psychosocial,
is the result of the fact that the high level of complexity the psycho-
social systems have reached makes it extremely difficult for them to
maintain their basic property; that is, to function as decision-
making purposive systems. In today's complex world, where nothing
has any generality, or predictability, the amount of information
individuals are bombarded with extends their ability to process it;
thus anxiety is bound to rise and random behaviour, and eventually
immobility, will be the result.

The individual's capacities to choose have not kept pace with
the increasing possibilities to do so under conditions of information
overload. Values change more slowly, as a rule, than social reality.
Consequently, individuals today often find themselves unable to resolve
inner contradictions and conflicts related to values, norms and role
assumptions which form the base of their behaviour and are continually
in danger of operating on the basis of contradictory, irrelevant or
absolute values and norms. Clarification and choice between realistic
alternatives is often inhibited and action is thus rendered aimless.
These are the entropic processes of living systems which are described
by social scientists as normlessness, meaninglessness, powerlessness
and self-estrangement.

Many idealists routinely lament the break-up of the traditional
society. Actually, this present work may have seemed at moments to
do the same. Clearly, the group of rural children gave signs of great-
er differentiation, of greater actualization of their human potential,
of clearer criteria on the basis of which they set goals and aims,
of more positive attitude toward the self and perception of greater
acceptance of self on the part of the significant others. These child-
ren follow the normative traditional patterns which, nevertheless,
are operational only in their given milieu. The writer firmly believes
that the present moment in the sociocultural history of Greece can be
seen as an opportunity for human development. In the technologically
developed milieu, the child has the opportunity to function on the
basis of his value orientation, which he has to form on his own
responsibility and initiative and by his own choice. What values,
norms and roles are to be retained, which to be discarded, and why?
A new synthesis is needed that will go beyond mere acceptance or
rejection of existing values and norms. The boundary process will change,

compared to that of the traditional man; the individual in today's new reality becomes an independent system, transacting with other independent systems, instead of being subsystemic to his ingroup.

According to the systemic dialectic approach which has for two decades been developed and followed at the Athenian Institute of Anthropos and with which the writer has been increasingly involved, if malfunctioning is to be prevented and functioning is to spiral to higher levels of creating, producing and sharing, a laborious process of differentiation is needed. The new man will be the product of a process of an emotional cognitive integration which will stem from an everchanging awareness of the process of living. Decision-making will thus emerge from a conscious awareness of the quality and intensity of the emotions experienced from the activation of information-processing skills, from the ability to evaluate alternative possible courses of action on the basis of personal values related to the satisfaction of personal needs and goals, and, last but not least, from the realization that one must enhance one's growth both as an individual and as a group member. The big difference with the past is that this cognitive-emotional integration in the traditional man was developed within the context of the group, while, today, this cognitive-emotional integration is developed within the individual himself. Both traditional and contemporary man are the products of group processes, with the difference that in the low complexity milieu it was the group that offered the needed boundaries while in the high complexity milieu it is the group that teaches the boundary process. Psychosocial differentiation is effected only as long as man remains an open system, receiving information from the environment, and filtering and processing it in order to solve problems by making

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decisions. This can be accomplished exclusively within the context of the group process, since man and group member are two aspects of the same process. It is a new structuring, rather than a new structure, different from that of the past; it is out of this chaotic present that restructuring will be born.

EPILOGUE

Arriving at the end of a long, arduous project, one is beset
by the need for self-criticism and the evaluation of one's under-
taking. This thesis has clearly attempted to view the perception
of the Greek preadolescents' self-concept in today's Greek reality.
A constant criticism encountered when reviewing the self-concept
literature has been that research has largely avoided the social
context of self-concept and has attempted to develop a concept and
accompanying measures which have not been qualified by a social frame
of reference. Moreover, as mentioned in the first chapter, research-
ers have also systematically conceived of an ahistorical concept of
self following the model of Newtonian science which reveals principles
applicable to all people. This study represents the end product of a
humble attempt to contribute to a new conception of self which does
not consider self-concept a logico-mathematical abstraction, but rather
a contextual historical-cultural product. The self-concept reported
by the preadolescents was viewed and explained as an emergent of its
particular sociocultural context and as a result of the transformations
brought about in Greek society by industrialization, urbanization and
modernization. For a clear understanding of the differences in self-
conception of children brought up under different processes of social-
ization, this study examined three groups of children from three
different subcultures taken to represent three distinct points on the
continuum of social change, moving from a lower to a higher degree of
complexity.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that this study has been the
first attempt in Greece to measure self-concept quantitatively, and
thus an entirely new instrument had to be developed. Consequently,
this study has attempted to offer Greek psychologists a tentatively

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constructed measurement device -- with all the inherent shortcomings

accompanying such measures. This instrument, as mentioned in previous

chapters, was constructed with the intention of representing children's

unique selves in terms of their unique self-perceptions, and this is

considered as an advantage of this particular self-concept scale.

An essentially correlational design was employed which, however,

left the writer with the conviction that such structural variables as

sex or social class do not bear any simple and direct relationship to

individual characteristics such as attitudes and personality traits

reflected in the self-concept. Rather, the relationships between these

sets of variables are modified by a host of interactional processes

which determine how a given social environment is experienced and a

variety of psychological processes which determine the individual

reactions to these experiences. From the field of social psychology

come repeated warnings about a prolonged crisis of confidence in the

discipline (Newell,1972;Cronbach,1975;Elms,1975;House,1977;Bandura,1978;

Backman, 1980; Sampson, 1981). The crisis is attributed to the number

of research expectancies such as to have statistically significant

results that lead to the development of "sweeping and elegant" theories

and the usual strategy of narrowing conditions, refining results and

looking for generalizations of limited range. It is seriously question-

ed whether such an approach can generate an adequate understanding of

real world relationships. "We have been spending too much effort on

hypothetical models of the mind," deplores Sampson (1981), "and not

enough on analyzing the environment that the mind has been shaped to

meet. The cognitivist emphasis that marks much of contemporary psy-

chology participates in presenting a portrait of humanity in which

mental events, mental activities, mental operations, mental organizations

and mental transformations are of greater importance than events, activities, operations, organization or transformation of the external world" (p. 733). Some argue that the result of the crisis plaguing social psychology (e.g. Hendrick, 1977) has been the broadening of the scope of respectable methods and the active pursuit of applied concerns, while others criticize (e.g. Harris, 1976) the uncertain connections between verbal theories and concrete research hypotheses in social psychology. No matter where the truth lies in the above arguments, the writer remains with the wish that the present design could represent more than a snapshot in time and place. However, this thesis cannot end without the expressed conviction that the new emerging conceptualization will conceive of self-concept not only as a construct but as a dynamic element of interrelated and constantly changing processes which are a part of the living structure.

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APPENDICES

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		Population 1961	1971	Geographical Loc. Plain, Mount., Sea			Transport	1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*	8*	9*	10*
Vathy	Boeotia	1,424	1,690			x	3	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Drossia	"	2,171	2,417	x			31	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Kaparelli	"	1,834	1,654		x		4	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Oinophyta	"	523	884	x			45	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Vassiliko	Euboea	2,092	3,159	x			45	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Gymno	"	1,052	1,274	x			1	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
N. Lampsakos	"	998	1,266			x	50	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Psahna	"	4,433	4,650	x			23	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Ag. Konstantinos	Fthiotida	1,837	1,929			x	45	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Elateia	"	1,750	2,399	x			4	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Spetsae	Peloponnese	3,314	3,427			x	8	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Efxinoupoli	Magnesia	2,323	2,005	x			3	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Stefanovikio	"	1,631	1,642	x			1	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Ryzomylos	"	1,549	1,483	x			1	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Diakofto	Peloponnese	1,627	1,796			x	20	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Kranidi	"	3,942	3,657		x		3	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Leheo	"	1,377	1,534			x	32	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Nemea	"	4,720	4,308		x		30	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
Sofiko	"	1,984	1,671		x		7	x	x		x		x		x	x	x

1*: Electricity   4*: Water-Supply   7*: Technical School
2*: Telephone   5*: Hospital   8*: Primary School   10*: Church
3*: Sewage System 6*: Dispensary   9*: Soccer Field

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	Touristic Development		Characterization by Ministry	Economical Determinants							Production	
	Cafeterias	Hotels		1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*	Agricult.	Cattle Br.
Vathy	8	1		11			25				10	10
Drossia	12	1		11			25		36		13	21
Kaparelli	6	1	p*	11	22						08	29
Oinophyta	6	-		11	22			35			01	22
Vassiliko	11	-		21	32		15				19	29
Gymno	8	1		21	32		15				01	22
N. Lampsakos	3	-		22			15					29
Psahna	21	-		11				36		28	19	21
Ag. Konstantinos	17	11		11			26	37			19	
Elateia	8	-		11	22			3			19	29
Spetsae	35	19				23		36	36	18	12	
Efxinoupoli	4	-		11	22						19	29
Stefanovikio	8	-		11	22						19	29
Ryzomylos	7	-		11	22						19	29
Diakofto	5	4	p	11		23			27	38	13	29
Kranidi	12	2		11					27		19	
Leheo	4	2		11							19	
Nemea	19	2		11	22						19	
Sofiko	5	3	p	21	32					18	19	29

p*: Characterized by the Ministry of Coordination as disadvantaged, problematic areas.

1*: Agriculture
2*: Cattle Breeding
3*: Fishing

4*: Factories
5*: Construction Work
6*: Tourism
7*: Other

Source: The Greek Centre of Planning and Economic Research

APPENDIX II

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am a good pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good house-keeper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good housekeeper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good house-keeper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good child	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good child	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good child	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good friend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good friend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good friend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am lovable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be lovable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am lovable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER-ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am polite	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good brother/sister	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good brother/sister	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good brother/sister	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am an attentive pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be an attentive pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am an attentive pupil	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am someone parents are proud of	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be someone parents are proud of	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am someone parents are proud of	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am attractive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be attractive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am attractive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am eager	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be eager	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am eager	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am studious	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be studious	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am studious	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am orderly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be orderly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am orderly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am clean	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be clean	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am clean	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX II (cont.)

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am well-behaved in class	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be well-behaved in class	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am well-behaved in class	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am useful and helping everyone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be useful and helping everyone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am useful and help- ing everyone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am intelligent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be intelligent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am intelligent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am quick-tempered	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be quick-tempered	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am quick-tempered	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am selfish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be selfish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am selfish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am stubborn	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be stubborn	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am stubborn	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am good at school work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be good at school work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am good at school work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am in harmony with my family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be in harmony with my family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am in harmony with my family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am hard-working	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be hard-working	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am hard-working	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am sly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be sly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am sly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am timid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be timid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am timid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am romantic and sentimetnal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be romantic and senti- mental	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am romantic and sentimental	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am lively-naughty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be lively-naughty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am lively-naughty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am nice to my teacher	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be nice to my teacher	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am nice to him	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good neighbour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good neighbour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good neighbour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX II (cont.)

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am disciplined and obedient	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be disciplined and obedient	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am disciplined and obedient	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am a good athlete	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be a good athlete	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am a good athlete	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am brave	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be brave	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am brave	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The teacher likes me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be liked by my teacher	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks he likes me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I always do my homework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to always do my homework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I always do my homework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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APPENDIX II (cont.)

	1 VERY MUCH	2 MUCH	3 MODER- ATELY	4 A LITTLE	5 VERY LITTLE	6 NOT AT ALL	7 I DON'T KNOW
I am depressed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be depressed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am depressed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am mummy's pet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be mummy's pet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am mummy's pet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am strong-willed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be strong-willed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am strong-willed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am playful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be playful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am playful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am happy at school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to be happy at school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My teacher thinks I am happy at school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

1. Spoon

2. Pepper

3. Green

4. Chain

5. Neighbour

6. Coal

7. Roe-Deer

8. Beach

9. Wise Man

10. Miss

11. To feel

12. Eight Years Old

13. Profusely Illuminated

14. To exist

15. Paved

16. To behave in a childish way

17. Stoning

18. Association

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19. To film

20. Redeemer

21. To inflame

22. Pharyngitis

23. To be sovereign

24. Adolescence

25. To waste one's time

26. Lashing out

27. Instantaneous

28. Speaking another language

29. Sewer

30. Feasible

APPENDIX IV

Please complete the following:

Name:

Age:

Sex:

Where were you born?

How long have you been living in ....?

What is your father's profession?

Until what age did your father attend school?

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