

THE SELF-ESTEEM OF BLACK UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

by

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this exploratory study was to determine the effectiveness (representativeness) of a variety of instruments that are intended to measure the level of global and specific dimensions of self-esteem, and the level of defensiveness amongst Black university students. The literature review emphasized: (a) the inconclusiveness of the operationalization of self-esteem; (b) the neglect of the dimensions of self-esteem; (c) the paucity of attempts at cross-method convergence; (d) the neglect to specify the measurement context; (e) the inattention being paid to the role of defensiveness on self-report measures; and (f) the paucity of research into Black self-esteem in this country. Following the literature review, a number of hypotheses were tested among groups of Black students. A total of 430 first year full-time students were tested.

A major purpose of the research was to determine the effect of specific measurement contexts upon self-esteem and defensiveness. Using Levene's variance-ratio test, the results indicated that different measurement contexts produced no significant differences between groups with regard to measures of global and the dimensions of self-esteem. However, the results revealed significant differences between groups with regard to measures of defensiveness.

A further purpose of the research was to descriptively illustrate the characteristics of self-esteem with regard to measures of central tendency. The data revealed that Black university students possess a moderately positive level of global self-esteem, and a markedly elevated level of academic self-esteem. The data also indicated that those groups who had been exposed to a measurement context with inherently greater demand characteristics revealed a higher level of defensiveness than those groups who had been exposed to a context with fewer demand characteristics.

A third purpose of the research was to examine the inter-correlations of various measures of self-esteem and defensiveness in order to identify the most "representative" measurement procedures respectively. The results indicated that Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory (a measure of global self-esteem), Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale (a measure of academic self-esteem), and Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale (a measure of defensiveness) possessed the highest levels of cross-method convergence.

A fourth purpose of the research was to examine the relationship between self-esteem and defensiveness. The results revealed a highly significant correlation between self-esteem and defensiveness.

Finally, the data of a post-hoc analysis partly confirm that personality traits as measured by standardized South African tests appear to be significantly related to measures of global and academic self-esteem and defensiveness.

In conclusion, it is suggested that further cross-method studies of self-esteem be conducted in South Africa within and across different ethnic groups, and serious attention be paid to the use of more than one modality of the measurement of self-esteem.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For we know in part and we prophesy in part, but when perfection comes, the imperfect disappears. When I was a child, I talked like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me. Now we see but a poor reflection; then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known.

(Holy Bible, New International Version, 1 Corinthians, 13: 9-12)

Self-esteem is a vital and broadly relevant conceptual tool for both psychological and sociological perspectives. How people think of and evaluate themselves, both as a consequence of basic social conditions and as a predisposition for subsequent behaviours, is an essential behavioural construct for interpreting human conduct. Its interpretive importance is revealed not only by its frequency of occurrence in the academic literature, but by the strength and variety of its application in current debates.

Within South Africa to-day, self-esteem seems to be emerging as one of the key "social indicators" in current analyses of social change, growth and progress. To an ever increasing extent, the concept appears as a key component in discussions of problems such as "racism", "unequal education", or "integration".

What has been observed recently within South Africa, is an increase in the aggressive construal of "black", where aggression refers to "the active elaboration of one's construct system" (Bannister and Fransella, 1971, p. 21). This active elaboration has had as its consequence, the active pursuit of a black identity, and thereby, the establishment and maintenance of black self-esteem.

Boesak (1976) observed that the strongest ally of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. Erikson (1968) refers to the self-hate and low self-esteem which is induced by "negative images cruelly imposed" on minorities and sees hope in the creation of a more inclusive identity which "supersedes the struggle of the old - positive and negative - images and roles" (1968, p. 505). Khoapa (1972) cogently observes: "Here (within South Africa), as elsewhere, the devil must be driven out first. It is too soon to love everybody, and black integration must precede black and white integration". (p. 64).

In order to assess the movement within black groups toward integration, it is necessary to ascertain self-concept development within this group. An adequate self-concept would appear to be a principal component in the process of integration. The present study will concentrate on one possible variable of the self-concept, namely, self-esteem.

The purpose of this study is twofold. The primary aim will be to determine the level of self-esteem among a sample of black South African students, and to determine to what extent self-esteem is related to defensiveness.

The second aim of the study is to assess the convergence or equivalence among measures of self-esteem.

The present study was conducted among university students. Although this must limit the generalisability of the findings, it needs to be recognised that black students, as potential leaders of their community, could play a significant role in black integration and future race relations.

Chapter 2 will be devoted to a theoretical overview of self-esteem and the development of self-esteem, while Chapter 3 will deal with the definition of self-esteem and the problems of self-esteem measurement. Chapter 4 will concentrate upon research on black

self-esteem, in America, Britain and finally within South Africa. The hypotheses will be formulated in Chapter 5; this chapter will also present a rationale for the present study. Chapter 6 discusses the research method and measuring techniques employed in the study. The results of the study will be presented in Chapter 7 followed by a discussion of the results. Conclusions drawn and suggestions for future research will be presented in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER TWO

SELF-ESTEEM: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW AND DEVELOPMENTAL FEATURES

Yet, of course all men ... are theorists. They differ not in whether they use theory, but in the degree to which they are aware of the theory they use. The choice before the man in the street and the researcher alike is not whether to theorize but whether to articulate his theory, to make it explicit, to get it out in the open where he can examine it.

(Gage, 1963, p. 94)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with a brief statement of what a theory is, what a theory of personality should encompass, and finally, personality theory as a view of man. Secondly this chapter will review and discuss the large body of literature associated with the concept - self-esteem. The specific aim of this chapter will be to review and summarize the body of appropriate literature available, to suggest the relevant issues involved in these efforts, and to attempt some kind of systematization of the different theories of the self. As such, the goal is exposition rather than advocacy, since the area has not been very precisely formulated, and the concept of self-esteem is appropriate to a diverse range of theoretical viewpoints. Finally, the chapter will emphasize relevant developmental perspectives with regard to the concept of the self and its related components.

The following working definition of personality has been suggested: "Personality represents those structural and dynamic properties of an individual or individuals as they reflect themselves in characteristic responses to situations" (Pervin, 1975, p. 3). The science of personality attempts to understand how people are alike, while also recognizing that individuals are unique in some ways. It attempts to discover, understand, and explain regularities and consistencies in human behaviour. Furthermore, the science of

personality, develops theories to help order phenomena and to suggest strategies for further research. There are many theories of personality, with each theory tending to look at different behaviour or to study the same behaviour in different ways. It has been observed that "probably no field of psychology has been more perplexing to its students with respect to theory than that of personality" (Sears, 1950, p. 115).

A theory suggests a means for ordering, systematizing, or integrating various findings, and suggests which directions in research are most critical or potentially most fruitful. "A theory consists of a set of assumptions and concepts that tie together various empirical findings and suggest new relationships that should hold under certain defined conditions" (Pervin, 1975, p. 17). Thus, theories involve a systematic ordering of ideas and a planned approach to research; they help to pull together what we know and to suggest how we may discover what is as yet unknown.

A theory of personality must conceptualize adequately the different and varied areas of personality functioning. Because theories are a part of science, and because the goals of science are facts and objectivity, it might seem that theories would be free of personal bias. Yet, in terms of the concepts developed and positions taken on general issues, theories express different views of man and lead to different modes of research.

One theory of personality emphasizes the individual aspect of man, another the social; one theory free will, another determinism; one simple and mechanistic relationships, another complex and dynamic relationships. Personality theory as a view of man can be conceptualized through two divergent points of view. One may be described as humanistic, man-centered, and phenomenological, the other as "scientific", pragmatic, and empirical. Theories that emphasize the uniqueness of man tend to emphasize free will and choice, to be unsympathetic toward standardized techniques for the assessment of personality, and to favour a phenomenological approach to the study of personality. In research this approach tries to understand the world as it is experienced by the individual. The

phenomenologist studies people with an attitude of "disciplined naivete" (MacLeod, 1947) - disciplined inquiry, but without bias. The goal is an understanding of the world as it is perceived and experienced by the organism, not as it is defined by the scientist.

Theories that emphasize how men are similar tend to emphasize determinism and drives, to be sympathetic toward objective and standardized methods of personality assessment, and to favour an empirical approach to the study of personality. This point of view considers phenomenology to be part of philosophy, not psychology. According to the "scientific" view, phenomenology does not get rid of bias; in his inevitable selection in observing and reporting, the phenomenologist merely uses new biases (Hebb, 1951). At best, the study of the individual is useful as a source for hypotheses, but is not in itself science. What a person says, his verbal behavior, is not different from any other kind of behavior and is to be studied in the same rigorous way as one studies other species. The goals are objectivity, reliability, standardization, and validity; not intuitive understanding, but empirical explanation.

Implicit in these two points of view is a major difference in the emphasis placed on and attention paid to the individual, an issue highlighted by the idiographic-nomothetic controversy in psychology. Nomothetic approaches are concerned with establishing laws based on models which approximate the current methods of the natural sciences. Within this model scientists are concerned with the development of general laws that apply to all people. "Science is not interested in the unique event, the unique event belongs to history, not to science" (Eysenck, 1951, p. 101).

Idiographic approaches on the other hand are those concerned with the intensive study of individuals based on the model of the hermeneutic sciences, and approximate the methods of the interpretative sciences like history. An example of this viewpoint is expressed in the following statement: "But for my part I venture the opinion that all of the infrahuman vertebrates in the world differ less from one another in psychological functioning and in complexity of organization, than one human being does from another" (Allport, 1962, p. 407).

Quine (1968) has argued that with the advent of linguistic idealism, the qualitative fact/value distinction between the natural and human sciences has disappeared. Facts are no longer seen as being in the world, but part of one's description of the world. Hence, as one's descriptions change, so too do one's facts, the truth being attached to a time designator and reality disappearing 'behind the veil of language'. Hence, the language one chooses or uses is not only descriptive (what is), but also prescriptive (what one should do).

Finally, a brief consideration needs to be given to the epistemological assumptions of each tradition. Within the nomothetic tradition, two fundamental tenets exist amongst the many different approaches within this tradition. The first is the conviction that all knowledge is capable of being expressed in terms which refer in an immediate way to some aspect of reality, that can be apprehended through the senses. Secondly, that the methods and logical structure of science as epitomized in classical physics can be applied to the study of social phenomena.

Ayer (1959) stated that:

... any meaningful statement that is not a tautology should either be capable, at least in principle, of being tested experimentally, or should be capable of being translated into statements which are themselves capable, at least in principle, of being tested experimentally.

(In Penny, 1979, p. 37)

Therefore, the belief that the 'acceptable' method of science is a process of induction starting from simple observation and gradually building up more general statements.

Physicists no longer set out, as Newton once did, to discover islands of truth in a vast sea of ignorance. They now concede that truth is no more than contingent, but underlying this view, is the assumption that an objective world does exist to be explored. In psychology, one would begin from reports of simple facts and arrive through induction at more general statements.

As with the nomothetic tradition, a variety of approaches can be found amongst researchers working within the idiographic tradition of the hermeneutic sciences. Nevertheless, the following fundamental tenets are generally agreed upon:

- a belief in the primacy of subjective consciousness;
- an understanding of consciousness as active, and as meaning-bestowing;
- that there are certain essential structures to consciousness of which we gain direct knowledge by an interpretive reflection.

The views about the primacy of subjective consciousness are based on a claim that 'consciousness of the world' involves and depends upon 'consciousness of the self'. Reality impinges upon consciousness in the constituting of the world, resisting subjective and random ascription of meaning. 'Constituting the world' is an act of giving and taking meaning. As Merleau-Ponty (1962) has suggested:

I am not the outcome or the meeting-point of numerous causal agencies which determine my bodily or psychological make up. I cannot conceive myself as nothing but a bit of the world, a mere object of biological, psychological or sociological investigation. I cannot shut myself up within the realm of science. All my knowledge of the world, even my scientific knowledge, is gained from my own particular point of view, or from some experience of the world without which the symbols of science would be meaningless. The whole universe of science is built upon the world as directly experienced, and if we want to subject science itself to rigorous scrutiny and arrive at a precise assessment of its meaning and scope, we must begin by reawakening the basic experience of the world of which science is the second-order expression. Science has not and never will have, by its nature, the same significance qua form of being as the world we perceive, for the simple reasons that it is a rationale or explanation of that world.

(Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. viii)

In summary, proponents of these two viewpoints need not conflict with one another on all issues, although they may arrive at the same

conclusion through different routes. Thus, one can believe that individuals are consistent in their behaviour because of the personality they have developed, or because of similarities in the situations they encounter. Finally, beyond scientific evidence and fact, theories of personality are influenced by personal factors, by the zeitgeist or spirit of the time, and by philosophical assumptions characteristic of members of a culture.

In conclusion a theory consists of a set of assumptions and concepts that ties together empirical findings and suggests new relationships that should hold true under certain defined conditions. Theories define areas of observation and methods of research. In doing so, they serve to focus attention but may also restrict observation. Theories are expected to answer questions concerning the structure (what), the processes of organism functioning (why), and the growth and development of these structures and processes (how). In evaluating theories, the researcher should be interested in the criteria of comprehensiveness, parsimony and research relevance.

Although it is tempting to believe that science is completely objective and free of personal bias, there is evidence that personal values and an element of arbitrariness enter into the theories of self-esteem and strategies of research.:

An apparently arbitrary element, compounded of personal and historical accident, is always a formative ingredient of the beliefs espoused by a given scientific community in a given time.

(Kuhn, 1970, p. 4)

Furthermore, such an element of arbitrariness may be particularly evident during the early developmental stage of a science and may help to understand the conflicting positions that arise in relation to significant issues.

In reviewing and summarizing the body of relevant literature available, and attempting to systemmatize and classify the major theories of the self, it should be noted that this chapter does not

concern itself with what self-esteem is or should be - this will be dealt with in chapter three - but what researchers writing about and applying it have said it is.

An investigation into a widely used and researched construct like self-esteem involves an encyclopaedic effort with the result that almost any finite attempt will fall short of the ideal. While this review is as finite as any, the review presented will be as broad as possible, and will order the theories into a classification system based upon chronological order as well as theoretical emphasis.

Any consideration of the conceptual and methodological issues in self-esteem research must begin with an understanding of the development and use of the construct in the discipline. This chapter therefore reviews the relevant background literature.

The concept self-esteem is a fairly recent idea in as much as psychology as currently defined is itself a recent phenomenon. It also seems apparent, however, that the idea of self must be as old as philosophy itself. Primitive men probably reflected upon their fears, desires and themselves. Philosophers have always been concerned with self-reflexive relations and obligations, although the word self was usually synonymous with the terms soul or person. Because the concern here is with self-esteem, as psychologists and sociologists have used the term, this review will be limited to what has been written in the last century.

2.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Early philosophers described this awakening awareness of the nonphysical, psychological self in terms of the spirit, psyche or soul. During the Middle Ages the concept of soul was further developed by theologians, who stressed its immortality and superiority to the body in which it developed.

In 1664, Descartes wrote his "Principles of Philosophy" in which he proposed that doubt was a principal tool of disciplined inquiry, yet one could not doubt that one doubted. He reasoned that if one doubted, he was thinking, and therefore he must exist. Thus, his dictum: "I think, therefore I am". Generally, however, during this period of philosophical inquiry, terms such as mind, soul, psyche and self were used interchangeably, with little regard for an invariant vocabulary or scientific experimentation.

2.2.1 William James

William James (1890) is generally identified as the earliest "self" psychologist, and his writings are still standard reference for developmental discussions of self-esteem. The notion of the self has proved to be rather slippery and difficult, so that James' early theorizing is still considered definitive.

William James was the first psychologist to elaborate upon the concept of the "self". James considered the total (global) self (or person) as simultaneously the I - Me dichotomy. These discriminated aspects of the same entity, a discrimination between the self as the knower and the self as that which is known, or the agents of experience (I - pure experience) and the contents of experience (Me) (James, 1890). This difference is quite apparent linguistically - humans have the characteristic of consciousness and this permits awareness of environmental elements, one of which is the self. However, this distinction poses difficulties at a psychological level since the self-reflexive act involved in identifying the Me, at the same time indissolubly links the knower and the known. Without both, the process of self-consciousness is logically impossible, each cannot exist without the other; the self is simultaneously Me and I.

The self as the object of experience has been especially difficult to deal with. It is impossible to imagine either consciousness in an abstract form without any content, or content existing apart from the consciousness that permits awareness of it. Experience involves experience of an object. Aware of this criticism, James noted that while language allows one to categorize in terms of knower and the known, they are only discriminated aspects of the singularity of experience, a global self which is no less than the person himself. James presented a model of a possible structure of the global self rather than reality itself.

For James, the self-as-known, or Me, is in the widest sense everything that a man can call his - the motion of appropriation and/or identity - James detected four components to this objective self which he classed in descending order of importance. These four are the spiritual self, the material self, the social self and the bodily self. The material and bodily selves referred to the person's body, his possessions, his family, and all material things with which he might feel a sense of unity (by possession, empathy). The social me referred to the recognition which the person received from other people. James located this sense of self in the minds of other people, and believed that a man has as many social selves as there were others who recognized him and combined an image of him in their mind.

The spiritual me referred to the states of consciousness (feelings and emotion) reflected on or perceived by the person himself. In order to understand the global self, James theorized that one must look at the constituents of me as well as at the feeling they arouse (self-appreciation) and the acts which they prompt (self-seeking and self-preservation). James suggested that people possess a basic self-seeking tendency which is tied to the need for self-preservation (for example: to seek favourable notice by others). To the extent that people experience successes, they experience heightened esteem, although James did not describe this as some kind of stable self-evaluation, but rather he likened it to a barometer which rose and fell from one day to the next.

For James, the self was an entirely conscious phenomenon, so that the evaluations a person places on himself are dependant upon his aspirations. A person has high self-esteem to the degree that his aspirations ("pretentions") and his achievements tend to converge. The function of the self-seeking drive in the face of failure is to promote renewed efforts at achievement, redefinition of the object of aspiration, and/or self-dissatisfaction. It does not lead to the use of perceptual distortion or denial that many later "personality" theorists postulated.

Within a complex society an individual can choose between several goals. One can set one's goals, each related to different components of the self, and evaluate one's success at them. Thus, James' "law" states that it all depends on what you see yourself as. It is the position a person wishes to hold in the world - contingent on his success or failure - that determines self-esteem. Though one wants to maximize all of one's various selves, limited talent and time prevent this so each individual has to choose particular selves on which to stake his salvation. Expectations are self-imposed and refer to one's personal levels of aspirations, for what is success for one can be failure for another.

The major difficulty with James' formulation is that it is assumed that being the best will automatically result in high self-esteem. However, there are some skills, values and occupations which Western society does not rate very highly.

2.2.2 Symbolic Interactionists

Symbolic interactionism involves three basic premises. First, humans respond to the environment on the basis of the meanings that elements of the environment have for them as individuals. Second, such meanings are a product of social interaction, and thirdly, these societal/cultural meanings are modified through individual interpretation within the ambit of this shared interaction. Self

and others form an inseparable unit since society, constructed out of the sum of the behaviours of the humans composing that society, places social limits on individual behaviour. There is thus a mutually dependent relationship existing between the self and society (Wells and Marwell, 1976).

Cooley (1902), the next major figure to deal with the idea of self, wrote from a more sociological perspective than James and confined himself to the aspect of the self that James had labelled the social me. Cooley's (1902) original view was that individuals are prior to society, but modified his beliefs and emphasized the continuity of the individual with society and suggested that it makes no sense to think of the self apart from the social milieu in which the individual is imbedded or the other persons with whom he interacts ... "self and society are twin born... and the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion" (Cooley, 1902, p. 5). Individual acts and social pressures modify each other. A further shift in emphasis was initiated when Mead (1934) postulated that the self actually arises from social conditions.

A major perspective of self-esteem 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 shown experimentally to be very similar (Burns, 1975). Cooley (1902) pointed out the importance of subjectively interpreted feedback from others as the main source of data about the self. Cooley's (1902) notion of the "looking-glass self" postulates that an individual's conception of himself is determined by perception of other peoples' reactions to him. The looking-glass reflects the imagined evaluations of others about oneself. According to Cooley,

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.

(1902, pp. 151-152)

For the acquisition and experience of the self, Cooley postulated the concept of appropriation. The self comes to include that which through the course of interaction is identified with or possessed by the person. This looking-glass self arises out of symbolic interaction between an individual and his various primary groups. Through this process individuals come to view aspects of themselves as objects of their own cognitions and actions. This interaction thus produces an integration of individuality and the group or society.

Cooley never rigorously defined the concept of the self and stated that ...

a formal definition of self-feeling, or indeed of any sort of feeling, must be as hollow as a formal definition of the taste of salt, or the colour red; we can expect to know what it is only by experiencing it. There can be no final test of the self except the way we feel; it is that toward which we have the "my" attitude. (1902, p. 40)

Following James and Cooley, Mead (1934) accomplished what is generally considered to be the most cogent and systematic statement of the development of the self. Mead, like James, saw the essence of the self in the I - Me distinction - the process by which the person became an object to himself. Following Cooley, Mead also saw the self as a social phenomenon - a product of interactions in which the person experienced himself as reflected in the behaviour of the other.

Mead wrote:

The self, as that which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure, and it arises in social experience ... it is impossible to conceive of a self arising outside of social experience. (1934, p. 140)

These theories Mead integrated into a systematic account of the development of the self.

Mead identified "human" behaviour with the appearance of the self. Human behaviour is self-conscious, and is made possible by the individual's ability to take the role of another and to see himself as an object. This process is only possible through the use of significant symbols. Thus through the learning of a culture (an elaborate set of symbols shared by members of society) man is able to predict other men's behaviour as well as the predictions other men make of one's own behaviour. Not only are objects, actions and characteristics defined (given a shared meaning and value), but the individual is also defined. The definition of oneself as a specific role-player in a given relationship was accomplished by recognizing and sharing the meanings and values others have of you. This Mead called the "Me" - that is, it represented the incorporated "other" within the individual.

Mead's "I" was the perception of oneself as reflected by the shared meanings and values of "others". The incorporated attitudes (meanings and values) of others constituted the organized "me", the way one perceives the "me" constitutes the "I", and both combined constitute the nature of the self.

Mead's "I - Me" dichotomy differed from James' in that the "I" was seen by Mead to be impulsive, unorganized, undisciplined (similar to Freud's Id). Behaviour thus begins as an "I", develops, and ends as a "Me" as it comes under the influence of societal constraints. "I" provides the impetus, "Me" provides the control.

An important constitution of Mead's explication is the description of language as an essential part of the development and operation of the self - as a symbol-using or symbol-dependant process. The symbolic nature of self as a phenomenal reflexive object underlies all existing self-esteem measures or manipulations. Mead's notion of the "generalized other" is 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 groups of others - real or inferred - which corresponds to society's representation within the individual. Thus a young child may play (in the sense of taking the role of significant others) but until he grasps the rules which make a game a game - until he can govern his conduct in the height of the "referee's perspective" (the generalized other) - the child is only playing and is not part of the game of life. A child's play involves learning the general pattern of social relations in society. Thereby, a fundamental communality of attitudes is ensured without suppressing the possibility of uniqueness in individuals. Social sanctions, demands, rationales and models are gradually translated into personal values, and included into the self.

In this way the individual comes to respond to himself and to develop self-attitudes consistent with those expressed by others in his world. He values himself as they value him, he demeans himself to the extent that they reject, ignore or demean him.

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.

Thus one can account for a more global, cross-situational sense of self rather than just an atomistic collection of situational selves. It therefore becomes possible to refer to a person's global self-esteem.

Mead's theoretical formulation that the self can be thought of as a collection of reflexive attitudes which emerge in a given social context is relevant to the description of self-esteem for two reasons. First, the idea that multiple selves and a global self are complementary rather than contradictory phenomena. Secondly, considering self-esteem as an aspect of self-attitudes in general. Attitudes generally have three components - affective, cognitive (evaluative) and behavioural (Penrod, 1983). Thus, if the self is

thought of as a set of reflexive attitudes, self-esteem can be described as the evaluative component of each of these attitudes, or as the global evaluation.

According to Angyal (1951), the individual's adjustment to his environment influenced his evaluation of himself and thus his self-concept. The individual could react in two ways to the tensions which arose between him and his environment, namely self-determination and self-surrender. Self-determination was based upon feelings of self-confidence, while self-surrender was based upon feelings of incompetence, doubt and weakness.

In a similar way Rainy (1948) too emphasized the role of the individual's adjustment to his environment. The way an individual evaluates his self-concept determines his behaviour.

Lecky (1945) considered the self-concept to be the nucleus of personality and saw the motivating force behind human behaviour as being the need to maintain a consistency of values. New experiences would thus be assimilated, rejected or modified by the self system which was continually striving for unification or consistency.

Gergen (1971) stated that reflected appraisals were merely a part of the development of a person's self-concept. Thus, while he accepted the "looking-glass" theory in part, he also emphasized role-playing as part of the development process of the self-concept.

2.2.3 Psychoanalytic Theories

Another early trend having an effect on self-theory was the work of psychoanalytic theorists, beginning with Freud. Writing about the same time as James and Cooley, Freud was initially concerned with ego rather than self, and while there were commonalities between the two constructs, they were also quite different. In psychoanalytic

theory, self was generally described as the more inclusive construct, with the ego, id, and the superego being component parts. The self was sometimes treated as the integration of various parts of the personality (as in Jung), but at other times as a synonym for the person or personality in general. Thus, the ego was a largely conscious phenomenon, while the self included both conscious and unconscious aspects.

Within psychoanalytic theory, Freud (1949) posited three aspects of personal development, the id (instinctual drives), the ego (the adaptive part of the mind which brings it into conformity with external reality) and the superego (which represents the demands of parents and society), guiding the ego along a "moral" path. The self was generally described as the more inclusive construct, with the ego, the id and the superego being component parts. The self was treated as the integration of various aspects of the personality by Jung, but at other times as a synonym for the person or personality in general. In this way, the ego was largely a conscious phenomenon, while the self included both conscious and unconscious aspects. Like many descriptions of the self, the ego was directed towards realistic adaptation to the world. At times it seemed to correspond to the self-as-known or self-as-actor as used by James.

According to Freud, the superego compares the ego's actions with an ego-idea of perfection and then rewards or punishes the ego. This represented the social aspect from which self-judgement was made, but they did not constitute what has been called the "social self". Freud did not deal with reflected evaluations such as self-esteem, but with powerful emotions like self-hate and self-condemnation. He described the process of self-evaluation not as a result of repeated reinforcements, or as a history of successes and failures, but as a result of identification with the ego-ideal. Thus if the superego is too harsh in its judgements of the ego, an individual may repress his emotions and be overcome by guilt and fail to fulfill his potentialities. As pointed out by Freud, freedom is knowledge. The

more perfect a person's knowledge of himself, the more likely it is that he will operate rationally. And, while reason often seems to be submerged by an ocean of passion, as Freud once stated:

the voice of the intellect is a soft one, but it does not rest until it has gained a hearing.

(Freud, 1927, xxxi, p.53)

Unlike Freud; Adler, Horney, Fromm and Sullivan dealt more directly with self-conception and self-esteem. The self as a reflexive structure was given a much more explicit and dynamic meaning. Rejecting the idea of the libido as the energizing force behind all behaviour, the "Neo-Freudians" assigned the prime causal role to the self as a mediator between basic drives and the hard edges of social reality.

Adler (1927) posited a universal tendency toward an inferiority feeling, apparently an innate self-drive, with the result that the driving motivation and goal of the individual was striving for superiority (Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 1956). Adler still emphasized the biological in his notion of "organ inferiority" - physical characteristics or defects as the cause of striving, however, it was not the defect that caused the striving, but rather the person's perception of that defect. As a reflexive process, this was very similar to the idea of self-esteem.

It is important to note Adler's comments regarding the safe-guarding of self-esteem which he saw as an essential character trait of neurosis, and which was evoked by the oversensitivity of the neurotic and his fear of disparagement and disgrace.

Adler stated:

The safeguarding tendency which originates in the feeling of insecurity forces us all especially the child and the neurotic, to leave the more obvious ways of induction and deduction and to use such devices as the schematic fiction. Through the safeguarding tendency the individual aims at getting rid of the feeling of inferiority in order to raise himself to the full height of the self-esteem, toward complete manliness, toward the idea of being alive.

(Adler, in Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 1956. pp. 109-110)

Thus Adler, who developed divergent strands from Freudian theory, held that a therapist's function is to help individuals through to a position where they could recognize their true goals, and realise self-fulfillment. Adler advocated therapists to study an individual's "style of life", to show how far an individual's striving is realistic and useful and how far it is the pursuit of what is fake and useless.

Horney (1950) saw the process of growth as being one of fulfilling the potentialities of the self which are present at birth, a process she called self-realization. The primary causal mechanism was basic anxiety resulting from the experiences of the helpless child in a potentially hostile world. The pressure of the child's basic anxiety prevents him from relating spontaneously to others. However, this anxiety did not result in a striving for superiority, but in a need for security, for which self-esteem was an important concept.

A basic assumption in Horney's (1950) theory was the wish of the individual to value himself and to be valued by others. This resulted in the possibilities of self-esteem or self-alienation. She distinguished among a number of aspects of the self or of types of selves. The potential qualities inherent in the person were referred to as the "real self", as differentiated from the person's actual qualities, or "actual self". She used the term "idealized self" to refer to a fantasy self created by neurotic adjustment, as differentiated from the self ideal which served to guide the normal person's actions. Self-alienation involved the growth of a discrepancy between the real self and the actual self.

It was Horney (1939) who distinguished between narcissism and self-esteem. A person who develops a grandiose view of himself, is not a person with excessively high self-esteem but rather someone who, through defensive manoeuvring is attempting to ward off his self-depreciating feelings and desperately seeks to present himself and others an unrealistically high self-appraisal. Thus, there are

important differences between the narcissistic person and the person with high self-esteem. As an individual's level of distress (or basic anxiety) increases, the firmer does his hold become upon his pretensions. Horney likened this clinging to a drowning man clutching at a straw. Silber and Tippet (1965) for example in a similar vein found it important to recognize qualitative distinctions between defensively maintained levels of self-esteem and self-esteem that grows out of a more integrated harmony between a realistic self-image viewed in the context of a realistic ideal self-image.

Fromm (1939) emphasized the close relationship between a person's regard for himself and the way he is able to deal with other persons. His association with the concept of self-esteem is familiar as the idea of self-love; a basic notion of Fromm's theory was that self-love is a prerequisite to love others.

Fromm (1947) developed Adler's superiority theme by stating that man's potency resides in his ability to productively utilize his powers, if man is impotent, his relationship with the world will be perverted into a need to dominate. This is a description of Adler's term of a fake goal of superiority, arising from a sense of inadequacy, uncontrolled by any social interest.

Sullivan (1953) specified the self processes explicitly and resembles the symbolic interactionist approach in his writing. He conceived of the self as being wholly interpersonal, and emphasized the function of symbolization in its development. According to Sullivan, the self develops out of experience by means of reflected appraisals and is entirely a learned phenomenon. Thus, the way in which an individual is treated by others will influence his view of himself. He posited no innate self-drives or potential selves. The "self-system" is characterized as a dynamism -

a relatively enduring pattern of energy transformations which recurrently characterize the organism in its duration as a living organism.

(Sullivan, 1953, p. 103)

Sullivan traced the development of this system to childhood. He saw the origin of self-personification in the tripartite division of the child's experiences into "good-me", "bad me" and "not me". This division arose as a result of need-satisfaction or anxiety-production by the parent when the child performed an act which pleased or displeased. Thus the child operates according to "security operations", a term Sullivan adopted from Adler. From this process, the self-system developed as

an organization of educative experience called into being by necessity to avoid or to minimize incidents of anxiety.

(Sullivan, 1953, p. 165)

and is a process of self-evaluation which constitutes self-esteem. All these Neo-Freudian theories included the unconscious, preconscious, and conscious processes within the self. These can be contrasted with more phenomenological theories (such as Mead's) which have no place (or need) for such processes.

2.2.4 Ego Psychology

Apart from the psychoanalysts and the early interactionists, little work was done on self-constructs until the late 1930s and early 1940s. There were a few personality and clinical theorists who were not psychoanalysts but whose writings carried many of the trappings and concerns of psychoanalytic perspectives - especially concern for the ego's place in psychology. Of these, Allport and Symonds' ideas have been widely used in later theories.

Allport (1955) developed a synthesis of the ego and self-constructs which he termed the "proprium". Akin to Cooley's description of the relation between the self and the process of appropriation. Allport defined the proprium as:

all the regions of our life that we regard as peculiarly ours including all aspects of personality that make for inward unity.

(Allport, 1955, p. 40)

One of the important properties of the proprium was that of ego-enhancement (propriate striving), which was the basic motivation in his dynamic process of personality. The self-enhancement motive is built into the individual. The proprium was not only tied to the need for survival and reality - mediating, but also to a process of continual growth - of "becoming" rather than of "being". Self-evaluation, rather than being a notion of passive assessment, acted to produce further attempts at enhancement and evaluation. According to Allport,

here seems to be the central characteristic of propriate striving: its goals are, strictly speaking, unattainable. Propriate striving confers unity upon personality, but it is never the unity of fulfillment, of repose, or of reduced tension.

(Allport, 1955, p. 67)

There appear to be similarities between Adler's "life-style" and Allport's "proprium" (Shulman, 1965). The convictions developed by the individual include his perception of himself in relationship to his perception of the world. The life-style includes the aspirations, goals and conditions necessary for the individual's "security". Mosak (1954) divided life-style convictions into four groups:

1. The self-concept - the convictions I have about who I am.
2. The self-ideal - the convictions of what I should be or am obliged to be in order to have a place.
3. The "weltbild" or "picture of the world" - convictions about the not-self and what the world demands of me.
4. The ethical convictions - the personal "right-wrong" code.

When there is a discrepancy between self and ideal - self convictions, and the convictions are paramount to one's existence, inferiority feelings ensue (Allport, 1960).

Symonds (1951) attempted to distinguish between the self and the ego. Symonds' description of the ego corresponded with the "I" or self-as-actor of William James.. The self generally represented the reflexive aspect of behaviour, although it tended towards a conceptual sponge which included extended aspects of the ego. Symonds explicitly dealt with self-esteem as a kind of self-feeling and described the development of self-esteem in terms of both need satisfaction and the experience of success. Thus, there were two expressions of self-esteem, self-love and self-respect - each resulting from different forms of positive experiences - affiliation and task success respectively.

2.2.5 Phenomenological Approaches to the Self

Both Symonds' and Allport's work represented almost purely theoretical efforts and are perhaps the most prominent examples of what was earlier known as "ego psychology". Alternative personality theories were also based upon clinical observation, the research of Maslow, Rogers, and Jourard perhaps being the most notable, especially with respect to self-esteem theory.

Phenomenologists, or "self theorists" have made the most significant contributions to the study of the self. Phenomenologists stress subjective perception and propose that the individual reacts to the world in terms of his unique perception of it. Hence, perception is the most important variable determining behaviour and in most cases determines whether or not an individual makes significant or routine contributions to his society. Phenomenologists state that how one views oneself determines how one responds to the demands of the environment, regardless of how transformed or unconsciously distorted an individual's perceptions may be, it is his unique way of perceiving events which determines his behaviour. Phenomenologists argue that concepts and propositions must be formulated, not in terms of objective realities or unconscious processes, but instead according to how events are consciously

perceived by the individual. Phenomenologists assume that an individual's verbal statements accurately reflect his phenomenal reality. That is, one's verbal reports reveal the most basic and essential influences on his behaviour.

Phenomenologists attempt to observe behaviour from the viewpoint of the individual, and assume that individuals behave according to reality as they themselves see it. An individual's behaviour, therefore, may be considered to be irrelevant and irrational to the outsider, but, to the behaving individual, the behaviour is relevant, purposeful, and pertinent to the situation as the individual understands it. The individual then, reacts to reality as it is seen by him and represented in his perceptual field.

Snygg and Combs (1959) define the perceptual field as follows:

We shall use the concept (perceptual field) to refer to that more or less fluid organization of meanings existing for every individual at any instance. We call it the perceptual or phenomenal field. By the perceptual field, we mean the entire universe, including himself, as it is experienced by the individual at the instant of action. It is each individual's personal and unique field of awareness, the field of perception responsible for his every behaviour. (p. 20)

Everything is comprehended from the personal self-referent vantage point, as Snygg and Combs commented:

The self is the individual's basic frame of reference, the central core, around which the remainder of the perceptual field is organized. In this sense, the phenomenal self is both product of the individual's experience and producer of whatever new experience he is capable of. (1959, p. 146)

May expressed it this way:

We cannot ... stand outside our own skin and perch on some Archimedes point, and have a way of surveying experience that does not itself depend upon the assumptions that one makes about the nature of man, or the nature of whatever one is studying. (1961, p. 290)

Purkey (1970) summed up this viewpoint by stating:

Things are significant or insignificant, important or unimportant, attractive or unattractive, valuable or worthless, in terms of their relationship to oneself. We evaluate the world and its meaning in terms of how we see ourselves. Many students do poorly in school simply because what the school is doing seems irrelevant to himself and his world.

(Purkey, 1970, p. 10)

Battle (1982) adopted the same thesis as Snygg and Combs in assuming that perception is the major determinant of behaviour. Subjective perception, not objective reality, determines the individual's characteristic reactions and behaviours. Battle gives the following illustrations of this thesis, and the consequences that the person's perception has on himself and society:

Take for example, the case of the individual whose perceptions are distorted to the degree that they are grossly incongruent with reality. Regardless of how incongruent his perceptions are with objective reality, nevertheless, they will in every instance determine his behaviour. The capable person who demeans himself is as counterproductive, and his behaviour is as self-defeating, as that of the noncapable or poorly equipped person who demeans himself ... the perceived reality of a paranoid schizophrenic may be that he is "Jesus Christ" who can walk on water. Attempting to walk on water on the high seas probably isn't the most appropriate behaviour for the person: Likewise, if a person considers himself to be "God" (e.g. Reverend James Jones, notorious for the People's Temple disaster in Guyana), and convinces his followers that they should commit suicide, this form of behaviour is obviously self-defeating and counterproductive for the individuals involved and society in general. Also, if a person perceives that he and his group are racially superior (e.g. Adolph Hitler), and as a result should persecute or dominate others, this is detrimental to the world community.

(Battle, 1982, pp. 14-15)

Thus, phenomenologists hold that "reality" does not reside within an event, but rather in the phenomenon, that is, the individual's experience of the event. The perceptual field is the universe of

naive experience of the individual, the daily interactions of the self and its environment, which each individual perceives as reality. The perceptual field is the only reality one can know. Finally, the illustration used by Battle (1982) indicates that although reality is a subjectively perceived experience, perceived reality does not necessarily determine what is appropriate for the individual or society.

Snygg and Combs (1959) have theoretically delineated three characteristics of the phenomenal field.

1. The perceptual field is continually changing, and this fluidity makes change in behaviour possible. It permits the individual to adjust to or accommodate environmental demands, enabling him to gratify specific needs. This capacity for change enhances the processes of learning, reasoning, remembering, forgetting and creativity.
2. The perceptual field within its fluidity maintains a degree of organization and stability. Without this stability, an individual would have difficulty adjusting to the demands of the environment, and his life would become confused and disorientated. Stability leads to order and structure, and effective living.
3. The perceptual fields of different individuals differ when exposed to the same stimuli, and the perceptual field of a given individual tends to change when exposed to successive presentations of the same stimuli. Despite this changeability, the individual maintains direction. The individual always perceives a total - gestalt or configuration - never mere masses of isolated, unrelated stimuli.

While Snygg and Combs viewpoints are not embedded in quantitative data, and are thus scientifically limited, the position that perception is a major determinant of behaviour has a great deal of validity.

Rogers, a leading proponent of the school of phenomenology, also stresses the importance of the perceptual field, and postulated that every individual is the centre of his changing world of experiences. Experience must be viewed in terms of its relevance to the individual.

While examining Rogers' position on the structure of personality, we should keep in mind his conception of reality. Reality is what is perceived as reality by the individual. It makes little difference what actually happens in an event; what is important is the individual's perception of the experience. In this view, the person chooses a response to the event based on his or her perception of it, not the actual event. Hence, we are not reactive beings, but we respond to situational events by an active thought process. We are not passive in the situation, but active agents.

(Hansen, 1977, p. 117)

Rogers (1959) states that as the individual matures, a portion of his experience is differentiated into a conscious perception of self-as-object, which he calls the self-concept, and thus influences the perceptions, thoughts and memories of the individual. Rogers regarded the self as that part of the personality which consisted of perceptions of the "I" and "Me" and which developed as a result of the individual's interaction with his environment.

Rogers (1959) presented the following postulates intended to delineate his theory of personality:

1. Characteristics of the Developing Infant

- (a) The world of the infant is the world of his own experiencing. His experiencing is his reality. Therefore he has greater potential awareness of what reality is for him than does anyone else, since only he can assume completely his internal frame of reference.

- (b) Within the world of his organism, the infant has one basic motivational force; the tendency toward self-actualization. This may be defined as the total utilization of all one's potentialities in order to enhance the organism .
- (c) The infant has the inherent ability to value positively experiences which he perceives as enhancing his organism, and to value negatively those experiences which appear contrary to his actualizing tendency.
- (d) This, his "organismic valuing process" serves to direct his behaviour toward the goal of his own self-actualization.

2. The Development of Self

The growing infant begins to discriminate among his experiences and to own those which are part of his being and functioning, and to assign ownership of other experiences to other persons and objects in his environment. As his awareness of his own being and functioning develops, he acquires a sense of self made up of experiences of his own being and functioning within his environment. This is his developing self-concept.

3. The Need for Postive Regard

The individual's perceptions of his experiences is influenced by his need for positive regard, a universal need which is both persistent and pervasive. This need can only be satisfied by others. It is reciprocal, in that when an individual discriminates himself as satisfying another's need for positive regard, he necessarily experiences satisfaction for his own need for positive regard.

4. The Development of the Need for Self-Regard

Out of the complex of experiences of frustration or satisfaction of this need for positive regard, the individual develops a sense of self-regard, a learned sense of self based on his perception of the regard he has received from others. This sense of self-regard he has received from others becomes a pervasive construct influencing the behaviour of the whole organism, and has a life of its own, independent of actual experiences of regard from others. Thus, he becomes, in a sense, his own significant social other. Rogers explains that this develops by the individual introjecting conditions of worth.

5. The Development of Conditions of Worth

The self-structure is characterized by a condition of worth when a self-experience is either avoided or sought solely because the individual discriminates it as being less or more worthy of self-regard. His experience of self-worth comes to depend on the conditions of worth which he has learned in his interaction with significant others in his world. A conflict then develops between organismic needs and self-regard needs, now containing conditions of worth. The individual must choose between acting in accord with the organismic urgings or censoring them and acting in accord with the learned conditions of worth. At these decision levels, the individual may come to believe that his organismic urges are "bad" and contrary to the need to be "good" or self-actualization.

Roger says:

Estrangement of conscious man from his directional organismic processes is not a necessary part of man's nature. Instead, it is learned, and learned to an especially high degree in Western civilization. The satisfaction of fulfillment of the actualizing tendency has become bifurcated into incompatible behavior systems. This dissociation which exists in most of us is the pattern and basis of all psychological pathology in man.

(Rogers, 1963, p. 24)

6. The Development of Incongruence between Self and Experience

Because of the need for self-regard, the individual perceives his experiences selectively, in terms of conditions of worth which have come to exist for him.

Experiences which are in accord with his conditions of worth are perceived and symbolized accurately in awareness. Experiences which run contrary to the conditions of worth are perceived selectively and ... distortedly as if in accord with the conditions of worth, or are in part or whole, denied to awareness.

(Rogers, 1959, p. 226)

Consequently, some experiences now occur in the organism which are not recognized as self-experiences, are not accurately symbolized, and are not organized into the self structure in accurately symbolized form. Thus, from the time the individual first starts to selectively perceive in terms of conditions of worth, the states of incongruence between self and experience of psychological maladjustment, and of vulnerability, exist to some degree.

7. The Development of Discrepancies in Behaviour

As a consequence of the incongruence between self and experience, a similar incongruence arises in the behaviour of the individual. Behaviour which is consistent with the self-concept, maintains, acknowledges and enhances it, and is accurately symbolized in awareness. Some behaviour, however, maintains aspects of the experience of the organism which are not assimilated into the self-structure. These experiences are either unrecognized as self-experiences, or are perceived in a distorted and selective fashion in such a way as to be congruent with the self. The person therefore, becomes highly motivated to reduce this tension and attempts to eradicate it - either by distorting perception or by employing defensive manoeuvres which prevent the experience from emerging into awareness.

8. The Experience of Threat and the Process of Defense

As the organism continues to experience, an experience which is incongruent with the self-structure is perceived as threatening.

The essential nature of the threat, is that, if the experience were accurately symbolized in awareness, the self-concept would no longer be a consistent gestalt, the conditions of worth would be isolated, and the need for self-regard would be frustrated; a state of anxiety would exist.

The employment of defenses (unconscious processes which defend against anxiety) is the most common method used by individuals in their attempts to rid themselves of anxiety. This process consists of the selective perceptions or distortions of the experience and/or the denial to awareness of the experience or some portion thereof, thus keeping the total perception of the experience consistent with the individual self-structure and conditions of worth.

Some consequences of these defense mechanisms are a rigidity of perception, an inaccurate perception of reality (due to distortion and omission of data), and intensionability. Intensionability results in the individual perceiving experience in absolute and unconditional terms, to overgeneralize, to be dominated by concept or belief, to fail to anchor his reactions in space and time, to confuse fact and evaluation, and to rely upon abstraction rather than upon reality testing.

Rogers views the uses of defenses as being the basic dilemma of the human species, which is also the essential factor of self-estrangement - manifested by the "man who is not true to himself". The individual experiencing self-estrangement refuses to display his own natural valuing ability, and insists on presenting the positive regard of others to such an extent that he is compelled to falsify some of the values he experiences, and to perceive them only in ways that reflect their value for others.

Maslow (1954), another phenomenologist, centered his work in the area of self-esteem and self-concept around the notion of self-actualization. Goldstein (1939) first stressed the term self-actualization, which he saw as the individual's exclusive motivational force. Unlike Goldstein, Maslow suggested a multitude of needs or drives which could be arranged hierarchically into five groups from the most basic to the highest:

- 1) physiological needs
- 2) safety or security needs
- 3) needs for love and belonging
- 4) esteem needs
- 5) self-actualization needs

Because the basic needs take priority, and have to be filled before higher needs become salient, the establishment of self-esteem becomes a precondition of self-actualization.

In similar vein, Kaplan (1959) proposed a classification of needs, which like Maslow, saw the fulfillment thereof as a prerequisite for the enhancement of the self and emotional stability. Kaplan suggested that there were three groups of psychological needs:

- 1) The need for interpersonal satisfaction is based upon the giving and receiving of love.
- 2) The need for group status is based upon the needs of belonging, acceptance, esteem and social recognition.
- 3) The need for self-development is based upon independence, achievements, adequacy, self-respect and personal recognition.

Jourard (1963) related self-feeling to the process of identification with an ego-ideal. A person's self-structure influences his experiencing and his behaviour. The self-structure is a set of beliefs, attitudes, and ideals constructed by a person in reference to his behaviour and experience. If the individual has a strong ego, his self-structure will be fairly congruent with his real self. The real self is defined as the process or flow of spontaneous inner experience. When the self-structure is not

congruent with the real self, the individual is said to self-alienated, showing symptoms of being driven by pride, conscience, external authority, the wishes of others, or by his impulses. The healthy personality is not self-alienated, but rather displays responsible real-self-direction of his conduct. Real-self-being is manifested by authentic self-disclosure to others.

The self-structure comprises the self-concept - the individual's beliefs about his own personality; the self-ideal - his views concerning how he ought to be; and various public selves - his preferred modes for presenting himself to others. The person's self-concept and the self-ideal are partly shaped by the beliefs and expectations held by significant others with respect to the person.

Self-esteem, the sense of identity, and a sense of secure acceptance by others are fostered by behaviour that conforms with the self-concept. Persons will strive to confine their behaviour to limits set by the various components of their self-structure.

Unhealthy self-structures are characterized by inaccurate self-concepts, unduly high self-ideals, inaccurate public selves, and conflict among the components of self-structure. A healthier self-structure is fostered whenever the individual behaves in ways more consonant with his real self. A healthy self-structure is one in which the components are congruent with one another and with the real self. Chronic self-consciousness is an indicator of an unhealthy self-structure, as is a chronic sense of threat.

A concept worthy of mention in Jourard's treatise was "cathexis" - the investment of affect in some object or person - particularly the process of "self-cathexis" which Jourard equated with general self esteem. Jourard like Rogers suggested that congruences between the real-self and the ideal-self were associated with self-cathexis. Second and Jourard's (1953) process of body-cathexis which dealt with the feelings a person has about his own body, was an innovative contribution to the literature on self-esteem, and corresponds with Adler's notion of organ inferiority.

2.2.6 Self-Esteem Theories

Having reviewed the major historical theorists who formulated personality theories relevant to the self-esteem construct, the present investigator will examine a further tradition of self-esteem closer to the "commonsense view" of the self (Zelditch, 1974). These theories see the self - whether or not social in origin - as a trait of individual personality. The self functions to produce a consistent style of thinking and feeling which informs action in consistent ways in a variety of social situations.

Zelditch (1974) argues that the writings of Rosenberg (1965) and Coopersmith (1967) on the self-esteem reflect this commonsense view in seeing self-esteem as an enduring personality trait. Their work represents an explicit attempt to develop theories of self-esteem based upon empirical studies of self-esteem and its correlates. The works of Rosenberg and Coopersmith have considerable substantive overlap, and could be viewed as representing a unified theoretical perspective.

Coopersmith's work represents a clearly defined attempt to measure self-esteem in context, the two major contexts of apparent relevance being the home and the school.

It is from a person's actions and relative position within (his) frame of reference that he comes to believe that he is a success or failure - since all capabilities and performances are viewed from such a personal context we must know for example, conditions and standards within a given classroom, groups of professionals, or a family before making any conclusion about any individual's feelings of worthiness.

(Coopersmith, 1967, p. 20)

Put thus, Coopersmith's position resembles that of Mead's, who conceptualized the self as arising out of social experience. He stresses that evaluation of the self by reference to significant others is a relatively enduring process. In developmental terms, a

child internalizes a view of himself from his parents (or the most influential parent) which is relatively enduring. His experiences in school too may give him a view of himself (as intelligent) which is both self-confirming (a child who thinks he is stupid will behave as if he is stupid, and confirms the perhaps stereotyped or biased views of teachers, who then reinforce the child in his feelings of stupidity) and enduring (having been confirmed as stupid by one teacher, the child takes his feelings about his ability as a scholar into subsequent classrooms, and even into the occupational sphere).

Thus Coopersmith - who defined Self-esteem as a "personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself" (1967, p. 5) - classified the observation of self-esteem into two parts, subjective expression (the individual's self-perception and self-description) and behavioural expression (behavioural manifestations of the individual's self-esteem which are available to outside observers). Description of a person's self-esteem involves a composite index, reflecting both these aspects of self-evaluative behaviour. Thus, Coopersmith attempts to deal with both 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). This closely resembles the writings of Horney (1950) and Silber and Tippet (1965). Coopersmith's definition of self-esteem as falling within the general category of attitude studies raises three major difficulties.

The first issue raised by Coopersmith (1967) is the question whether the methods employed to measure esteem provide a valid index of the person's confidence and self-appraisal.

Individuals may attempt to present a confident and assured facade, but the investigator must decide whether the expression is spurious or genuine. Spurious self-evaluations may express conscious or unconscious distortions from the 'true' evaluation. In the first case the individual is aware of the low regard he has for himself and tries to conceal it from others; in the second he is largely unaware of his poor evaluation of himself and attempts to conceal his negative appraisal from himself and others. In either case there is likely to be some external evidence to suggest that the self-evaluation is suspect; the rigorous investigator may even have a blanket suspicion that all evaluations that have not been verified are open to question. Where self-evaluations have been questioned, such terms as spurious and defensive have been applied to the presumable insecure or distorted evaluations.

(Coopersmith, 1967, p. 25)

A second difficulty is the value orientations and preferences that are often applied to self-esteem. Positive self-esteem has been associated with other terms such as self-respect, superiority, pride, self-acceptance and self-love (narcissism). Low self-esteem has been associated with inferiority, timidity, self-hatred, lack of personal acceptance, and submissiveness. Each of these various usages carries connotations of the others, and the terms are often used differently and interchangeably by different authors (Wylie, 1961).

A third issue is the theoretical context within which self-esteem may be considered. Coopersmith concludes that there is no single theoretical context in which self-esteem can be considered without accepting a number of vague and often unrelated assumptions. He believes that it is necessary to develop a context from more specific, topical treatments and to integrate these and other concepts into a coherent and testable theory.

Wells and Marwell (1976) point out that Coopersmith's definition of self-esteem describes a phenomenon that is a property of the individual's phenomenal or cognitive field - an attitude about self. Thus to say that behavioural expression of a phenomenological

process indicated genuineness of that process assumes however, not only that observers have reliable access to the individual's cognitive field, but have more reliable access than is provided by the person's self-description.

Coopersmith focuses on the processual characteristics by which various social phenomena become personally relevant to the self-evaluation process. Four groups of variables are postulated as determinants of self-esteem: successes, values, aspirations and defenses.

The process of self-judgement derives from a subjective judgement of success, with that appraisal weighted according to the value placed upon different areas of capacity 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.

(Coopersmith, 1967, p. 242)

For Coopersmith, self-esteem is a multidimensional phenomenon, involving self-evaluation, defensive reactions, and various manifestations of these processes. He did not coordinate his self-esteem treatment with a larger more comprehensive theory. Coopersmith's findings are largely based upon a single study of 85 white, middle-class pre-high school children and was characterized by several methodological problems. The main problem was his restricted, nonrandom sample selected from a larger population on the basis of their self-esteem scores. However, Coopersmith made significant contributions in his descriptions of parent-child relationships and the development of self-esteem. This will be dealt with in detail in the section on Self-Esteem Development.

Rosenberg (1965) concentrated 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 adolescent - particularly characteristics of the family - and then to relate self-esteem to subsequent social behaviours. Like Coopersmith, his approach is essentially

attitudinal, where attitude is used as a pivotal concept to which the antecedent, consequent, and structural aspects of both social and personal behaviour can be related via the concept of reference groups. Viewing self-esteem as an evaluative attitude, Rosenberg's viewpoint is that people have attitudes about all sorts of objects, the self being just one. He does acknowledge however, that there are probable quantitative differences between self-attitudes and attitudes about other things.

Rosenberg while dealing with attitudes and ability - specific evaluations, was really concerned with the self-image as a global property of the personality. According to Rosenberg, all self-attitudes have an evaluative dimension which produces a "self-estimation" of the attitude object - how the person gauges himself with regard to a specific characteristic. All self-estimates are not equally important, but vary according to the self-value of the attitude. With each self-estimate weighed by its corresponding self-value, the overall self-esteem of the individual represents some kind of psychological summation of these specific weighted evaluations. Thus, Rosenberg deals with self-esteem as a fairly unidimensional phenomenon - a unitary variable.

Rosenberg's (1965) research suggests that people with low self-esteem (whom he terms 'egophobes') exhibit more neurotic tendencies, have lower aspirations and expectations for success than individuals with high self-esteem ('egophiles'). He explains these tendencies by citing 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 (within family and peer relationships). In the chapter on self esteem among Blacks, it will be elucidated that black children in integrated schools have lower average self-esteem than black children in all-black segregated schools. This may be explained in terms of the availability of supportive reference groups.

While Ziller's (1969) writings also represent an explicit attempt to develop a theory of self-esteem based upon empirical studies of self-esteem, it represents a fairly radical departure from almost all other self-esteem studies. Ziller (1969) viewed self-esteem as a "self-social construct", and his theory represents a departure from those of Rosenberg and Coopersmith. He conceived of self-esteem in terms of a field theory of personality and stated that self-evaluation occurs within a social frame of reference. Ziller described self-esteem as a component of the person's self-esteem which acts as a mediator or buffer zone between the self and the real world outside the senses. When the person's social environment changes, self-esteem determines the resulting changes in self-evaluation. Self-esteem is linked to the concept of personality integration relative to the person's ability to react to a variety of incoming stimuli. According to Ziller,

Persons with low self-esteem ... do not possess a well-developed conceptual buffer for evaluative stimuli ... the person with low self-esteem is field dependent; that is, he tends to passively conform to the influence of the prevailing field or context.

(Ziller et. al., 1969, p. 84)

Fitts (1971) delineated three elements of the self. The identity self or self-as-object constituted those symbols used by the individual to describe his identity. The behavioural self operates in response to internal and external stimuli. The consequences of responses determine whether the behaviours continue, become incorporated into the behavioural repertoire, or whether they are discarded. The judging self operates as an evaluating mediator between the behavioural and identity selves - the self-esteem. It is the judging self which determines the individual's level of satisfaction.

Fitts noted that

low self-satisfaction tends to generate acute self consciousness, poor self esteem and perhaps basic mistrust of the self ... High self satisfaction, if based upon realistic self awareness, enables one to forget about the self, to focus one's attention and energies outward and to free the self to function in more constructive ways.

(Fitts, 1971, p. 20)

2.2.7 Social Learning Theory

With the resurgence of the cognitive revolution, behaviourism - which in its extreme form outlawed such terms as mind and thought - has been recently attempting to incorporate cognitive processes, including imagery and self-awareness, into their picture of psychological functioning (Bandura, 1977, White, 1963).

Bandura (1963) emphasized social learning in the development of the self-concept. The development of self-attitudes can be attributed to learning experiences which occur in social situations. Bandura (1977) stated that human beings have a capacity for self-direction. Through the processes of modelling, behavioural rehearsal and reinforcement, the child learns and forms his own self attitudes.

White (1963) explicated the process of "competence motivation" by which human behaviour tends towards accomplishment and evaluation. Diggory (1966) related self-esteem to level of aspiration suggesting that self-esteem is reflected in the level of task difficulty that the person will attempt.

Thus, recently behaviourism has moved towards an attempt to adapt the principles of behaviouristic psychology to apply to an implicit understanding of the self-concept.

2.2.8 Recent Self-Esteem Theories

Since the theories of Coopersmith and Rosenberg, self-esteem theories appear to have concentrated upon re-evaluating and refining earlier theoretical contributions. They appear to be something of an amalgam of approaches centering around the necessity to avoid unnecessary assumptions and attempting to adopt a different theory for explaining the separate aspects of self-esteem.

The most systematic attempt to demonstrate that self-esteem is the primary aspect of human personality and motivation has been

attempted by Becker (1971), who argued that man's ability to self-appraise is the basis of how the self develops. The self and the need for that self to be praised is of crucial importance for the child, as it is for the adult:

Alfred Adler saw with beautiful clarity that the basic process in the formation of character was the child's need to be somebody in the symbolic world, since physically nature had put him into an impossible position. He is faced with the anxieties of his own life and experience, as well as the need to accommodate to the superior powers of his trainers; and from all this somehow to salvage a sense of superiority and confidence. And how can he do this, except by choosing a symbolic-action system in which to earn his feeling of basic worth? Some people work out their urge to superiority by plying their physical and sexual attractiveness ... Others work it out by the superiority of their minds; others by being generous and helpful; others by making superior things, or money, ... Others serve the corporation to get the same feeling, and some serve the war-machine.

(Becker, 1971, pp. 79-80)

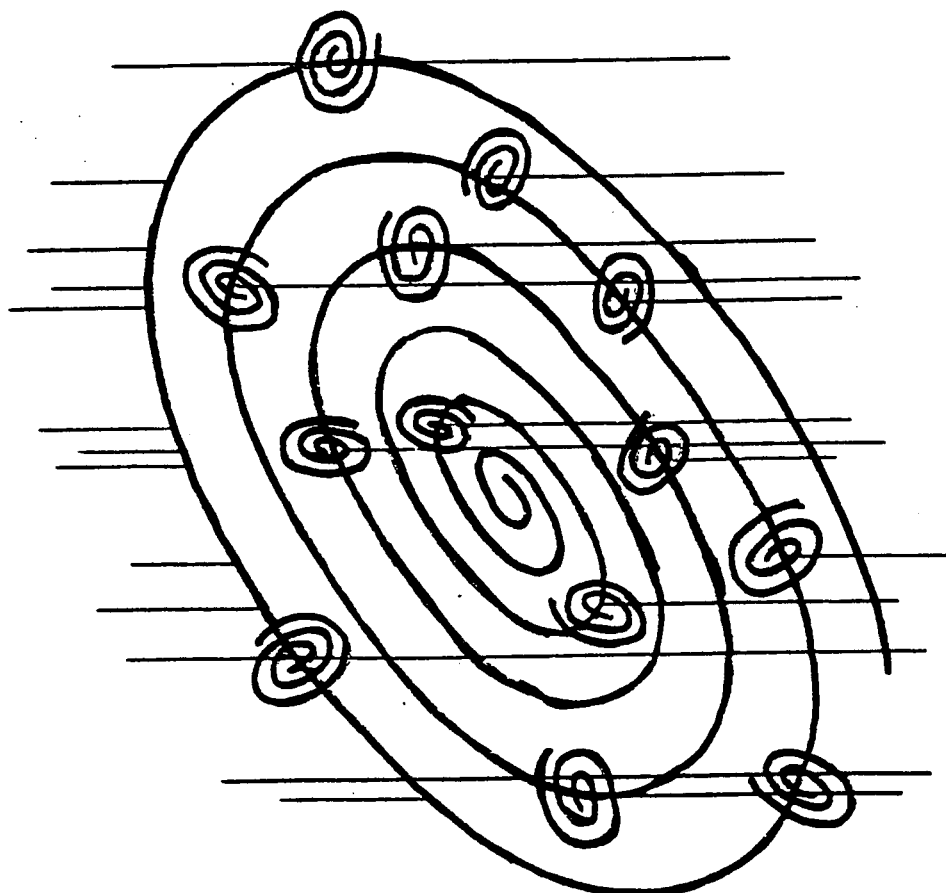
Bagley, Verma, Mallick and Young (1979) add that some people maintain their self-esteem by denigrating other people, and maintaining their superiority by attempting to establish the inferiority of other people or groups. Thus the individual will undervalue everything outside his group, and overvalue everything within his group.

Hewitt (1970) saw the self as comprising of five major components: the first component is an organized set of motivations to pursue certain goals, such as the satisfaction of basic sex drives, to have material possessions, and to be esteemed by others. The second component of the self is a series of roles to which the person is committed, along with a knowledge of how to play them, and acceptance of the norms governing the various role behaviours. The third component of the self is a more general set of commitments to social norms and their underlying values - a commitment acquired through the general processes of socialisation. The fourth component of the self is a set of cognitive abilities including the

ability to create and understand symbols which guide response to the intended meanings of others in social interaction and provide a "map" of the physical and social setting in which the person finds himself. The fifth aspect of the self is a set of ideas about one's qualities, capabilities, commitments and motives - a self-image - that emerges through the degree to which an individual's motivations are achieved, and the ways in which the norms and values he has internalised lead to a personal evaluation of role performance, and the degree to which the cognitive abilities he has acquired enable him to understand and manipulate his environment. A concomitant of this theory is that measures of cognitive ability correlate with self-esteem - individuals with a lack of education or who underachieve academically, tend to have poor self-esteem. They have a limited world view which disposes them to both feelings of alienation, and prejudiced and authoritarian attitudes (Gabennesch, 1971).

Purkey (1970) defined the self as a system of beliefs which the individual holds true about himself. He saw the self as being organized and dynamic. Purkey illustrated the organized self by means of a simple diagram.

FIGURE 1. ILLUSTRATION OF THE SELF



The large spiral represents the unity of organization of the self. The whole is made up of subparts which are shown as small spirals. These smaller spirals represent beliefs which one holds about oneself. These beliefs may be divided into categories (example: student, male, South African) and attributes (example, young friendly). A person has countless beliefs about himself, some more important than others. Some beliefs are very close to the essence of the self, and are depicted close to the centre of the spiral. Others are peripheral and are depicted on the outer fringes of the spiral. Beliefs central to the self are particularly resistant to change, while peripheral beliefs are unstable and more amenable to modification (Lowe, 1961). Generally, the self is ultra-conservative, and as Lecky (1945) reported, it resists change and strives for consistency.

A second organizational feature of the self is that each concept (smaller spiral) has its own negative or positive value. This dimension, value, is depicted in the diagram by the horizontal lines. For example, being male/female might be very close to the centre of the self but could be valued negatively by the experiencing individual.

Thirdly, failure in a highly rated central ability lowers one's self-evaluation of other abilities (Diggory, 1966). Purkey (1970) likens each concept (small spiral) to a bell. When one is rung, all the others chime in, echoing the original bell.

Brissett (1972) suggested that self-esteem encompasses two distinct social psychological processes: self-evaluation and self-worth. He referred to the process of self-evaluation as one of making a conscious judgement regarding the social importance of one's self. During this process an individual appraises himself in terms of specific criteria:

"1. consensual goals (wealth, prestige, power); 2. achievement standards, universal criteria applied to the assessment of one's proximity to or remoteness from such goals; 3. norms or rules regulating the pursuit of consensual goals; 4. moral precepts stipulating valued behavior often employed in the assessment of character (cleanliness, politeness, thriftiness)."

(Stone, 1962, p. 98)

In order to understand the process of self-evaluation, Brissett believed one should inquire into the context of this process, and identified three principal reference points of self-evaluation.

1. Idealized Image of Self

This can be either a carefully constructed image of the kind of person one would like to be or simply a number of behavioural aspirations that one would like to achieve. The process is one of comparing who one is, or what one is doing, to some picture of who one would like to be, or what one would like to be doing. The closer the correspondence the greater is one's self-esteem. Rogers (1951) viewed one of the purposes of psychotherapy as bringing a patient's achieved self into line with his self-ideal. This he postulated will make the patient more accepting of himself and others. Congruence of self and self-ideal is an important indication of one's mental health.

Silber and Tippet (1965) in their investigation into the clinical assessment and measurement validation of self-esteem also viewed self-esteem as referring to feelings of satisfaction a person has about himself which reflect the relationship between the self-image and the ideal self-image. A large discrepancy between the ideal self-image, what a person evaluates himself as being, and his self-image, how he actually sees himself, would be expected to lower self-esteem. Conversely, experiences of realistic approximation of the self-image to the ideal self-image would be expected to heighten self-esteem. Self-esteem, according to Silber and Tippet, thus

refers to the attitude a person has toward himself which is presumed to reflect the approximation of the person's self-image, how he actually sees himself.

One of the earlier statements of the process of self-esteem as being the fit between one's accomplishments and one's behavioural aspirations was made by William James who promulgated his classic equation:

$$\text{"SELF-ESTEEM"} = \frac{\text{SUCCESS}}{\text{PRETENSIONS}}$$

self-esteem 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 successes."

(James, in Brissett, 1972, p. 256)

Some persons are able to live up to these standards to realize their aspirations and thus develop a strong sense of self-esteem. Others find themselves not being able to measure up to their ideals and are often labelled as deviant or sick (Szasz, 1961).

2. The Objective Social Value of an Individual's Identity

According to Brissett (1972) another process of self-evaluation involves the utilization of the societal assessment of one's identity as the reference for self-esteem, and involves some internalization of the societal judgement. This view of Brissett's concerning self-esteem assumes two poses:

- (a) an "objective" reality which is not substantially distorted by an individual's subjective perception, or
- (b) one evaluates oneself, not as others (society) "really" evaluate him, but as he "believes" others evaluate him.

This conceptualization of self-esteem by Brissett closely resembles the symbolic interactionists who promoted the notion that one views oneself as others view one. Sullivan's (1953) notion that one's self consists of the reflected appraisals of others is also consistent with Mead's "generalized other" and Cooley's "looking-glass self".

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3. The "Objective" Evaluation of an Individual's Performance in an Identity

An individual is said to evaluate himself highly when he succeeds in doing what his identity entails, and to evaluate himself lowly when he fails. It is not a matter of measuring up to one's ideals but rather a question of handling satisfactorily what one feels are the practical obligations of his life. It involves being good at what one does rather than judging what one does as being good.

With regard to the process of self-worth Brissett delineated four basic propositions:

1. One's sense of personal worth can best be seen as involving an idea of mastery, a notion of a person having a sense of executive control over his behaviour.
2. This sense of mastery is based initially on a person's behavior being consistent with the expectations others hold toward him.
3. With the development of the self-concept, there emerges a more fundamental mechanism of self-worth: that of a person's behavior being consistent with his assumptions about the kind of person he is.
4. These assumptions are actually inferences about his self that the individual derives from the reactions of others - in other words, from his socially imbued identity(ies).

(Brissett, 1972, p. 261)

Epstein (1973) regards the self concept as a dynamic organisation of internally consistent, hierarchical systems which strive for growth and which change with experience, especially experience arising out of the social interaction with significant others. The self-concept organises data from the environment such that sequences of action and reaction are predictable. This enables the facilitation of need-fulfillment and the simultaneous avoidance of disapproval and anxiety.

In Epstein's model, a person with a narrow self-theory (because of the limiting nature of socialization experiences, or lack of opportunity to develop cognitive skills, or a high propensity to anxiety) will avoid situations which threaten the equilibrium of his self-system. According to Bagley et. al. (1979), such persons are likely to be conservative and might also be prejudiced.

Coleman (1974) postulated that the individual judges his personal worth in terms of the values and standards of important people in his life. If the individual perceived himself as falling short of his self-imposed standards, feelings of inferiority, guilt and insecurity would result. Coleman emphasized acceptance into social groups as being important for self-esteem enhancement. This social group acceptance has been emphasized by other researchers (Hurlock, 1964; Jourard, 1969).

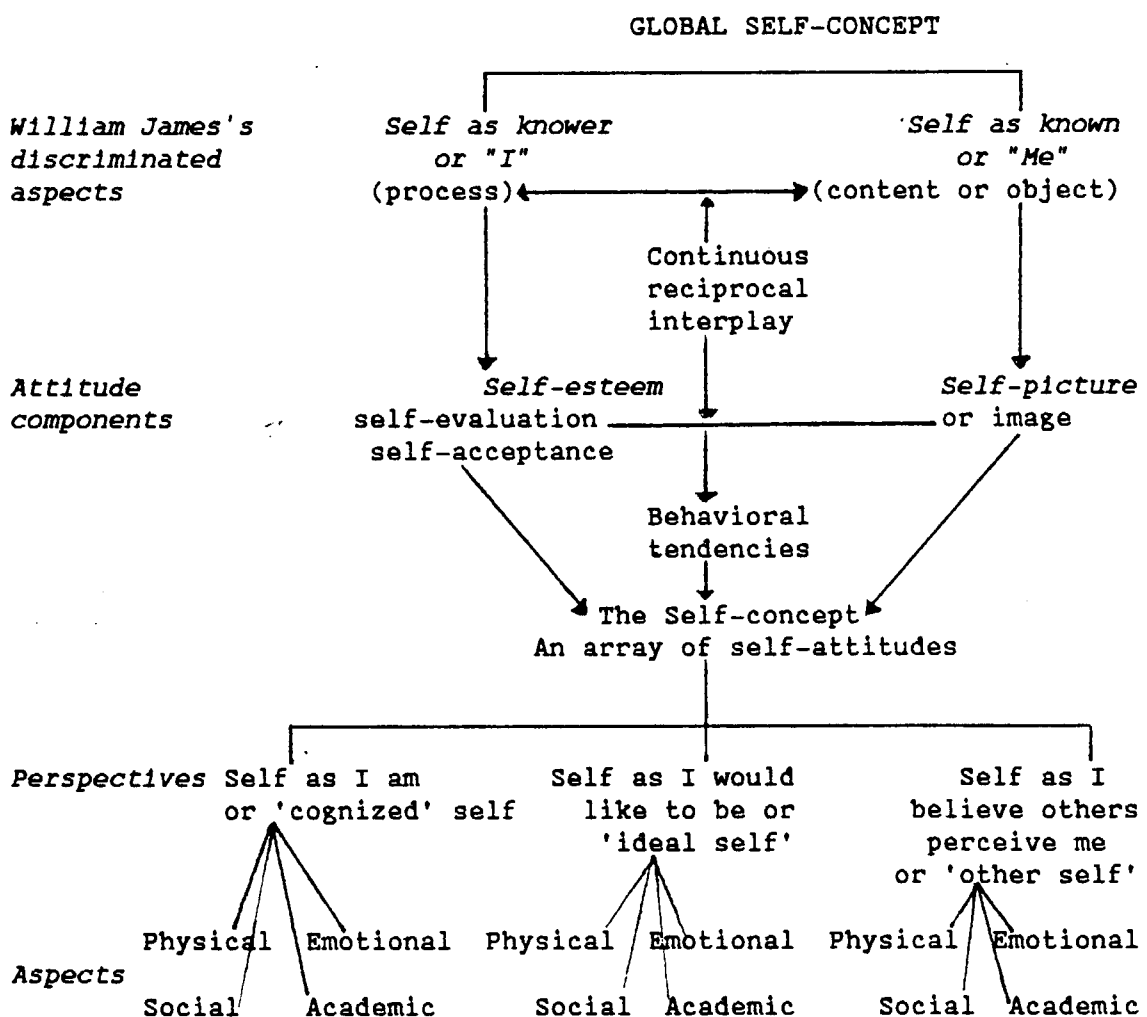
According to Laubscher (1978), a person's self-image is determined by what he believes about himself, the way he sees himself and the ideas he has about himself. Of all the myriad elements determining a person's self-image, the most important is his view of the extent to which he is a success or a failure and the extent to which he is accepted (loved) or rejected by significant others. In fact, Glasser (1973) views this acceptance by a significant other as being necessary for healthy adjustment to life.

Demo (1985) views self-esteem as a fluctuating self-attitude that most often resembles a baseline or standard self-evaluation, but that also encounters situational fluctuations from this baseline as a function of changing roles, expectations, performances, responses from others, and other situational characteristics. In this manner, individuals may have generally favourable attitudes toward themselves, possess self-respect, and consider themselves persons of worth, but on certain days and in particular situations they may feel better or worse about themselves than is typically the case. This idea of Demo's dates back to James' (1890) simile of self-esteem rising and falling like a barometer.

Demo sees the self as consisting of two dimensions: experienced self-esteem and presented self-esteem. The presented self involves a variety of planned and detailed behavioural routines that are consistent with various role requirements and situational demands, but not necessarily consistent with the actual or the desired self. Demo conceptualized the presented self-esteem as being distinct from social confidence or social self-esteem. Presented self-esteem focuses on the level of self-regard communicated to others, that is, whether individuals are comfortable with themselves rather than with their interactions. Demo conceptualized experienced (actual) self-esteem as being the individual's private, genuine, "felt" level of self-esteem.

Finally, Burns (1982) envisaged the self-concept in a schematic diagram (Figure 2) as a hierarchical structure.

FIGURE 2 STRUCTURE OF THE SELF-CONCEPT



(Burns, 1982, p. 24)

At the apex is the global self-concept which is the total of all the possible ways an individual conceives of himself . It is the "stream of consciousness" of William James, the individual's sense of continuity and singularity of the individual. It is composed of the two elements first differentiated by James the "I" and "Me". The Me can only exist through the process of knowing, and the process only has content because the human organism can reflect on the self. One cannot exist without the other. Likewise the self-image and self-esteem, the products of reflexive thought and its processes are conceptually distinguishable but psychologically interlocked. That is, one can discriminate the two aspects semantically, but psychologically they are reciprocally interactive. The image and the esteem dispose the individual to behave in a particular way so that the global self-concept can be regarded as a set of attitudes to the self. These attitudes can be taken from a number of perspectives:

1. The cognized self-concept, or the individual's perceptions of his abilities, status and rules. It is his concept of the person he thinks he is.
2. The other or social self. This is how the individual believes others see and evaluate him.
3. The ideal self. This is the kind of person the individual hopes to be or would like to be.

Most theorists reviewed in this chapter have employed some of these perspectives in their work. Many have used the self-concept and self-esteem as a major element in their theories of human behaviour. However, as one studies the prolific array of theories and conceptualizations of self-esteem, it becomes apparent that self-esteem has come to mean a number of very different things to different theorists. There also appears to be considerable confusion over the definitions of the wide range of self-referent constructs which some writers use interchangeably, and which others consider as discriminating between subtle aspects of the self. The present author adopts the position that self-esteem should be bound within a theory. Each usage of self-esteem is relative to the particular theoretical context in which it occurs, since it is from the theory that self-esteem gets its definition

Coopersmith disagrees and states that:

There is no single theoretical context in which self-esteem can be considered without accepting a number of vague and often unrelated assumptions. It is therefore necessary to develop a context from more specific, topical treatments and to integrate these and other concepts into a coherent and testable theory.
(Coopersmith, 1967, p. 28)

However, this metatheory of self-esteem is yet to be developed and until it is formulated the present investigator remains committed to his previous statement that self-esteem is relative to a particular theoretical perspective. Several factors which emerge from the theoretical review are summarized below. These factors are included as an addendum to Burns's (1982) comprehensive summary.

1. The present investigator identifies four traditions of "self" theory. The first stems from Freud and his followers. The second tradition is contained in the work of James and the symbolic interactionists. The third tradition is closer to the "commonsense view" of the self (Zelditch, 1974), in which the self becomes a trait of the individual personality. The work of Rosenberg (1965), Coopersmith (1967) reflect this commonsense view. Finally, and most importantly have been the theories of the phenomenologists.
2. The self-concept develops out of the interaction between the individual and his social environment. During this interaction experiences in a community or situational context are evaluated. This evaluation is based mainly upon subjective standards, and leads to high or low esteem of the self.
3. The self-concept is an organised configuration of perceptions and conceptualizations regarding the self. This configuration contains the following elements:
 - the perception of one's own characteristics and capabilities
 - evaluation of one's own abilities in comparison to those of others
 - the belief in one's own experiences as being positive or negative.

4. The self-concept is both an organized and dynamic structure where some perceptions at a specific time are more important than others. One finds an exchange of energy occurring often within the system.
5. The self-concept is accessible to one's consciousness.
6. The self-concept is delimited within certain physical and conceptual areas.
7. The self-concept is created by the individual himself, and therefore the interpretation, meaning and measurement of the self-concept is dependent upon human observation.
8. The self-concept displays a tendency towards growth in the direction of greater heterogeneity and complexity.
9. The self-concept is generally ultraconservative (Lecky, 1945) and resists change in its striving to maintain consistency. However, under certain favourable conditions - as on a child's first day at school and university - the self-image may change.
10. The self-concept contains a specific relationship to the self. This relationship comprises of cognitive emotional and behavioural components.
11. Conceptualizations regarding the self can vary depending upon the clarity and importance of these perceptions.

Many of the theorists discussed place the self within a developmental perspective. The following section delineates the origins and development of the self, the levels of self-esteem and its relationship to child-rearing practices. As the present study concerns itself with students emphasis will be given to self-esteem during adolescence and young adulthood. Secondly, while the present investigator acknowledges the impact body image, appearance and sex roles have upon self-esteem, the emphasis will be placed on social, emotional and cognitive factors due to their greater relevance to the population being investigated in this study, namely, university students.

2.3 ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVES OF SELF-ESTEEM

Man wishes to be confirmed in his being by man, and wishes to have a presence in the being of the other secretly and bashfully he watches for a Yes which allows him to be and which can come only from one human person to another. It is from one person to another that the heavenly bread of self-being is passed.

(Buber, 1965, p. 71)

2.3.1 Introduction

The self emerges and takes shape as the child develops and interacts with significant others. Although the self is present at birth, self-esteem is learned, it is not innate. It is derived from the myriad of sensory inputs to develop in infancy when he discovers himself as being a distinct individual and continues to develop throughout childhood as the individual becomes increasingly aware of his physical image and various abilities. The self is initially a vague, poorly integrated, somewhat fragmented phenomenon, but becomes increasingly more different and integrated as the child matures. The self, therefore, represents the culmination of one's inherent make-up and life experiences.

Jersild (1960) states that the self is comprised of three interrelated components: perceptual, conceptual, and attitudinal.

1. Perceptual Component

This refers to the characteristic way(s) that the individual perceives himself. It refers to the person's perception of personal worth, body image, and the individual's perception of how he feels others view him. The individual's perception of self is determined by his early experiences and is greatly influenced by significant others. One's successes, in addition to impressions received from significant others, are a major force in shaping one's perception of personal worth. As previously discussed, James (1890) stated that perceptions of self depend entirely on what one thinks oneself should be or do.

2. Conceptual Component

This refers to an individual's conception of his distinctive characteristics, abilities and limitations. This component is both cognitive and conative and refers to perceiving, knowing, and thinking, as well as acting, doing, willing, and striving. The conceptual component also indicates one's conceptions of his origins, background, and outlook for the future.

3. Attitudinal Component

This refers to the feelings the individual possesses of himself - his beliefs, convictions, ideals, values, and aspirations. The attitudinal component possesses evaluative, affective and conative (action) aspects. It includes the individual's attitudes, his tendency to view himself positively or negatively, and his convictions concerning his worthiness or unworthiness.

2.3.2 Neonatal Capacities as a Basis for Self-Awareness

Modern research has conclusively refuted James' (1890) observation that the world of the infant is characterized initially as being perceptually disorganized. Neonates are organized beings capable of predictable responses and mental activity more complex than is expected of them. They have definite preferences and display a marked ability to learn (Stone, Smith and Murphy, 1973). Visual capacities permit the neonate to detect patterns, faces and colours very soon after birth, and are the beginning of social responsiveness through which self-definition is developed (Cohen, 1978). Working with infants, Fantz (1961) found preferences for human faces rather than simple patterns, and Carpenter (1974) has shown that three-week-old infants can tell their mother's face from a stranger's face. Bruner (1971) in a series of experiments on infant learning concluded that competence, instead of immediate reward, motivated much of human learning.

Immediately after birth, mother and infant begin the process of bonding, or of forming an attachment, thus laying the foundation of a lifetime relationship. The infant is equipped with bonding skills at birth and immediately begins responding to maternal stimuli. Neonates move in reaction to their mother's gestures and changes in tone of voice, and usually track the mother's movements (Klaus and Kennell, 1976). Thus, the first competency which develops in the child is of a social nature.

Rheingold (1969) argues that the infant is an active partner in the mother-child interaction and motivates the mother through the social signals he gives by smiling and crying. The parent adapts to the child as he teaches the parents how caretaking operations ought to be performed to satisfy him. It is these first social contacts that markedly influence the child's social and emotional development, particularly his self-concept. Thus, the important point is that the infant must act in order for attachment to take place within the infant-care-giver bond (the prototypical relationship). The attachment process, then, is a mutual system. The infant's behaviour prompts the care-giver to act in certain ways the care-giver's actions set off responses in the infant.

One of the developmental landmarks of the attachment relationship is the appearance of stranger anxiety and separation anxiety, a sign of intellectual development in infants. Ainsworth et. al. (1978) hypothesize that as infant cognitive processes mature, they develop schemes for the familiar and notice anything new and strange. They can distinguish care-givers from strangers, and become aware of the absence of the primary care-giver. When they detect a departure from the known or the expected, they experience anxiety. This is known as the discrepancy hypothesis.

Stranger anxiety is also a milestone of social development. Once children learn to identify the care-giver as a source of comfort and security, they feel free to explore new objects in the care-givers' reassuring presence. Children who fail to explore may not feel a secure attachment and thus miss out on new learning (Craig, 1983). This will be elaborated upon within the framework of Erikson's theory.

Infants are initially unable to differentiate between the self and the world around them. Gradually, however, they develop a body awareness; they realize that their bodies are separate and uniquely their own. Much of infancy is devoted to making this distinction. Bannister and Agnew (1976) studied when and how the self-concept first becomes explicit, and identified two basic themes. First, the person comes to be defined in terms of being different from others rather than being particularly unique. That is, when the child comes to understand the meaning of "mine". Secondly, reflexivity is achieved so that the child is able to consider the way he is perceived by others and defined by others. That is, when he comes to a realization of how he appears to others. They also begin to develop personality awareness, a sense of psychological uniqueness. Epstein (1973) speaks of the development of an inferred inner self whereby children discover the existence of their own unique personalities, much as they have already discovered their bodies.

2.3.3 Cognitive and Language Development

The present investigator views language and cognitive development as being a necessary condition for the explication of self concept. However, similar to the growth of a child's vocabulary, the child has a greater self-knowledge than he has the words to express that knowledge. So the awareness of self must necessarily precede the expression thereof. An indicator of the child's growing sense of being a separate individual from others is the acquisition of pronouns. The understanding of pronouns is more difficult than learning the meaning of nouns. The correct use of personal pronouns calls for some ability to take the perspective others take toward the self, because inversion is required. The present investigator identifies four levels with regard to the use of pronouns. At the first most rudimentary level, the child will use their own name rather than "I", for example, "Nicholas want cup" rather than "I want the cup". At the second level the child will use reflexive pronouns. For example, "Myself want the cup" rather than "I want the cup". Thirdly, the child communicates using a combination of reflexive and personal pronouns (emphatic pronouns). For example, "I myself". Finally, the child utilizes personal pronouns correctly.

The increasing use and accuracy of pronouns reflects the child's increasing ability to conceive of himself as an individual with feelings, needs and attitudes, and is an indicator that a differentiation has been made between self and others.

Children also learn early on that their name stands for them. According to Boshier (1968), the reaction of a child to his name is a valid and reliable indicator of his level of self-esteem. If the child likes his name, he tends to like himself; if he dislikes his name, he tends to dislike himself. By association and conditioning, the gestures, actions, and words which accompany his name become attached to the verbal symbol which stands for him. The genesis of true self-conceptualization may come for many infants when they grasp the fact that they have a name. Burns (1982) posits that the child's knowledge of himself depends on a separation of self from others. Central to the creation of self as a social object is an identification of that object which is the self, and this involves naming.

The ability to acknowledge feelings verbally as one's own is also proof of the child possessing a rudimentary self-concept. Body language (non-verbal communication) also conveys information to others about self and reflects what others think of one, that is, one's attitudes to oneself. Burns (1982) and Argyle (1975) believe that body language is more potent than verbal communication, since it is relatively easy to distort verbally, while non-verbal messages are conveyed with stark reality and truthfulness.

Both Piaget (Piaget and Inhelder, 1958) and Werner (1961) have stated that an individual's cognitions about the physical world undergo qualitative changes between childhood and adolescence. Werner's "orthogenetic principle" states that whenever development occurs, it proceeds from a state of relative globality and lack of differentiation to a state of increasing differentiation, articulation and hierarchic integration. Werner thus suggests that as an individual matures, his thoughts about the physical world

undergo a shift from a concrete to an abstract mode of representation. Thus, both Piaget and Werner imply that an individual's increasing ability to think abstractly results in greater use of psychological and abstract constructs to describe others and self. It also allows the individual to differentiate between another person's appearance or behaviour and his underlying dispositional qualities.

Piaget has been the most influential of the cognitive development theorists and will be dealt with in some detail. Piaget saw humans as active, alert, and creative beings who possess mental structures, called schemas, that process and organize information. The child passes through four discrete stages in his mental growth which Piaget saw as the resolution of the tension between assimilation and accommodation. The sensorimotor stage occurs from birth to two years, during which the intelligence of the infant is displayed in his physical actions. The child develops a sense of self-recognition, and a sense of object permanence. The quality of his sense organs and competence in visual-motor coordination will either enhance or detract from his sense of accomplishment and self-worth.

In the preoperational stage (two to seven years) the child begins to use symbols to represent the external world (language). The extent to which parents use language simply and precisely, and the extent to which they understand their children will influence the child's idea of his own acceptability and self-worth.

The stage of concrete operations (seven to eleven years) is characterized by the child's use of logical inference and his ability to understand the principle of conservation - the reverse operation restores the original situation. The child's thinking is reversible. In this stage the child also grasps the concept of serialization (similar objects can be quantified or measured). The child comes to learn that lost self-esteem can be replaced, and that certain characteristics he possesses will contribute more to his self-evaluation than others. The last stage identified by Piaget -

the formal operational stage - will be dealt with in the section on adolescence. Suffice to say that this is the stage in which abstract thinking develops. Adolescents can explore all the logical solutions to a problem, can imagine things contrary to fact, can think realistically about the future, form ideals, and grasp metaphors that younger children cannot comprehend. Formal operational thinking no longer needs to be tied to actual physical objects or events.

In summary, an infant's self-awareness is a result of self-exploration, cognitive and language maturity, and reflections about self. Toddlers can be heard talking to and admonishing themselves, and rewarding themselves. They incorporate cultural and social expectations into their reflections, as well as into their behaviour, and begin to judge themselves and others in the light of these expectations. If they enjoy consistent, loving interaction with the care-giver in an environment that they are free to explore and can begin to control, they learn to make valid predictions about the world around them. Gradually, they establish perception of themselves.

2.3.4 Components of Self-Definition

Gilbert and Finell (1978) investigated the contributors to a differentiated self-concept in preschool children and found that the factors were body awareness, affective awareness (awareness of emotional states) and make-believe tendency (ability to differentiate between reality and fantasy), with body image being the major element. Dixon and Street (1975) identified the frequency of self-identification in the following order: body parts, identifying personal characteristics, psychological processes, and objects. They found that individuals in a transitional stage (for example, beginning school), seemed more concerned with discriminating between things than perceiving similarities. Both Livesley and Bromley (1973) and Jersild (1951) found that as subjects get older they tend to stress personal attributes, values

and attitudes. Younger children evaluated themselves according to external characteristics and physical attributes whereas older children mention inner resources and the quality of relationships with others. As children got older they displayed an increased ability to give abstract and sophisticated information about themselves. The young subjects were egotistical in their self-descriptions while the older subjects were more aware of others and more able to see themselves in a detached manner (decentration). Piaget believed this to be due to an increase in cognitive ability and the ability to see the world from another's perspective. Thus, older subjects often reported negative evaluations about themselves, while younger subjects rarely did.

Livesley and Bromley (1973) found that students of lower intelligence gave more concrete and superficial responses. This finding empirically confirmed Piaget's theory which inferred that cognitive development and the ability to decentrate are a function of the environment and the innate capabilities of the individual.

During middle childhood the child emphasizes aptitudes and abilities in his self-description and this suggests that competence and excellence are important values for the school child, and involve implicit comparisons with others as he attempts to define his self-concept in the context of the school environment (Festinger, 1954).

2.3.5 The Actual-Ideal Self Discrepancy

The historical overview of the theories of self-esteem has identified one of the dimensions of the self-esteem as being the discrepancy between the actual self and the ideal self. Children construct an actual self (what they are like and how they are seen by others), as well as an ideal self (ego ideal), what they would prefer to be like. Children with a low discrepancy do not aspire to be more than what they believe they already are. For those with a large discrepancy, the ideal self becomes a distant goal to be pursued relentlessly.

According to Burns (1982) a significant discrepancy indicates the likelihood that maladjustment in the form of tension and anxiety is likely to occur because the individual sees himself as grossly different from the person he would like to be. An individual with a small discrepancy may be better able to satisfy his needs through attaining his ideals. Burns believes that the frequent occurrence of problems with living amongst adolescents may be in part the result of this increase in real-self/ideal-self discrepancy.

Katz and Zigler (1967) on the other hand, suggest that a discrepancy is a sign of maturity rather than disturbance. They found that emotionally disturbed children (especially those who externalized their problems) had lower discrepancy scores than normal children. They associated setting a high standard for the ideal-self with impulse control. Children who were classified as internalizers (with symptoms of anxiety, depression or social withdrawal) were more similar to normal children with regard to real self-ideal self discrepancy.

Leahy and Huard (1976) tested children's ability to take the perspective of others and found that those with the greatest real-ideal self discrepancy were most successful in taking the perspective of others. This finding suggested that role-taking skill is involved in a child's capacity to develop differential concepts of an actual and ideal self.

2.3.6 Self-Esteem and the Development of Social Roles in Pre-School Children

During the preschool years, children develop generalized attitudes about themselves. They also develop a set of ideals during these years, and as they do, they learn to measure themselves against what they think they should be (ideal-self). Often, a child's evaluation is a direct reflection of what other people think of him - the looking-glass self.

Craig (1983) suggests that activity is the most important factor in preschool children's development of self-esteem. Children primarily define themselves not in terms of body awareness (as in neonates), but in terms of their actions. Thus, activity appears to be essential to the preschool child's self-definition.

As children begin to evaluate themselves as active forces in their world, they are putting together a cognitive theory about themselves that helps to integrate their behaviour, that is, that enables them to maintain consistency and congruence between beliefs and attitudes and behaviour. The strongest influence on childrens developing self-image is their parents, since they provide children with the definitions of right and wrong, the models of socially acceptable behaviour, and the evaluations of actions on which children base their own ideas.

2.3.7 Parent-Child Relationships and the Child's Self-Esteem

The supreme law (of life) is this: the sense of worth of the self shall not be allowed to be diminished.

(Alfred Adler, in Becker, 1971)

The family is the child's most important socializing agent. Children acquire their values, expectations, and patterns of behaviour from their families. The family is also the major unit of society across cultures, even though it can take on various forms. The family provides the child with all the initial indications as to whether he is loved or not, accepted or not, a failure or a success. It has already been noted in Erikson's (1963) views on the role of the parents in helping the development of basic trust in infancy and attaining a balance between autonomy and dependence in the preschool child. Rogers (1951) stressed the value of the parents' unconditional positive regard for self and child.

The research which gives the clearest picture of the self-enhancing home environment is that reported by Coopersmith (1967). He lists three conditions which lead the developing individual to value himself and to regard himself as an object of worth:

1. Parental warmth, whereby the child senses the love and concern of his family and feels that they see him as a person of value, that is,

total or nearly total acceptance of the children by their parents.

(Coopersmith, 1967, p. 236)

2. Respectful treatment, whereby the child's views are considered and where he has a rightful and democratic position in the family. That is, there is a respectful latitude for individual action that exists within limits.
3. Clearly defined limits. The child comes to know, through his parents' relatively high demands and expectations for success, that they care what happens to him. Together, these conditions make up a prevailing parental attitude of positive regard and affection.

The following factors do not appear to be associated with the formation of high self-esteem: physical attractiveness, height, amount of punishment, amount of time spent with parents, education of parents, income, or even social class or ethnic background (Coopersmith, 1969, in Purkey, 1970). This latter factor will be discussed in the chapter on the development of self-esteem among Blacks.

In contrast to parental behaviours of children with high self-esteem, parents of children low in self-esteem were relatively harsh and disrespectful, and offered little guidance. Apparently these parents either did not know or did not care to establish and enforce guidelines for their children.

Coopersmith's research study revealed that:

They are apt to employ punishment rather than reward, and the procedures they do employ lay stress on force and loss of love. The mothers are more likely to administer punishment to these boys, which may have negative connotations and significance for children in this age group. There is an inconsistent and somewhat emotional component in the regulatory behaviours of these parents. They are less concerned, on the one hand, and inclined to employ more drastic procedures, on the other. They propose that punishment is a preferred method of control, yet state that they find it generally ineffective. Their children apparently smart under such a regimen and believe that the control behaviours of their parents are often unwarranted.

(Coopersmith, 1967, pp. 196-197)

Becker (1964) identified three key dimensions of parenting behaviour similar to Coopersmith's patterns of parenting. In his view, every parent's attitudes and actions fall somewhere along each of three continuums: Restrictiveness - Permissiveness; Warmth - Hostility; Anxious emotional involvement - Calm detachment.

Baumrind (1972) found three distinct patterns of parental authority as it combined with other dimensions of parenting. Authoritative parents, who combine high controls with warmth, receptivity, and encouragement of independence, produced the most self-reliant, self-controlled and self-satisfied children. This finding confirms Coopersmith's earlier study (Coopersmith, 1967). Authoritarian parents - warm, but more detached and controlling - had more withdrawn, distrustful children who were less assertive and independent. Finally, permissive parents, who combined few controls or demands with relatively high warmth, had the least self-reliant, explorative, and self-controlled children. When permissiveness is accompanied by high hostility (the neglectful parent), it is more likely to result in noncompliance and aggressiveness. Many studies of young delinquents show that their home environments have had exactly this combination of permissiveness and hostility (Bandura and Walters, 1959, Mccord, McCord and Zola, 1959).

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Coopersmith (1967) found marked differences in the experiential worlds and social behaviours of children differing in self-esteem. Children high in their estimation of themselves approached tasks and persons with the expectation that they would be well-received and successful:

They have confidence in their perceptions and judgments and believe that they can bring their efforts to a favourable resolution. Their favourable self-attitudes lead them to accept their own opinions and place credence and trust in their reactions and conclusion. This permits them to follow their own judgments when there is a difference of opinion and also permits them to consider novel ideas. The trust in self that accompanies feelings of worthiness is likely to provide the conviction that one is correct and the courage to express those convictions. The attitudes and expectations that lead the individual with high self-esteem to greater social independence and creativity also lead him to more assertive and vigorous actions. They are more likely to be participants than listeners in group discussions, they report less difficulty in forming friendships, and they will express opinions even when they know these opinions may meet with a hostile reception. Among the factors that underlie and contribute to these actions are their lack of self-consciousness and their lack of preoccupation with personal problems. Lack of self-consciousness permits them to present their ideas in a full and forthright fashion; lack of self-preoccupation permits them to consider and examine external issues.

The picture of the individual with low self-esteem that emerges from these results is markedly different. These persons lack trust in themselves and are apprehensive about expressing unpopular or unusual ideas. They do not wish to expose themselves, anger others, or perform deeds that would attract attention. They are likely to live in the shadows of a social group, listening rather than participating, and preferring the solitude of withdrawal above the interchange of participation. Among the factors that contribute to the withdrawal of those low in self-esteem are their marked self-consciousness and preoccupation with inner problems. This great awareness of themselves distracts them from attending to other persons and issues and is likely to result in a morbid preoccupation with their difficulties. The effect is to limit their social intercourse and thus decrease the possibilities of friendly and supportive relationships.

(Coopersmith, 1967, pp. 70-71)

In addition to Coopersmith's description, Battle (1982) identified the following characteristics of individuals who possess low self-esteem.

1. Low self-esteem individuals tend to be low in initiative and basically non-assertive in their interactions with others.
2. Low self-esteem individuals tend to be more anxious than individuals who possess high self-esteem. These individuals tend to worry and to be pessimistic in their views concerning the future.
3. Low self-esteem individuals tend to be more prone to employing the defenses of projection and repression than individuals who esteem themselves highly.
4. Low self-esteem individuals tend to be more susceptible to developing obsessive compulsive reactions than persons who esteem themselves highly.
5. Low self-esteem individuals tend to be more timid, shy and predisposed to withdrawal than individuals who esteem themselves highly.
6. Low self-esteem people tend to be indecisive and usually vacillate when confronted with obstacles.
7. Low self-esteem individuals are more prone to emitting self-defeating responses and developing self-punishing modes of behaviour than individuals who esteem themselves highly.
8. Low self-esteem individuals tend to conform more readily to social pressure and exhibit a greater degree of dependence than individuals who esteem themselves highly.

Silber and Tippet (1965) in their comprehensive study of the empirical assessment and measurement validation of self-esteem identified and classified monologues regarding positive attributes (assets), problems and general feelings the subjects held toward themselves. An example of the assets included in a high self-esteem rated monologue was the following:

I think my outlook; I feel pretty down to earth a bout a lot of things. I'm not - like lost and confused about this or wondering all the time about that. I'm satisfied with the University, which is pretty unusual because a lot of people aren't. They kind of ask more from a college and I feel you have to give more to get more.

(Silber and Tippet, 1965, p. 1053)

An example of a low self-esteem rated monologue is:

I don't think I have a whole lot - very many, good qualities, that is. I feel - I feel as if I'm not half as intelligent as I would like to be.... I like to think of myself as being rational - fairly rational - no - not everything - (mumbles). Well, I'll accept two views. I try not to be biased or prejudiced about things. That's something that bothers me very much when people are completely unreasonable - I think you should be open-minded - I try to be.

(Silber and Tippet, p. 1056)

Coopersmith (1967) concludes his findings by stating that self-esteem is the result of no single parent variable, but a combination of positive conditions together with minimal conditions which undermine the child's self-worth. Criticism of Coopersmith's study has come from Wylie (1979) who pointed out that the sample was too small and informal and that the father was omitted (Coopersmith only interviewed the children's mothers in the study). Thus any information about the father's attitude and behaviour was gleaned from interpretations made by the mother and son. Further criticism was directed at the sample which included only white middle-class males. Burns (1982) states that:

"Despite the continuing interest in the findings of Coopersmith's study, a more sanguine current view is that it is a potpourri of subjective and behavioural variables, replete with confusing and conflicting statements making the validity of the results difficult to assess".

(Burns, 1982, p. 79)

Rosenberg's (1965) study investigated factors associated with the level of self-esteem in over 5 000 adolescents. In his study he analysed the social-structural influences on self-esteem in other social contexts, especially the school and family.

In the school context, competitive evaluations, which ignore varying sociological backgrounds and individual differences in ability, often begin in the first grade and continue throughout school. Within the school system, competition among students is encouraged.

Students are encouraged to enhance themselves by demonstrating their superiority over their fellow students. Rosenberg points out that many children give up early in school, feeling that with no attempt there can be little or no humiliation.

The general point is that whenever a value is set forth which can only be attained by a few, the conditions are ripe for widespread feelings of personal inadequacy. An outstanding example in American society is the fierce competitiveness of the school system. No educational system in the world has so many examinations, or so emphasized grades, as the American school system. Children are constantly being ranked and evaluated. The superior achievement of one child tends to debase the achievement of another.

(Rosenberg, 1965, pp. 281-282)

Frequently then the school becomes a place where students face failure, rejection and daily reminders of their limitations. Many children face depreciation and humiliation.

In the family context, Rosenberg found that the influence of such structural variables as birth order and broken families on the self-esteem of children is substantially affected by a number of conditional variables - for example, religious background, age of mother at divorce or separation, child's age, and number and sex of siblings. An important intervening variable is the extent to which parental interest and support for the child is affected by these structural and conditional variables, since parental interest is positively related to the child's self-esteem. According to Rosenberg (1965) there are few parents who are completely uninterested in their children but such behaviour has gross debilitating effects on the child's self-concept. Criticism and punishment is less damaging than outright indifference. This finding of a positive relationship between parental support and affection and the child's self-esteem is one of the most consistent in the family research on self-esteem formation.

Gecas (1982) saw one limitation of Rosenberg's extensive research being that he treats self-esteem as a global and unidimensional

variable. There is some evidence that the efficacy (personal competence: White, 1959) and self-worth dimensions of self-esteem are differently related to family processes. For example, Gecas (1971) found parental support to have a stronger positive relationship with adolescents' feelings of self-worth than with their feelings of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy, on the other hand, was more sensitive to the parent relationships within social contexts - that is, the sense of self-efficacy was lower when the individual was in a subordinate position, such as in school (Gecas, 1972). Furthermore, Gecas (1972) found that parental behaviours as antecedents of the adolescents' family self-esteem (that is, self-esteem within the family) had little effect on self-esteem in other social contexts (that is, when peers or school were used as the frame of reference for self-evaluations). Gecas (1982) believes that these findings suggest that research on self-esteem formation must increasingly refine its focus by specifying antecedents and delimiting both the concept of self-esteem and the contexts in which it operates. The present investigator accedes that research into the self-esteem of Blacks needs to clearly delimit the specific context in which it is measured, as well as specifying the specific dimensions of self-esteem being studied. This is a major consideration of the present study.

Finally Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) and Sears (1970) in a follow-up study, provided more evidence that parental warmth is related to high self-concepts in children. They also found that a child's self-concept at age 12 is significantly related to his own academic competence (as measured three years earlier).

To summarize this section on child-rearing and self-esteem, it would seem that many children are crippled by parents who may have been themselves, crippled as children. Block (1952) observes that,

when parents are overburdened by their inadequacies, any additional demands by children produce intolerable anxiety. In some cases the slightest indication of a wish for some sort of satisfaction brings down a rain of blows, either psychic or physical, upon the child's head.

(Block, 1952, p. 298)

A child's capacity to give love can become permanently stultified when significant others fail to provide warmth and affection when it is most desired. Intellectual development can become blocked when children are reared in a deprived atmosphere. The child's self can become pessimistic and defeatist when their participation with significant others is most often characterized by the storms created by significant persons in their lives. Robert Frost in his poem "Birches" (1916) describes this process poignantly:

*When I see birches bent to right and left
Across the line of straighter darker trees,
I like to think some boy's been swinging them.
But swinging doesn't bend them down to stay.
Ice storms do that ...
Once they are bowed.
So low for so long, they never right themselves.*

A concise summary of parent-child relationships and its correlations to a child's self-esteem is provided by Purkey who observes that:

As a general rule, we can say that any behaviour of significant people that causes a young child to think ill of himself, to feel inadequate, incapable, unworthy, unwanted, unloved, or unable, is crippling to the self. Where respect and warmth are missing, where the child's questions go unanswered, where his offers to help are rejected, where his discipline is based on failure and punishment, where he is excluded from his parents' emotional life, and where his basic rights are abused, there his self is undermined. It is vital for parents to remember the simple rule that they must have respect for and confidence in their children before their children can have self-respect or self-confidence.

(Purkey, 1970, pp. 33-34)

2.3.8 Body Image as a Source of Self-Esteem Development

While the present study concerns itself primarily with self-esteem in an academic context, the present investigator acknowledges the importance of body image in the development of global self-esteem and this section will briefly highlight some aspects thereof.

Burns (1982) differentiates between the body schema (the basic identity of the body, constructed from sense perception and held in the cerebral cortex) and body image which is the evaluative picture of the physical self. Body image is the basic element in each person's self-concept. The self-awareness of the physical body appears at approximately 18 months of age and arises out of the myriad of bodily sensations experienced by the infant. Thus it arises out of the individual's physiological experiences of sensing and recording. Sullivan (1953) calls this phenomenon "experiencing one's own body" and he sees it as the first stage in the process of differentiating the body from its encapsulating environment. It is thus the initial stage in the formation of a self-identity, and the integration of the self-concept.

Cognitive development aids in the understanding of the permanence of the physical body. This understanding is aided by the development of object permanence in Piaget's sensorimotor period.

Research has found that certain body configurations connote specific temperament and personality traits. (Kretschmer, 1925 and Sheldon, 1942). Sheldon (1942) posited that mesomorphic (muscular, athletic) body shapes are always highly evaluated. Ectomorphs (tall and thin) and endomorphs (obese and round) are generally given negative attributes, particularly endomorphs.

Physical appearance is a very potent agent for attracting particular social responses. This feedback (reflected appraisal) creates, to a great degree, the manner in which an individual evaluates himself. The individual learns through cultural stereotyping, expectations and nicknames, that significant deviation in body shape and size from the mesomorphic ideal is negative.

During adolescence, individuals are critically appraising their bodies and comparing themselves with the ideal. Sociologically perceived as being a marginal group, adolescents exhibit an intensified need for conformity. For this reason, adolescents can

be extremely intolerant of deviation. Any perceived discrepancies between their less-than-perfect self-images and the glossy ideals that they are supposed to emulate can be real source of anxiety, and result in negative self-esteem.

2.4 THEORIES OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

While there are many theories about human nature and it's development, the present investigator has chosen to review Erikson's theory of development for the following reasons. While Erikson's theory is similar to Freud's, in Erikson's theory, personality develops over a series of psychosocial, rather than psychosexual, stages. Secondly, because the present study concerns itself with students who are likely to be in the developmental stages of adolescence and young adulthood, Erikson's theory provides a useful explanation of human development during these stages. Finally, Erikson places the development of the self and identity consolidation at the core of his personality theory.

Maslow's theory of human motivation is also reviewed because it systematically attempts to explain relevant influences upon self-esteem, and to place self-esteem into a broader hierarchical context.

2.4.1 Eric Erikson's Developmental Theory

As the present study purports to investigate the self-esteem of Black students in an academic context, and the historical overview of the theories of the self has emphasized the importance of the social context, Erikson's theory which transcends culture and places the successful integration of identity at its core, assumes great relevance. Like Adler he perceives the uniqueness and the quality of self-value as being central for the individual.

Erikson (1963) cast his theory within the framework of social experience, which he saw as moulding the impact of biological urges and interacting with them to form social modes of instinctual thinking. His view represents a synthesis of developmental phenomena and psychoanalytic constructs. He emphasized the phenomenological point of view - that the world as it exists to the experiencing organism is the reality with which one must be concerned.

Maier (1965) sees Erikson's theory as diverging from the Freudian model in his emphasis of two major areas significant to the present study. First, Erikson expands the classical Freudian matrix of the mother-child-father triangle to a new one of the individual in his relationship to his parents within the context of the family and in relation to a wider social setting within the framework of the family's historical-cultural heritage. Thus, Erikson concerns himself with the dynamics between members of the family and their sociocultural reality.

Secondly, Erikson responded to the demands of his time. He pointed out the developmental opportunities in the individual to triumph over the psychological hazards of living. Erikson believed that every personal and social crisis furnishes components that are conducive for growth, and he focused on the successful solution of developmental crises.

An assumption basic to Erikson's theory is that the individual is seen as an active participant in the forming of his own destiny. As the child matures he influences the family as much as he is influenced by it. Nevertheless, he still realizes that environmental forces both limit and free the individual. Another assumption made by Erikson is that development consists of a series of childhoods which call for a variety of sub-environments depending on the stage which the child has reached, and also depending upon the environment experienced during previous stages. These stages are phases of constant motion: an individual never has a personality, he is always redeveloping his personality (Maier, 1965).

Erikson (1963) identified eight stages in the human life cycle, in each of which a new dimension of social interaction becomes possible - that is, a new dimension in a person's interaction with himself and his culture, tradition, and social environment. Each stage is centred on a crises of alternatives, either negative or positive. Each stage has its own developmental theme and is related to the previous and subsequent stages.

1. Basic Trust versus Mistrust

Erikson locates the foundation for all later development in this stage. The first stage corresponds to the oral stage in classical psychoanalytic theory and usually extends through the first year of life. The fundamental social issue with which the child must deal during this period concerns trust as opposed to mistrust. The degree to which the child comes to trust the world, other people and himself depends to a considerable extent upon the quality of care that he receives.

The mother who is indifferent to the needs of the infant or is incompetent to assess them, will provide the basis for mistrust to develop. She will fail to protect the relatively helpless child sufficiently from painful experiences, and the child will learn to believe that people cannot be relied upon to provide dependable support against negative experiences.

Therefore the infant whose needs are met when they arise, whose discomforts are quickly removed, who is cuddled, fondled, played with and talked to develops a sense fo the world as a safe place to be and of the people as helpful and dependable. Thus, the child learns to trust itself and come to believe in it's capacity to cope with both internal and external demands.

The problem of basic trust-versus-mistrust (as is true for all the later dimensions) is not resolved once and for all during the first year of life: it arises again at each successive stage of development.

2. Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt

Stage two spans the second and third years of life, the period which Freudian theory calls the anal stage. During this time the infant gains trust in his mother, his environment and his way of life, he starts to discover that his behaviour is his own: he asserts a sense of autonomy. Simultaneously, however, his physical, social and psychological dependency create a certain sense of doubt of his capacity and freedom to assert his autonomy and to exist as an independent unit. This doubt becomes compounded by a certain shame for his instinctive revolt against his previously much enjoyed dependency and by a fear of perhaps exceeding his own or his environmental limits. Erikson considers that these conflicting pulls in the child - to assert himself, and to deny himself the right and capacity to make this assertion - provide the major theme of the second phase (Maier, 1965).

Physically the young child is undergoing an acceleration of maturation and so attains new motor and mental abilities. His movements become well-co-ordinated and mastered to the extent that reaching, walking, climbing, holding and releasing are no longer activities in themselves but rather means for new endeavours. If parents recognise the young child's need to do what he is capable of doing at his own pace and in his own time, then he develops a sense that he is able to control his muscles, impulses, himself and, not insignificantly his environment, and thus gain a sense of autonomy.

When, however, his caretakers are impatient and do for him what he is capable of doing for himself, they reinforce a sense of shame and doubt. In the latter case his self-doubt becomes an intolerable, burden, because either he feels inadequate to prove himself, or he senses his unharnessed urges to control. In either situation he doubts his capacity to become an independent being.

If the child leaves this stage with less autonomy than shame or doubt, he will be handicapped in his attempts to achieve autonomy in

adolescence and adulthood. On the other hand, the child who moves through this stage with his sense of autonomy outweighing his feelings of shame and doubt, it is likely that he will display autonomous behaviour in the later stages of his life.

It might be well to note, in addition, that too much autonomy can be as harmful as too little, and that the child's social setting has a direct bearing upon his ultimate realisation of his sense of autonomy and his doubts of it.

Thus, as has been previously elaborated upon, the child who develops basic trust as result of strong attachment bonds being formed with his mother, will be better able to display awareness behaviour. However, this can be changed if this attachment is threatened by later events in life.

3. Initiative versus Guilt

This stage (the genital stage of classical psychoanalysis) is characteristic of children aged from 4 to 5 years. Having learned some measure of conscious control over himself and his environment, the individual can now rapidly move forward to new conquests in ever widening social and spatial spheres. A sense of initiative permeates most of the child's life at a time when his social environment typically challenges him to be active and to master new tasks. Erikson (1963) saw the danger of a sense of guilt developing in this stage, if the child's emerging sense of independence is not positively channelled. The emerging curiosity and adventurousness should be socially acceptable so as to add to the individual's own sense of personal worth.

The child now associates much of the time with children of his own age and so continuously questions his sex role: is his behaviour in line with what is expected from his sex? Erikson, with Freud, locates the Oedipal complex and the process of identification with parents which is crucial to healthy development, during this stage.

The child now enters with all his inquisitiveness and adventurousness into his ever-widening social circle. He wants to find out about his world, and is increasingly encouraged to conform to the teachings of his society and the unfolding world. Thus, this phase provides moments of feeling a sense of real accomplishment, and moments when the fear of danger and a sense of guilt may be engendered.

4. Industry versus Inferiority

Stage four occurs during the age period 6 to 11 years, the elementary school years (described by classical psychoanalysis as the latency phase). The major theme of this phase reflects the child's determination to master whatever he is doing. The polarity of this phase is, as Erikson sees it, a sense of industry versus a sense of inferiority. On the one side there is increasing energy to invest all possible effort in producing. Opposing this is an ever present pull towards a previous level of lesser production (Maier, 1965).

The child now learns to wield his culture's tools and symbols. Industry then becomes the dominant theme of this period during which the concern of how things are made, how they work and what they do, predominates.

Thus, Erikson (1963) sees this stage as differing from the earlier ones in that it may be likened to a moratorium, a lull before the onset of adolescence.

5. Identity versus Role Confusion

This stage coincides with the onset of puberty and the evolution of psychosexual maturity and continues into adolescence. During adolescence, the individual is faced with the task of integrating a number of different roles into one consistent identity. He seeks basic values and attitudes that cut across these various roles. If the individual fails to integrate a central identity or cannot

resolve a major conflict between two major roles with opposing value systems, the result is ego diffusion. The present author considers this stage to be of critical importance in the development of an individual's self-esteem, and this will be elaborated in detail in the section on the development of adolescent self-esteem.

6. Intimacy versus Isolation

With his childhood and youth at an end, the individual begins life as a full member in society. He now enters stage six in the life cycle, that of young adulthood.

The individual faces the responsibility of settling seriously for the task of full participation in the community: it is time for him to enjoy life with an adult liberty and responsibility. The individual is ready for intimacy, ready to commit himself to affections and partnership. By intimacy Erikson means the ability to share with and care about another person without losing oneself in the process. It does not necessarily involve sexuality, but sexuality may also exist in any close relationship.

It is important to note that the transitional period between adolescence and young adulthood varies from culture to culture. In some societies, adult skills are easily mastered; new adult members are urgently needed and promptly recruited by the larger community. In western society, successful transition to adult status, especially occupational status, requires lengthy training. Adolescence in modern society is prolonged, stretching from puberty through the second decade of life, and often well into the third decade. Despite their physical and intellectual maturity, adolescents live in limbo excluded from the meaningful problem-solving work of the social group (Craig, 1983).

According to Levinson (1978), to achieve entry into adulthood, the young man must master four developmental tasks: (1) finding a mentor; (2) developing a career; (3) establishing intimacy; and (4) defining a "Dream" of adult accomplishment.

7. Generativity versus Stagnation

In middle age, the individual becomes concerned with directing his attention more fully to making a worthwhile contribution to society. Generativity occurs when the person begins to be concerned with others beyond his immediate family, with future generations and the nature of society. A failure to establish a sense of generativity causes people to fall into a state of self-absorption (a form of narcissism) and stagnation in which an individual's deficiency needs become prominent.

8. Ego Integrity versus Despair

In old age an individual's life tasks are nearing completion and he has time to reflect upon his life and his contribution to society. Integrity occurs when an individual's assessment of the value and goodness of his contribution to mankind is positive. The loss of this accumulated ego integration is signified by despair, fear of death, and a negative evaluation of one's own worth. This final resolution may be interpreted as the cumulative product of all the previous conflict resolutions.

Finally, Erikson (1968) has made some observations on the relationship between self-esteem and prejudice which are relevant to this particular research study, and which will be dealt with in the chapter on self-esteem among Blacks in greater detail. Suffice to state that psychoanalytic theory maintains that the identity conflict is almost universal and certainly inevitable in early childhood. Jahoda (1975) believes that it is inherent in the social function of parenthood that the process of acquiring a sense of one's own identity should be fraught with difficulty in Western Civilization. It is not only rejecting parents who make it difficult for the child to feel secure in himself. Every parent has to discipline and control in order to make the child meet the standards of society. When impulsive behaviour is met with adult restrictions doubts arise about the child's self-worth and that of

his parents, and he may feel unloved as a result. But even when these doubts are conquered, the child's unfolding abilities, experiences and aspirations induce in him a continuous reassessment of his own identity (Bagley et. al., 1979).

Erikson (1968) has made identity formation the central process of inner development from infancy through adulthood. To the extent that the early insecurity remains, a person experiences the visibly apparent clear-cut identity of others as evidence of his own personal failure which is deeply rooted. If he can convince himself, however, that the other's identity is inferior, the comparison is easier to bear: at least he is not a member of the inferior or prejudiced group, however uncertain he is about everything else. As Bagley et. al. (1979) state, the visible out-group member is an object of both envy and repulsion. Thus Erikson (1968) and Jahoda (1975) believe that the prejudiced person expresses in his attitudes an attempted defence against the discomfort (anxiety) stemming from deep-rooted conflicts about his own identity diffusion.

2.4.2 Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

A further developmental theory which may be described as the "third force" in psychology is Maslow's (1954) theory of self-actualization. While he places the drive to self-actualization or the realization of one's fullest potentialities, at the core of his theory, he recognizes the integration and fulfillment of esteem needs as a prerequisite for the attainment of self-realization. Maslow's theory of human motivation differentiated between basic or deficiency needs and metaneeds or growth needs.

Maslow (1954) constructed a hierarchy of needs, meaning that the basic needs must be first satisfied to a minimum degree before the individual can move up the hierarchy. Should an individual's basic needs be threatened, he will immediately revert to concentrating on their fulfillment, and neglect higher needs.

1. Physiological Needs

The first step in emotional growth is the satisfaction of physical needs such as food, shelter and sex. Once this has been accomplished, it enables the individual to move onto a higher level of evaluating his expectations and needs for growth.

2. Safety and Security Needs

The child and to a lesser extent the adult seeks a safe, orderly, predictable, lawful and organized world in which he can predict the order of his everyday life. It is clear that in the present South African culture, safety needs have assumed great importance, especially where there are observable threats to law, order and authority in society. Thus, the real threat of chaos can be expected in most individuals to produce a regression from any higher needs to the safety needs.

Only through satisfying the safety needs can the individual create a safe place in which to proceed from in his search for a meaningful niche for himself in the world. It is possible that in South Africa today, where an individual's safety needs are threatened, the individual's self-esteem in general has less chance of being developed or enhanced.

3. Belonging and Love Needs

The satisfaction of these needs enables the individual to perceive himself as having enough personal value to be loved and accepted by others. Membership of a group whose values are esteemed by the individual, will result in these values being extended to him.

4. Esteem Needs

Each individual has the need for a stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of themselves for prestige, success, self-respect as

well as a need for others to respect or esteem him. Healthy self-esteem is based upon deserved respect from others rather than an external frame or competency. Thus by satisfying his esteem needs, the individual is internalizing the response of others to his own personal value as a separate individual. Esteem needs can only be satisfied, if the lower needs have been satisfied.

The most unique aspect of Maslow's theory is the belief that there are values (moral principles) common to the entire human species. These values are intrinsic rather than acquired. The healthy personality is motivated by the need to develop and actualize his fullest potentialities and capacities.

Michener echoed the writings of Maslow when he said:

For this is the journey that men make, to find themselves. If they fail in this, it does not matter much what else they find!

(1949. p. 488)

The present research concerns itself mainly with adolescent students and young adults. The following section will thus devote some detail to an exposition of the developmental issues during adolescence and the impact these have upon self-esteem.

2.5 ADOLESCENCE

Craig (1983) observes that in the Western Culture the period of adolescence stretches over the better part of a decade, and this prolonged transition from youth to adult status is a modern phenomenon. Puberty occurs earlier today, and as a result, the events of biological maturity are separated by an interval of several years from the social transition to self-sufficiency and responsibility.

Keniston (1975) sees the problems of adolescents as arising from tension between the self and society, from a lack of fit between who they feel they are and what they feel society wants them to be. Adolescents may experience considerable ambivalence toward the social order and toward themselves. Young people often find uncertainty, conflicting values, and social disorganization in their society, having to find their own values in a society filled with conflicting models places additional stress upon them (Rosenberg, 1965).

Keniston (1960) believes many adolescents display developmental estrangement, a sense of alienation or loss that comes with the abandonment of childish ties to one's parents, one's childhood self, and the egocentric world of childhood. He posits that alienation may occur in the form of estrangement from one's real self. The alienated adolescent may feel that he has lost touch with his real self, and that much of what he does is empty and devoid of meaning.

This section discusses the theoretical and research evidence concerning the adolescent self-concept, particularly the conventional approach as exemplified by Erikson (1963).

2.5.1 Physical Maturation and Self-Esteem

Physiologically, adolescence ranks with the foetal period and the neonatal period for sheer rate of biological change. Unlike infancy however,

adolescents have the pain and pleasure of observing the whole process; they watch themselves with alternating feelings of fascination, charm, and horror as the biological changes occur. Surprised, embarrassed, and uncertain, adolescents constantly compare themselves with others and continually revise their self-images. Both sexes anxiously monitor their development or lack of it, with knowledge and misconception, pride and fear, hope and trepidation. Always, there is comparison with the prevailing (cultural) ideal; the ability to reconcile differences between the two is crucial for adolescents during this period of transformation.

(Craig, 1983, pp. 346-347)

Erikson (1968) emphasizes the adolescent's physical attributes as a source of identity and self-esteem. He saw personality development and identity formation as representing a synthesis of the biological, psychological and sociological components of the person. Therefore, each sex must use their bodies in a biologically appropriate (adaptive) manner in order to achieve synthesis, and thus, a successful self-definition. Erikson (1968) theorized that males should view their bodies as instruments for manifesting their physical effectiveness, that is, the basis for their attaining the ability to competently intrude upon the world external to them. The extent to which they are successful, a positive sense of self will develop.

Females on the other hand, should view their bodies' utility in terms of interpersonal physical attractiveness because the more attractive the female feels she is, the more likely she is to attract a male to her, and hence increase the chance of attaining an adaptive, incorporatively based sense of self. Thus the adolescent female's evaluations should relate to her attitudes about her body as a physical attraction, while the male should relate his attitude about his body in terms of physical effectiveness or competency. This applied to the Western Culture at the time of Erikson's writings, but has probably changed since the advent of Women's Liberation

Numerous researchers have empirically proven the important role that physical characteristics play in determining self-esteem, especially in the younger adolescent (Lerner, Karabenick and Stuart, 1973; Lerner, Orlos and Knapp, 1976; Secord and Jourard, 1953; Musa and Roach, 1973).

Through a complex set of mediated generalizations, the adolescent equates his heterosexual skills with aspects of his physique and appearance.

Since possession of acceptable or unacceptable bodily characteristics is so important for the adolescent's self-confidence, there is an important relation between his rate of physical maturation and his personality. The adolescent's concern with his body is fostered by ... increasing identification with culturally determined ideals concerning appropriate physical characteristics for men and women.

Since the peer group becomes the chief source of his status and prestige, the adolescent desires to conform to the specific norms of body proportions and growth prevailing in his own limited circle. Now, for the first time, physical attractiveness becomes a crucial determinant of the girl's sociometric status among her peers of both sexes. In similar fashion, the boy's sociometric status is largely governed by his relative degree of masculinity in athletic prowess.

(Ausubel, 1954, p. 161)

Research into the differential effects of early and late physical maturation upon self-esteem show that the effects are different amongst male and female adolescents.

Those who are physically accelerated are usually accepted and treated by adults and other children as more mature. They appear to have relatively little need to strive for status. From their ranks come the outstanding student-body leaders in senior high school. In contrast, the physically retarded boys exhibit many forms of relatively immature behavior: this may be in part because others tend to treat them as the little boys they appear to be. Furthermore, a fair proportion of these boys give evidence of needing to counteract their physical disadvantage in some way - usually by greater activity in striving for attention, although in some cases by withdrawing.

(Jones, 1954, p. 148)

While advanced physical maturation enhances the self-esteem of boys, delayed or retarded physical growth may have an adverse effect upon the boy's personality development.

The boy whose physical development is retarded is exposed to a sociopsychological environment which may have adverse effects on his personality development. Apparently being in a disadvantageous competitive position in athletic activities, as well as being regarded and treated as immature by others, may lead to negative self-conceptions, heightened feeling of rejection by others, prolonged dependent needs, and rebellious attitudes to parents ...

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The physically accelerated boys, on the other hand, are likely to experience environmental circumstances which are much more conducive to good psychological adjustment.

(Mussen and Jones, 1957, pp. 252-253)

If early maturity is an asset for adolescent boys, it is a real liability for adolescent girls, who are often placed into the category of "sex-objects". However, in young adulthood early maturers are more confident, self-directed and able to meet social, intellectual and emotional challenges than peers who matured later. The intellectual and philosophical insights the early maturer acquired in struggling to reconcile the gap between her adolescent self and social demands now stand her in good stead (Livson and Peskin, 1980). Initially, early physical maturation is disadvantageous for girls, however, these early disadvantages often become positive attributes with the course of time.

for girls neither physical acceleration nor physical retardation is consistently advantageous. It is not until the junior high school years that the early-maturing girl 'comes into her own' and reaps the benefit of her accelerated development. Until that time her precocious development is somewhat detrimental to her social status. The adjustments which inevitably must be made to losses and gains in status during the adolescent period ... may be partly a function of this discontinuity in the relationship between developmental maturity and prestige during the adolescent period ...

After the transition to junior high school, girls begin to ascribe prestige to classmates who have been physically mature for a longer period of time and to girls whose interests and activities are undoubtedly more advanced. Perhaps these more mature girls satisfy a requirement for prestige in the group because of their 'advanced standing' with respect to the new developmental tasks which the less mature girls are facing.

(Faust, 1960, p. 181)

In summary, early physical maturation appears to be advantageous for boys while being initially disadvantageous for girls. Body image is a basic element in each person's self-concept. Physical appearance

is a very potent agent for attracting particular social responses. This feedback creates, to a considerable degree, the way a person feels about himself.

2.5.2 Cognitive Development and Self-Esteem

Intellectual growth during adolescence makes possible a more complex and sophisticated self-concept, encompassing a greater number of dimensions. The ability to integrate future identity and perspective into the present also depends on cognitive development, which also enhances the adaptiveness of the self system.

In Piaget's developmental theory, the hallmark of adolescent cognitive change is the development of formal operational thought. Inhelder and Piaget (1958) posited that abstraction is one of the major developments occurring during adolescence. This enhanced ability to abstract is of great importance to the increasing differentiation of oneself and one's world and to the integration of a more comprehensive self-system.

In addition, developing the capacity to abstract appears to contribute to a transformation from the child's dependence upon surface qualities as behavioural determinants to the adolescent's behaviour.

Formal operational thought can be characterized as a 'second-order' process. This involves thinking about one's thoughts, looking for relationships between relationships, and fluidly manoeuvring between reality and possibility (Piaget and Inhelder, 1958). It involves thinking about possibilities, of comparing reality with what might be or with what could never occur.

These cognitive changes result in increased self-awareness and the ability to generate a greater number of possible alternatives, and

to 'walk around' a problem intellectually (Peel, 1965). Adolescent egocentrism develops as a result of the interaction between the ability to take account of others' thoughts and the adolescent's preoccupation with his own metamorphosis. They often fail to distinguish between personal concerns and the attitudes of others. Consequently, they tend to anticipate the reactions of those around them, and assume that others are as appraising or as critical as they are of themselves. This makes up the adolescent's imaginary audience (Elkind, 1967). Adolescents use this imaginary audience as an internal sounding board to mentally 'try on' various attitudes and behaviours.

Bernstein (1980) hypothesized that, as one proceeds through adolescence there will be greater differentiation, abstraction and integration. He found that a major transformation in the development of the adolescent self-concept appeared after 15 years of age through sudden increases in the ability to abstract and integrate information about the self. This facilitated the crystallization of self-identity in later adolescence.

Bruner (1960) suggests that environmental demands force the adolescent to acquire more adaptive cognitive operations. Western society requires some adolescents to consider the future, themselves and society in new perspectives in order to choose adult roles. An individual may not develop more advanced modes of reasoning if the problems he has to confront do not demand abstract solutions. It is possible therefore, that in many third world societies, problems which need to be confronted require less abstract formal thinking and more concrete operational reasoning as they may centre on the attainment of deficiency needs.

2.5.3 Adolescence and the Sense of Identity

The development of a sense of identity is critical for the development of self-esteem. An individual's self-esteem may be viewed as one consequence of gaining a sense of identity. Erikson

(1963) claim's that the major task confronting the adolescent is the development of a sense of one's own identity, of what defines one as a person. This conception of oneself can be both positive and negative. The search for identity involves deciding what is important or worth doing and formulating standards of conduct for evaluating one's own behaviour as well as the behaviour of others. The adolescent's powers of formal operational thinking allows him to analyze different roles, to observe inconsistencies and conflicts in some of the roles, and restructuring the roles to form a new identity. It thus involves a re-evaluation of the self. This process often requires abandoning old roles and establishing greater autonomy from parents and relatives. The problems of ego identity cannot be separated from that of values.

The present research deals with Black university students, the majority of whom are adolescents and young adults in a stage of marked transition within a society undergoing rapid change. If the individual is to be able to maintain some stability in his self-concept and in his internal guides to action in a changing world, he must have faith in some basic values. Erikson claims that:

we have almost an instinct of fidelity - meaning that when you reach a certain age you can and must learn to be faithful to some ideological view. Speaking psychiatrically, without the development of a capacity for fidelity the individual will either have what we call a weak ego, or look for a deviant group to be faithful to

(In Evans, 1967, p. 30)

These observations of Erikson are of great relevance to the present South African context within which Black university students find themselves. In adolescence, a person's identity must be seen in the social context of his relation to others, originally to his family. Thus it has both personal (subjective) and social (objective) aspects. Burns (1982) refers to the part a person plays in relation to others as his social role and distinguishes this from what he feels himself to actually be - his true self or personal identity.

These two aspects of identity formation can be regarded as self-realization and social definition. The less unified a person's sense of inner identity (self-realization) is, the greater the possibility that he will assume a variety of contradictory roles in his outer behaviour. Those with a consistent personal identity will display a consistency even in different social roles. This in turn, increases self-esteem and a sense of self-realization.

As Erikson (1963) notes, the rapidly changing adolescent, confronted with this physiological revolution within himself and with the varied intellectual, social, and vocational demands of adulthood that lie directly ahead, is concerned with how he feels he actually is, and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated with the demands of tomorrow.

In their search for a new sense of continuity and sameness, adolescents have to refight many of the battles of earlier years, even though to do so they must artificially appoint perfectly well-meaning people to play the roles of adversaries: and they are ever ready to install lasting idols and ideals as guardians of a final identity.

(Erikson, 1963, p. 261)

Out of these distinctions arises the need for the adolescent to make choices between self-realization and social definition. These choices remain problems which demand conscious reappraisal throughout one's life.

The interrelationship between the personal and social aspects of identity is expressed clearly within Erikson's definition of identity.

The conscious feeling of having a personal identity is based on two simultaneous observations: the immediate perception of one's self-sameness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity.

(Erikson, 1959, p. 23)

The achievement of a sense of identity requires that the adolescent

must learn to be most himself where he means most to others, to be sure, who have come to mean most to him.

(Erikson, 1959, p. 102)

The individual who does not achieve a sense of identity, experiences identity diffusion which has four components in Erikson's formulation (Erikson, 1968).

INTIMACY The individual may fear commitment or involvement in close interpersonal relationships because of a possible loss of his identity.

DIFFUSION OF TIME PERSPECTIVE Here the adolescent is unable to plan for the future or to retain any sense of time.

DIFFUSION OF INDUSTRY The adolescent finds it difficult to harness his resources in a realistic way in work or study. These activities demand commitment which the individual avoids, and will thus either experience concentration difficulties or concentrate on one activity to the exclusion of others.

NEGATIVE IDENTITY The adolescent selects an identity exactly the opposite to that preferred by parents or other important adults. The loss of a sense of identity is often expressed in hostility towards the role offered as proper and desirable to one's family and community.

Marcia (1980) in an attempt to elaborate on Erikson's developmental scheme and to test his hypotheses, developed a theory of four coping modes or identity statuses:

1. Identity Achievement

Individuals in this category have passed through a crisis and now pursue work of their own choosing, and attempt to live by their own individually formulated moral code.

2. Identity Forclosure

This category includes individuals who are also committed to definite occupations and ideologies, but the choices were made early and were influenced by their parents, not themselves.

3. Identity Diffusion

Adolescents who are directionless are included here. They have not selected work roles or moral codes.

4. Moratoriums

These are adolescents in the middle of a prolonged, unresolved crisis or decision period.

The specific coping strategy adopted in adolescence influences reactions to stress, level of anxiety, authority, social expectations, and self-esteem. However, only the moratorium stage appears to be essential for identity achievement since the searching which characterizes it precedes a resolution of the identity problem. Marcia (1980) found that as students moved through university the proportion of those with identity diffusion declined, while the number of identity achievement students steadily increased.

Coleman (1980) and Burns (1982) reviewed the research done on adolescent self-concept in order to answer two questions. First, does data support the belief that the adolescent's self-image differs from that of younger children? Secondly, if there is a difference, could one term this difference a 'disturbance'. The findings revealed, that generally, adolescence is a period of considerable stress, with the adolescent's self-image undergoing considerable change in comparison to that of the preadolescent child.

Engel's (1959) study showed a relatively stable self-image in adolescents between the age of thirteen and fifteen, as well as between the ages of fifteen and seventeen. Twenty per cent of the sample who showed a negative self-image were significantly less stable in their view of themselves than the majority who expressed a positive self-image. Subjects with a low self-image also displayed signs of maladjustment on various personality tests.

Piers and Harris (1964) showed that, while 9 and 16 year-olds had similar levels of self-esteem there was a significantly lower level of self-esteem in the 12 year-old group. The present investigator believes that this latency period of development contains many inherently difficult tasks for the prepubescent child. These reflect his immature physical, cognitive and emotional development when compared to the development of the sixteen year old. Carlson (1965), found no difference at all between the 12 and 18 year-old age group levels.

Simmons, Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1973) found that early adolescents (12 to 14 years) have a consistently lower self-esteem than younger children (8 to 11 years). Burns (1982) argues that adolescents may be more realistic while younger children may inflate their self-qualities. Blos (1962) notes that

the difficulty of relinquishing the inflated self-image of childhood is usually underestimated.

(p. 192)

Thus adjustment to reality may be distressing for some adolescents.

Tome (1972) and Monge (1973) using a cross-sectional methodology, investigated the structure of the self-concept at different stages during adolescence, and found no major change or reorganisation of the self-concept between the ages 12 to 18 years.

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Offer (1974) concurred with the finding of Simmons, Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1973) and reported that both parents and adolescents agreed that the greatest amount of turmoil in their lives occurred between 12 to 14 years of age. The finding that instability of the self-image increases during adolescence appears to support Erikson's (1959) views on the adolescent ego identity crisis. However, Erikson places this crisis in late adolescence, while Offer's findings seem to place it in early adolescence.

Ellis, Gehmen and Katzenmeyer (1980) also in a cross-sectional study found that the following dimensions of the self-concept remained stable between the ages 12 to 17 years - school affiliation, self security, social confidence, peer affiliation, family affiliation, self-assertion and teacher affiliation. The only scale that revealed any change was self-acceptance. During the 13 to 15 year old age span, the individual rates himself according to external standards of achievement. From 17 to 18 years of age, the individual rates himself according to internal standards of personal happiness.

Douvan and Adelson (1966) found that the tendency in "ordinary" American adolescents revealed the urge towards the independence of adulthood and were highly motivated to change their self-image. They emphasized a future orientation as a distinguishing feature of adolescents who were making adequate adolescent adjustments. Drawing attention to the distinction between present and future self they observed that:

The normal adolescent holds, we think, two conceptions of himself - what he is and what he will be - and the way in which he integrates the future image into his current life will indicate a good deal about his current adolescent integration.

(Douvan and Adelson, 1966, p. 23)

In summary, various theoretical stances suggest that adolescence is a period of stress, with the individual having to deal with his psychosexual development, emotional upheaval, role conflict status

ambiguities and unstable and rapidly changing social values. It is a period of discontinuity between childhood and adulthood. Erikson sees the task of adolescence as the resolution of conflict between ego identity and role confusion. Rapid changes in body image, peer and parent relationships, identity and in cognitive skills almost forces the adolescent to re-evaluate the self which will have consequences upon the development and integration of the self-concept.

In conclusion, this chapter has viewed self-esteem as a hypothetical construct which has been seen to be central to some personality theories (for example Rogers and Adler) while it has been given implicit importance in other theories. Most theories have shown that the survival and maintenance of the human psychological self is analogous to physical survival in other animal species. This chapter has also traced the development of self-esteem from infancy to adolescence.

Yet after many years of conceptual prominence and utilization in theory and research, the exact nature and definition of self-esteem has alluded many writers. Many concepts are used interchangeably and while research has been prolific in this area, attempts to operationalize and measure self-esteem have been characterized by an unwillingness to face the measurement problems inherent in the concept of self-esteem.

Chapter Three will consider a comprehensive definition of self-esteem and its nature, utilizing the theory and research offered by the theoretical overview and developmental studies. The sources and dimensions of self-esteem will be investigated, and a summary of the correlates of self-esteem will be presented. Finally, the present investigator will summarize different measures of self-esteem and their validity.

CHAPTER THREE

SELF-ESTEEM: IT'S DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with defining self-esteem and will document previous attempts to measure self-esteem. Conceptual and operational definitions of the self vary significantly, and thus the construct "self-esteem" has come to mean different things to different individuals. And, as will be seen in the discussion on the measurement of self-esteem, investigators have intensified the problem further, as a result of their insistence on defining the self in accordance with the demands of their particular design. While the historical review has revealed a renaissance of the self-concept in contemporary social psychology, probably due to the "cognitive revolution" in psychology (Manis, 1977), and the "inadvertent rediscovery of the self" in experimental social psychology (Hales, 1977), the literature on the exact nature of self-esteem abounds with terminological inexactitude and poorly conceived operational definitions. Many doctoral and master's studies on self-esteem and self-concept completed in South Africa have revealed a paucity of significant results due to an inability to operationalize the self-esteem and self-concept and to utilize valid measurement techniques.

Every definition of self-esteem in the literature considers it a subset of self-conception. Shibutani (1961) calls self-esteem a dimension of self-conception. Thus to talk of self-esteem is necessarily to imply something about the nature of the self. A further distinction needs to be made between the terms "self" and "self-concept". Much confusion in social psychology exists over whether the self is a process or a structure. This results from the failure to distinguish between the self and the self-concept. The present investigator will differentiate between the nature's of the self and the self-concept before defining self-esteem and its specific subsets.

3.2 THE SELF

As previously mentioned, the self emerges and takes shape as the child develops and interacts with significant others. Although it is present at birth, it begins to develop in infancy when the child discovers himself as being a distinct individual and continues to develop throughout childhood as the individual becomes increasingly more aware of his physical image and various abilities. The self initially is a unique, poorly integrated, somewhat fragmented phenomenon, but becomes increasingly more different and integrated as the youngster matures. According to James (1890), the self is the sum-total of all that a person can call his, it is the composite of an individual's feelings, hopes, fears, thoughts and views of who he is, what he is, what he has been, and what he might become. Battle (1982) summarizes the self as representing the culmination of an individual's inherent make up and life experiences.

Gecas (1982) refers to the self in terms of it being a process rather than a structure. The process of reflexivity emanates from the dialectic between the "I" and the "Me". He believes that the major outlines of the concept of self have remained unchanged since the formulations of James (1890) and Mead (1934). As elucidated in the historical overview, both saw the self as a reflexive phenomenon that develops in social interaction and is based on the social character of human language.

The concept of self provides the philosophical underpinning for social-psychological inquiries into the self-concept but is itself not accessible to empirical investigation ... the 'self-concept', on the other hand, is a product of this reflexive activity. It is the concept the individual has of himself as a physical, social, and spiritual or moral being.

(Gecas, 1982, p. 3)

Some confusion has resulted due to the self being frequently used as a synonym for person, personality, ego, ideal self and sometimes body (English and English, 1958; Battle, 1982). Involved in the confusion is a failure to distinguish between the person and his

various features as they are objectively given, and as they are experienced and responded to by the person. Thus the psychological literature reveals that the concepts of self, personality and ego are often used interchangeably.

Wells and Marwell (1976) posit that the construct, person, is an all-inclusive term referring to a single, living human being as well as the social and psychological characteristics and possessions one might attribute to that being, and it may be used in a restricted bodily sense to refer to the physical organism..

Battle (1982) postulates that the self, the governing agent and core of the psyche, develops first; and the personality and ego are its sequential derivatives. The workings of the self, its personality, and its ego are closely interrelated and represent one unitary interpenetrating psychological organization.

According to Battle (1982), the self is a total unitary phenomenon which is present at birth and becomes more differentiated as the child matures and interacts with others. It is the original psychological apparatus that coordinates activities which include sensing, remembering, perceiving, imagining, thinking, feeling, and emoting. The self, therefore is a knower and an object of knowledge as well. It is the organizing agent which unifies the diverse functions of the personality and the ego.

Wells and Marwell (1976) concur with Battle, and see the self as a specialized cognitive behavioural subset of the personality. The self presents the phenomenal part of the personality (that is, perceptual or experiential) and, is reflexive - the perceiver and the perceived are the same organism. Hereby, the person and his body are related to the self in as much as they may be experienced by the person himself, but it is the experiences which constitute the self, not the person or his body. The self involves only that part of the personality which consists of reflexive or self-conscious cognitions and behaviours.

An exception to this use of the self emanates from the self-actualization literature. Here the self refers to individual potentialities, not reflexive behaviour. Horney (1950) used the term real self to refer to a person's innate abilities - the levels of human functioning which the person is capable of achieving. Self also sometimes refers to the person as he is perceived or experienced by others or as he may be objectively described - objective self (Webb, 1955) or social self (James, 1890).

Personality refers to a set of psychological and social characteristics which are associated with the bodily person. It is beyond the scope of this study to review the different theoretical viewpoints of personality. Allport (1937) provides an excellent summary of different definitions of personality. He felt that definitions of personality should emphasize the following: they should reflect an organization of properties that refer to general styles of life and models of adaptation to one's surroundings, and should also reflect the ideal of the progressive growth and development of individuality or distinctiveness.

Personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to his environment.

(Allport, 1937, p. 48)

The personality is the first and most important derivative of the self to develop. A portion of the self gradually becomes moulded into the personality as a result of its continuous striving to become more effective in adjusting to the demands of the external environment. The personality represents the self's organized mode of adjustment to environmental demands. The personality is not independent of the self and cannot separate itself from self-scrutiny. It is used by the self as an adaptive mechanism for dealing with the environment.

The type of personality that is derived from the self determines the degree of success the self will subsequently experience in its interactions with the external environment. Success or lack of success in dealing with environmental demands, however, is not dependent on the functioning of psychological mechanisms alone, but is also highly influenced by one's culture. For example, if the self provides a personality that is kind, obliging, honest, hardworking, it would theoretically experience a great deal of success in a democratic society. The same type of personality, however, may not be as successful in a society in which the mode of operation is 'everyone for himself' or 'get others before they get you'.

(Battle, 1982, p. 35)

In the same way, an individual with an easy-going, group oriented, 'moralistic' personality may experience some difficulty adapting to a society with a protestant work ethic.

The ego is the second derivative of the self to develop, and represents an extension of the personality which has autonomy and unique properties of its own. It is an acquired phenomenon which is very similar to the personality constitutionally, but plays a different role. While the personality is stable over time, the ego varies from time to time, with its contents generally changing frequently. The ego will thus move rapidly from one activity to the next. In summary, the ego is the essential force for meeting specific adjustment demands at a given time, while the personality is the force employed by the self for general forms of adjustment.

A concept often used in the literature is the ideal self. This refers to the individual's view of what he aspires to be or feels that he ought to be. Most individuals experience discrepancies between the ideal self and the self as-it-is, or the real or actual self. When the discrepancy between the ideal self and the real self is great, and the actual self occupies the lower level, the greater is the probability that self esteem will be negatively affected and the greater the probability of psychopathology. Seiden (1966) found that individuals who committed suicide were all high achievers who

were generally earning grades above the medium grade point average, but typically felt that they were not earning high enough grades; they perceived themselves negatively, developed depression, and committed suicide.

Havighurst, Robinson and Dorr (1946) in a study designed to measure the development of the self, reached the following conclusions:

1. The ideal self starts to develop in childhood as an identification with a parental figure, moves during the middle childhood and early adolescence as a composite of desirable characteristics which may be symbolized by an attractive, visible, young adult, or may be simply an imaginary figure.
2. Parents or members of the parental generation play a declining role in the ideal self as it is described by children after the age of eight or ten.
3. Glamorous adults play major roles in the child's ego-ideal between the ages of ten and fifteen.
4. Children and adolescents from families of lower socioeconomic status generally lag behind those of middle socioeconomic status in the progression through the stage of selection of a glamorous adult as an ideal.

(pp. 237-238)

As a reflexive behavioural process, the self is always described as a learned structure acquired through social processes. The ability to view oneself and to respond to oneself as an object involves the capacity to abstract from one's own behaviour as well as from the behaviour of others toward one. Thus the self is also a symbolic process or structure built upon the acquisition of language, the mechanism of abstraction. The symbolic nature of the self has important consequences for its measurement. All measures of self-concept and self-esteem involve symbolic (verbal) techniques.

Gordon and Gergen (1968) and Wylie (1968) have identified further properties of the conceptualization of the self to which we will now briefly allude.

3.2.1 The Self as a Hypothetical Construct

The self is a hypothetical construct - an abstraction from specific behaviours - which is inferred or construed from observable events. It cannot be directly observed as an objective entity. Wells and Marwell (1976) raise the question as to the "reality" of the construct. (Is it the property of the world or of the explanation?) It appears as if the self, because it involves a conceptual construction, may be more or less factual depending upon how the construct has been defined. Where the self is defined as a symbol, a set of attitudes (Rosenberg, 1965, Burns, 1982), it may be regarded as real or as a 'fact'. However, where the self is defined as a psychological system or structure (Rogers, 1959, Sherif and Sherif, 1969), an assertion of factuality becomes difficult. Sullivan (1953) concurs stating:

When I talk about the self-system, I want it clearly understood that I am talking about a dynamism which comes to be enormously important in understanding interpersonal relations. This dynamism is an explanatory conception; it is not a thing, a region, or what not, such as superegos, egos, ids, and so on.
(p. 167)

With regard to the necessity or not of the self, Allport (1943, p. 451) suggests that: "the existence of one's own self is the one fact of which every mortal person - every psychologist included - is perfectly convinced". Hilgard (1949) observed that the self as reflexive cognition is implicit in theories of personality, and to discard it would be to lose a valuable tool in the description and explanation of human behaviour. Gordon and Gergen (1968) agree with Hilgard and add that it enables one to predict human behaviour more accurately.

In contrast, 'third force' psychologists (Rogers and Maslow) argue that the utility of the self-concept is its necessity in describing behaviour in nonmechanistic terms. Their viewpoint is that to adequately interpret behaviour, it is essential to understand how the person perceives and regards himself, both consciously and unconsciously.

Theorists in favour of the use of self argue that it allows a fuller explanation than is possible in its absence. White (1964) says

The self or ego is one of the most difficult concepts in the whole realm of thought. It would simplify things if we could do without it. But no one can write sensibly about people without using this concept or its equivalent. ... Without (the self) we have no point of anchorage for the personal pattern of tendencies that is characteristic of each individual.... The concept of self helps us to bear in mind the basic fact of the unity of the organism.

(pp. 145-146)

This emphasis upon the unity of the self-concept was expanded by Allport (1955) where conception of the 'proprium' has the explicit function of accounting for this unity in individual behaviour.

In conclusion, one needs to heed White's (1964) warning that the necessity of using the concept of self does not confer the privilege of misusing it.

3.2.2 The Self as a Behavioural Agent

A problem in self-conceptualization is the self-as-agent-of-behaviour rather than merely object-of-behaviour - James' (1890) I-Me dichotomy, with the experiencing agent opposed to the contents of experience. Phenomenologically the distinction is between the self as perceiver and as the object(s) of perception or the perceptions themselves. Numerous theorists have included the role of behavioural agent as an aspect or as a kind of self. Lecky (1945) described the self as the forces of intergration within the person; Ziller (1969) describes the self as an adaptive subset of the personality. Fitts et. al. (1971) describe two major parts of the self - the 'self-as-doer' (behavioural self), and the self-as-observer' and judge (judging self). White (1964) states: "One's self is experienced not only as an object but as an agent" (p. 147).

In phenomenological theories (Snygg and Combs, 1949) the self is regarded as the core of the phenomenal field, which in turn is regarded as the source of all behaviour. The self is not a passive entity, but rather a causal agent, an active constituent in producing behaviour. How an individual perceives and defines himself is postulated to have an effect upon his behaviour - how he will relate to others, what tasks he will attempt, levels of anxiety, and how he subsequently will perceive himself. A self-perception or self-image may be an object by definition, but in function, it is the subject of behavioural change. Whether the self is defined as the perceptions themselves or as the objects of those perceptions, they are regarded as causes of behaviour.

Wells and Marwell (1976) view the distinction between self-as-subject and self-as-object to be rather blurred in actual usage, believing the distinction to be artificial. As pointed out in the literature review, both James (1890) and Mead (1934) hypothesized that the I and the Me were not separable phenomena but different aspects of reflexive behaviour.

In conclusion, one cannot have an object without a subject and vice versa. Only when the self is not defined as reflexive behaviour, but as the products of such behaviour-self-evaluations (Rosenberg, 1965), is the subject-object distinction valid.

3.2.3 The Self as a Structure or Process

This section has already alluded briefly to Gecas' (1982) view that the self refers to a process, the process of reflexivity which results from the dichotomy between the I and Me. This approach views the self as a process within ongoing behaviour, and is associated with the symbolic interactionist perspective (Mead, 1934, Cooley, 1902 and James, 1890). The self is seen as emergent in social acts and defined in relation to the social context. Mead viewed the self not as an object of reflexive behaviour but as the act of experiencing that object through the person's reflection in the behaviour of others.

It is the social process of influencing others in a social act and then taking the attitude of the others aroused by the stimulus, and then reaching in turn to this response, which constitutes the self.

(Mead, 1934, p. 171)

On the other hand, Rosenberg (1965) and Rogers (1950) viewed the self as a structure within the personality. Rosenberg (1965) uses the term self to refer to the person as the object of behaviour. Cognitions about this referent are termed self-images, so that the external object of the perceptions is distinguished from the perceptions themselves. Rosenberg emphasized the important characteristics of a person's self-concept as being the stability, importance and consistency between the various self-images (or self-attitudes).

Rogers (1950) used the terms self-concept and self-structure interchangeably and defined them as "an organized configuration of perceptions of the self which are admissible to awareness" (p. 379). He too emphasized that the consistency and integration (organization) of these perceptions to be important in generating either positive or negative feelings about the self and resulting in adaptive or maladaptive responses.

Some theorists have attempted to include both aspects in describing the self. Gergen (1971) defined the self both as "that process by which the person conceptualizes or categorises his behavior" and as "the system of concepts available to the person in attempting to define himself" (p. 23).

Finally, Wells and Marwell (1976) believe that due to the static nature of conventional quantitative analysis, and measurement in the social sciences, results yield descriptions of states not processes. They note that:

... most analysts hold that while the self is in the strictest sense a process, it must be empirically studied primarily in terms of its content and structure - what are the elements of the self and how are they organized? All measures or operationalizations of the self to date thus deal with the content of the self.... No standard self-concept or self-esteem measures deal directly with the self as a process. Participant observation and evaluative therapy techniques emphasizing observation of the self in situ are the only approaches which purport to do otherwise. Consequently, although both its processual and static (structural) aspects have been important in explanations of self-behaviors, social scientists have been more directly involved with the structure of the behaviors themselves.

(p. 48)

3.2.4 Cognitive versus Behavioural Models of the Self

Traditionally, the self is defined as a component of the personality - subjective, intrapsychic, phenomenological, and not directly observable. Thus, most usages describe the self in terms of self-concepts consisting of perceptions (Rogers, 1959) and attitudes (Coopersmith, 1967; Burns, 1982). On the other hand, Mead (1934) suggests that the self must be located in the objective world in the course of ongoing social behaviour rather than in some purely cognitive (mental) realm.

Wells and Marwell (1976) conclude that a description of the self should not be limited to cognitive or phenomenological perspectives. They emphasize that what is always involved is reflexive behaviour, which may be explained from any theoretical vantage point.

3.2.5 The Self as a Unitary Concept

The self appears to involve a unitary psychological process. Fitts et. al. (1971) however, emphasizes the complexity of the self-concept, while James (1890) and Gordon (1968) note that a person has a multiplicity of selves at any one moment. On the other hand, most theorists in describing the self allude to some unitary sensation - either a combination or summation of experiences.

This experienced unity of self is a construed unity which is maintained by the person out of a multiplicity of images, identities and experiences. As previously noted (Rogers, 1950, and Rosenberg, 1965), the construction of this unity is paramount for the development of the individual, level of self-esteem, and consequently, freedom from psychopathology.

Wells and Marwell (1976) in a valid criticism of these theories, note that they are concerned with the operation of the self rather than its development. White (1964) has attempted to explain why a unitary self may be formed:

It is easier to live with others when they function as unified selves, and we encourage them to do. The self is thus shaped into a unity from both directions at once. On the one hand it is attached to the enduring nucleus represented by one's sense of personal identity. On the other hand its various accretions are pressed toward unity by the requirements of social living.

(pp. 148-149)

Mead (1934) has attempted to suggest how a unitary self is formed when he describes the development of the self in terms of the ability to respond to a generalized other. The experience of a unitary self involves the construction of an abstraction to stand for the various conditions of social experience (for example: reactions of others, demands, expectations and evaluations). This is a symbolic process and involves language and cognitive development.

3.2.6 The Self as Conscious Behaviour

The phenomenal self is the product of a conscious perceptual process, while the psychoanalytic model identifies both conscious and unconscious structures. Because most theories regard the self as the object of cognition or as reflexive cognitions, the self is generally regarded as being conscious.

Most self theories include processes which are not fully conscious, but which are not unconscious in a psychoanalytic sense. English and English (1958, p. 531) define such preconscious behaviour as attitudes or cognitions which are accessible but which are not currently in the person's attention for a variety of reasons (too painful to acknowledge, irrelevant, or forgotten).

Rogers' (1959) emphasizes the preconscious aspects of the self, while Coopersmith (1967) and Silber and Tippet (1965) emphasize the accuracy of the self-concept for well-adjusted behaviour. Characterizations of the self and self-esteem in terms of defensive styles and response modes for incongruent behaviour (Rosenberg, 1967), implies a subconscious self which can selectively attend and react to relevant information without such actions being conscious.

The present investigator acknowledges the importance of defensiveness and the self, especially its subset self-esteem, and this will be dealt with more fully in the section on the measurement of self-esteem. Wells and Marwell (1976) conclude by also emphasizing that defensive behaviour has significant implications for the operationalization of self-esteem:

When defenses are operative and the behavior of interest thus disguised, theory must specify the relationship between that which is observed and that which is hidden yet presumed to be "real". This situation requires systematic explication of the relation between the processes of self-conception and self-representation (whether in the form of a self-report or interpersonal behavior in general), so that some decision can be made about what a measure is measuring. Clearly, subsequent research or empirical observation requires such an explication; however, this relationship has not been very well described and often not described at all.

(p. 54)

3.2.7 The Self as an Innate Structure

As noted in the historical overview of theories of self-esteem, many theories posit some variant of self-enhancement - a self-motive leading to behaviour which produces the highest possible self-evaluation - the self-esteem motive.

'The striving toward higher self-esteem and status (or avoidance of loss of esteem and status) must surely be counted as the most powerful and pervasive motivations in man's repertoire.' Without postulation of such a motive, the concept of self-esteem would not have much explanatory appeal, since it is the motivational consequences of self-esteem that provide most of its theoretical utility.

(Pepitone, 1968, p. 349)

White (1959) in attempting to account for the self-enhancement motive proposed a basic 'mastery' or competency motive, whereby self-esteem is associated with a sense of competence in dealing with the world. Gergen (1971) saw self-enhancement as being a learned drive which comes to have secondary reinforcement value.

Festinger (1954) and Pepitone (1968) suggest two internally competitive motives: a tendency for cognitions to achieve congruence with reality and self-enhancement. When a person is successful, both motives tend towards high self-evaluations. When a person is less successful, the two tendencies represent opposing forces - the wish to achieve a favourable self-evaluation against the objective facts of failure. Pepitone (1968) and Festinger (1954) suggest that in this instance, the need for congruence with reality will prevail in self-evaluation. What is important from the present research perspective is that the self-esteem motive frequently conflicts with an opposing tendency to be congruent with a reality which is negative and unavoidable.

3.3. THE NATURE OF THE SELF-CONCEPT

There is no doubt that one of the most significant ... interpretations of human personality is located in self-concept theory. Many contemporary psychologists ... ascribe to the self-concept a key role as a factor in the integration of personality, in motivating behavior and in achieving mental health.

(Burns, 1979, p. 2)

Out of the profusion of theories of self emerges a profusion of definitions of self-concept. The following definitions have been selected by the present investigator as being fairly representative of the literature and research in this area.

Gecas (1982) defines the self-concept as being a product of reflexive activity, that is, a process rather than a structure. "It is the concept the individual has of himself as a physical, social, and spiritual or moral being" (p. 3).

Rosenberg (1979) defines the self-concept broadly as "the totality of an individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object" (p. 7). Snygg and Combs (1949) observe that "the phenomenal self includes all those parts of the phenomenal field which the individual experiences as part or characteristic of himself" (p. 58). In 1959 they reiterated their definition adding that it is the organization of all that seems to the individual to be I or Me. It is what an individual believes about himself, the totality of his ways of seeing himself.

A more specific definition is provided by Turner:

Typically my self-conception is a vague but vitally felt idea of what I am like in my best moments, of what I am striving toward and have some encouragement to believe I can achieve, or of what I can do when the situation supplies incentives for unqualified effort.
(1968, p. 98)

From an attribution perspective, Epstein (1973) suggests that the self-concept can be viewed as a theory that a person holds about himself as an experiencing, functioning being in interaction with the world. This theory is compatible with the symbolic interactionists perspective that the self-concept is conceptualized as an organization (structure) of various identities and attributes, and their evaluations, developed out of the individual's reflexive, social, and symbolic activities. As a result, Gecas (1982) believes the self-concept is an experiential, cognitive phenomenon, accessible to measurement techniques.

Rogers (1951) offers the following definition of self-concept:

The self-concept or self-structure may be thought of as an organized configuration of perceptions of the self which are admissable to awareness. 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 environments; the value qualities which are perceived as associated with experiences and objects; and goals and ideals which are perceived as having positive or negative value. ... It is then the organized picture, existing in awareness either as figure or ground, of the self and the self-in-relationship, together with the positive and negative values which are associated with those qualities and relationships as they are perceived as existing in the past, present, or future.
(p. 136)

Similarly, Staines (1954) provides the following definition of the self-concept, he states that it is:

a conscious system of percepts, concepts, and evaluations of the individual as he appears to the individual. It includes a cognition of the evaluative responses made by the individual to perceived and conceived aspects of himself; an understanding of the picture that others are presumed to hold of him which is the notion of the person as he would like to be and the way in which he ought to behave.
(p. 87)

Finally, Byrne (1974) posits that:

The self-concept may be defined simply as the total collection of attitudes, judgements, and values which an individual holds with respect to his behavior, his ability, his body, his worth as a person, in short, how he perceives and evaluates himself.
(p. 271)

These definitions of the self-concept places it firmly into the realm of attitude study, and is compatible with Burns' comprehensive review of the self-concept which he regards as a set of attitudes to the self (Burns, 1982). Burns (1982) conceives the self-concept as being an evaluated set of beliefs about the individual. The descriptive element is often termed the self-picture, or

self-image. The evaluation is referred to as self-esteem, self-worth, or self-acceptance. The self-concept is thus composed of all the beliefs and evaluations one has about oneself.

According to Secord and Backman (1964) "It is convenient to think of a person's attitudes toward himself as having three aspects - the cognitive, the affective, and the behavioral" (p. 579). Burns (1982) likewise, emphasizes three essential components of the self-concept:

a belief which may or may not be valid,
an emotional and evaluative connotation around that
belief and
a consequent likelihood of responding (or behaving) in
a particular way.

(p. 3)

According to Burns, these basic components of an attitude are similarly revealed in self-attitudes so that the self-concept is a combination of the following:

- (a) Self-image - what the person sees when he looks at himself;
- (b) affective intensity and evaluation - how strongly the person feels about these various facets; and whether the person has a favourable/unfavourable opinion of various facets of that image; (Self-esteem)
- (c) behavioural possibilities - what the person is likely to do in response to his evaluation of himself. (Response or behaviour).

(Burns, 1982, p. 3)

Burns (1982) regards the terms self-concept, self-attitudes, and self-esteem to be synonymous, and most researchers use them interchangeably. The present investigator views self-esteem as a specific and identifiable subset of the self-concept. Thus, for the purposes of classification, the present investigator has differentiated self-esteem from self-concept, ultimately this is an artificial classification as self-esteem is an indispensable part of the self-concept.

Gecas (1982) distinguishes between the content of self-conceptions (for example, identities) and self-evaluations (self-esteem). Identity focuses on the meanings comprising the self as an object, gives structure and content to self-concept, and anchors the self to social systems. Self-esteem deals with the evaluative and emotional dimensions of the self-concept. Gecas posits that these two aspects of the self-concept are closely interrelated in experience: Self-esteem (self-evaluations) is based upon substantive aspects of self-concept, and identities typically have evaluative components.

While a major goal of the present study is to clarify the concept of self-esteem, in order to place self-esteem into perspective, one needs to briefly look at the belief (identities) component and behavioural tendency component of the self-concept. This study does not review the literature on specific social identities, such as sexual and gender identities, occupational identities, and specific deviant identities, but rather concerns itself primarily with self-conceptualization with regard to academic competency.

3.3.1 Content of Self-Concepts - The Belief Component (Identities)

The belief knowledge or cognitive component of the self-concept represents a proposition about, or a description of, the individual, regardless of the validity or otherwise of the knowledge, based either upon objective or subjective opinion. The belief component of the self-concept is the infinite number of ways each person perceives himself. It is a generalized description reflecting the consistent and habitual way in which the individual and others perceive him.

A central theme in sociological literature on the self-concept is the idea that the content and organization of self-concepts reflects the content and organization of society. Rosenberg (1976) advises that research goes 'beyond self-esteem' wherein lies the concept of identity, a vast number of meanings attached to the self and comprising the content and organization of self-concepts.

The interpretation of self and society as previously noted, has been the concern of the symbolic interactionist perspective (Mead, 1934; Cooley, 1902). The key feature of the interactionists who view the self as a process, is the emphasis on the social situation as the context within which identities are established and maintained through the process of negotiation. Blumstein (1973) viewed the identity negotiation or identity bargaining as a central aspect of the individual's broader task of defining the situation and constructing reality. Meaning is the consequence of this fluid and reciprocal process of interaction.

Goffman (1959) utilized the metaphor of social life as a theatre in illustrating the inseparability of self-concept as cause and consequence. He described how an individual employs 'staging operations' and 'impression-management' to present the self in social encounters. Desired identities are the prizes sought on this interaction stage, and these are acquired by the competent performance of the actors, the dispositions of the relevant others, and the social constraints of the situation. Goffman believes that the self and others construct identities by staging a definition of the situation involving all the participants. The individual is thus both the product and the creator of such an encounter.

Alexander's and Wiley's (1981) 'situated identity theory' views the establishment of identities as being the fundamental task of social encounters. He considers an identity to be a working self-meaning constructed out of the material of a specific situation, and not an aspect of a person's self-concept carried from one situation to the next. According to Alexander, people act (because of the self-esteem motive) to create the most socially desirable situated identity available (Alexander and Wiley, 1981).

3.3.2 The Evaluation Component (Self-esteem)

The self-concept is a set of subjectively evaluated attributes and feelings. This aspect of the self-concept, the major focus of the present study, will be dealt with in detail in section 3.4.

3.3.3 The Behavioural Tendency Component

This third aspect of the self-concept notes that individuals do not necessarily behave in a way that is consistent with their evaluated beliefs (La Piere, 1934). Often social constraints prevent or modify the direct behavioural expression of an attitude. So the behavioural expression of a specific self-attitude may not be made.

Burns (1982) defines attitudes as being emotionally formed beliefs directed towards an object or person. Self-attitudes differ from other attitudes in that they are reflexive, the individual becomes the object of his own attitude. Because of this inward direction, the emotions and evaluations aroused by the belief component of the attitude are very strong. It is possible to minimize the values of others to oneself through the use of defences. Is it possible to minimize self-attitudes. As Burns (1982) notes: "You always take yourself with you, there is no getting away from yourself. Escapism is a myth, you are still yourself and how can you fail to recognize yourself" (p. 9).

3.3.4 Social Structural Influences on Self-conception

One of the objectives of the present study is the assessemnt of the level of self-esteem among Black university students, a group characterized by transition, rapid acculturation and a distinct social background. While not a major concern of the present study, the present investigator acknowledges the influence of this group's social structure upon self-conceptions at a macro level.

Turner (1976) argues that:

the articulation of real selves with social structure should be a major link in the functioning and change of societies ... to varying degrees, people accept as evidence of their real selves either feelings and actions with an institutional focus or ones they identify as strictly impulse.

(p. 990)

Turner defines the 'real self' as being the basis of an individual's sense of authenticity, responsibility, and accountability. According to Turner (1976), 'institutionals' are likely to be future oriented; they adhere to high moral standards and consider the self to be created through their actions. On the other hand, "impulsives" are likely to be oriented towards the present, to feel constrained by institutional roles, and to view the self as something to be discovered.

Turner (1976) hypothesizes that over the past two decades society has evidenced a substantial shift away from an institutional toward an impulsive locus of self. Others have observed similar changes in self-orientation as a function of changes in society. Toffler (1970) observes that the people of the future, faced with high transience, overchoice, and culture shock, living within a "throw-away" society must develop greater impulsivity in order to cope with the stress of impermanence.

Riesman et. al. (1950) argued for a historical shift from 'inner-directed' to 'other-directed' motivational types; Snyder's (1979) high 'self-monitoring' individual is a prototype of the individual in contemporary society. Zurcher (1977) proposed the 'mutable self' as a healthy adaptation to rapid social change characterized by marginality and uncertainty.

Luria (1976) found that the greater the degree of exposure to communist ideology and involvement in collective farm work amongst "traditional" peasants correspondingly and dramatically raised their level of consciousness (self-awareness) and self-concept.

The subjects involved in the present study, may generally be described as a group undergoing rapid social and cultural change. Some may be viewed as moving from a traditional to a western dimension of conceptualization.

Modernization is the movement of persons or groups along a cultural dimension from what is defined by the cultural norms as traditional toward what is defined by the same culture as modern. Those values defined in the local culture as traditional comprise what may be called traditionalism, those defined as modern constitute modernism.

(Stephenson, 1968, p. 268)

The present investigator wishes to acknowledge that the self-concepts of the students in this investigation would not all be effected similarly by social- structural influences. Not all individuals change, some individuals remain inactive or unchanged within a transitional period. McClelland and Winter (1969) conclude that:

... we must be prepared to admit that the connections between traditional values and modernization are neither so obviously true nor so simple as they might be thought to be. We must consider again what many anthropologists have long claimed that change usually is consolidated not by the disruption and destruction of so-called traditional values, but rather by their reinterpretation or resynthesis together with new actions (Singer, 1966). A man can begin to act differently and yet hold traditional beliefs. Whatever dissonance one would expect from this combination is handled by reinterpreting the old beliefs so that they do not conflict with the new actions. Usually it is not handled by directly abandoning the old beliefs.

(p. 266)

Finally, Berry (1975) in a study of social and cultural change delineated the following hypotheses devoted to the psychological dynamics of change. The hypotheses contrast those individuals in transition with those who have already changed or who remain unchanged:

1. In comparison with those who remain unchanged or who have changed, people changing from old to new ways are likely to be more discontent.
2. In comparison with those who remain unchanged or who have changed, people changing from old to new ways are likely to feel more aggressive.
3. In comparison with those who remain unchanged or who have changed, people changing from old to new ways are likely to be more ambivalent toward outsiders associated with those new ways.
4. In comparison with those who remain unchanged or who have changed, people changing from old to new ways are likely to be generally sensitive to other people. (Berry, 1975, in Triandis and Brislin, 1980, p. 225)

Berry delineated a further set of hypotheses concerned with the psychological characteristics of those who have experienced change:

1. After people change centrally from old to new ways, they are likely to value in others and in themselves traits which indicate independence and self-confidence.
2. In comparison with those who remain unchanged, people who are changing or have changed centrally are likely to be more proficient in novel situations; the degree of their proficiency will vary with the perceived similarity between those situations and ones in their past experience.
3. After people change centrally from old to new ways, they are likely to develop facility in abstracting.
4. After people change centrally from old to new ways, they are likely to be more proficient in making subjective judgments of objective time intervals.
5. After changing people learn a new language, they are likely to perceive differently significant stimulus patterns.
6. After people change centrally from old to new ways, they are likely to be more proficient in using language to describe and express their feelings and reactions to the external world.

(Berry, in Triandis and Brislin, 1980, p. 225)

It is interesting to note that successful change increases one's language competency and so one's ability to abstract, and thus, an individual is better able to accurately evaluate the belief components of his self-concept.

3.3.5 The Role of the Self-Concept

The Self-Concept appears to have a four-fold role, maintaining consistency, determining how experiences are interpreted, providing a set of expectancies, and being a source of motivation.

1. Self-Concept as a maintainer of inner consistency

Individuals operate in ways which maintain an inner consistency. Social comparison is the process in which individuals assess their own abilities and virtues by comparing them to those of others.

According to Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparisons, the main function of the process is reality testing, which is most likely to occur in situations where knowledge about a self-attribute is ambiguous or uncertain. In experimental research, Morse and Gergen (1970) used 'Mr Clean' and 'Mr Dirty' as the comparison in a job application situation. They found that the presence of 'Mr Clean' produced a significant decrease in subjects self-esteem, while the presence of 'Mr Dirty' significantly enhanced subjects' self-esteem. If individuals have ideas, feelings or perceptions which are out of harmony to one another, dissonance or psychological tension results (Festinger, 1954). Dissonance motivates the individual to reduce the disharmony in order to reattain a feeling of equilibrium. Thus, the rationale of dissonance theory is that inconsistent cognitions are intolerable and individuals will adopt strategies to eliminate such discrepancies. For example: rationalizing so that an individual's negative opinion about oneself conflicts with one's own opinion, this person is judged as an incompetent assessor or one whose opinion has little credibility. Discrepancies between different self-conceptions will often give rise to stress since they may be the result of realistic appraisals in different contexts. In addition, the functional value of some of the self-conceptions may be of a low order, for whether inconsistency occurs or not depends on the ability to differentiate between particular self-images, and on their importance.

Within sociology, social comparison processes are studied via the concept of the reference group, which serves as a normative group (that is, the source of norms and values for the individual) and as a comparison group (that is, as the provider of standards of self-evaluation) (Kelley, 1952).

The reference group's norms may become the internalized standard against which the individual judges himself. This is consistent with James's (1890) conceptualization of self-esteem as a function of the discrepancy between pretensions (aspirations) and success (achievements). The individual can maintain, or enhance, his self-esteem by reducing his aspirations or increasing his success

experiences. It is the subjective assessment of success in relation to what he wants to be that is critical. Certain roles are not selected as important, hence evaluation on these aspects is irrelevant. The selection of standards by which success may be subjectively attained is open to all individuals. However, Burns (1982) notes that the freedom to select the issues and standards one is judged from is not without limitation, since certain acts cannot be evaded. Students with consistently low marks are less likely to consider themselves good students than those with higher averages. Often, however, self-values are chosen before the individual is able to test them adequately. Thus, it becomes only apparent later that the individual does not have enough of the required qualities or expertise. This may be evidenced amongst pupils who achieved above average at school under the Black Educational System, but find themselves failing at university.

Most sociological research on social comparison processes treats reference groups as comparison groups. An individual finds himself judged by the criteria of his society and relevant subgroups, not merely those criteria of his own making. Davis (1966) referred to the campus as a "frog pond" and emphasized the importance of the local frame of reference. Marsh and Parker (1984) in their study of the determinants of student self-concept, ask the question: 'Is it better to be a relatively large fish in a small pond even if you don't learn to swim as well?' They found that students in low-socioeconomic and low-ability schools had higher self-concepts than students in high socio-economic and high-ability schools. Path analytic models indicated that attendance at a high-socioeconomic school is correlated not only with a lower level of academic self-concept, but also with a somewhat higher level of academic achievement and ability. Marsh and Parker (1984) explained these seemingly paradoxical findings by utilizing a frame of reference hypothesis.

Self-concept research is often hampered by the inherent subjectivity of the construct. Marsh and Parker (1984) cite the following example, that a child with poor academic abilities may have an academic self-concept that is average, even though this may appear unrealistic to an external observer. Marsh and Parker (1984) argue that as long as the child honestly represents his own phenomenological experience, the assessment is accurate and any external source that disagrees with the child's own perceptions is necessarily wrong. Such paradoxical findings is consistent with a "frame of reference" hypothesis, which is based on two assumptions:

- (a) children compare their own academic ability with the abilities of other students within their school or reference group, and
- (b) children use this relativistic impression of their academic ability as one basis for forming their academic self-concept.

Rosenberg and Pearlin (1978) proposed a similar argument in an application of social comparison theory to their research data. They argued that an individual characteristic must be viewed within the context in which it appears. Hence a child from a low-socioeconomic background who attends a low-socioeconomic school in which there are children with similar backgrounds may perceive their socioeconomic status to be average.

Lecky (1945) argued that the individual is a unified system with the problem of maintaining harmony between himself and his environment. In order to avoid dissonance, he may refuse to see things in the environment, accept as valid feedback he receives from others, or he may strive to change himself or others.

An individual's self-attitudes are a vital part of internal consistency. Thus, he will act in ways consistent with his self-image.

Burns (1982) observes that the individual possesses a plethora of self-concepts, and places self-attitudes on a continuum from peripheral and less important to vital and central to the self-concept. If new experiences are consistent with existing self-conceptions, they are incorporated and assimilated. If, on the other

hand, the experience is inconsistent (incongruent), it will be screened out. Burns likens this process to Piaget's concept of a complex and interrelated set of schemas.

A discrepant experience can be capable of being assimilated through defence mechanisms. Such mechanisms enable one to maintain a consistent self-concept even in the face of objective evidence to the contrary. Thus, the maintenance of the self-concept appears to be a prime motivator in all normal behaviour, and even abnormal behaviour.

Secord and Backman (1964) have suggested the following stabilizing procedures often used to defend and maintain the self-concept:

- (a) The individual tends to devalue the person who criticizes him;
- (b) The individual chooses, as far as possible, other like individuals with whom to interact;
- (c) The individual rejects the criticism as unjustified;
- (d) Finally, the individual can accept the criticism as valid.

Given the widespread acceptance of the social comparison theory, grounded in the symbolic interactionists theories of reflected appraisals, the power of the opinions of others to initiate and/or affect the development of the self-concept is still in doubt. Shrauger and Schoeneman (1979) observed that people's self-perceptions agree substantially with the way they think others perceive them. However, there is very little agreement between people's self-perceptions and how they are actually viewed by others.

One reason for the disparity between self-concepts and the appraisals of others is the difficulty of getting honest feedback from others, especially if it is negative (Felson, 1980). The norms of adult social interaction inhibit honest appraisal of others, thus we are often unaware of what others think of us. Secondly, not all others are equally significant to one. Rosenberg (1973) found that the credibility and the value of the significant other's evaluations significantly affected the child's self-concept.

Gecas (1982) posits that the most important reason for the low correspondence between self-concept and the appraisals of others is the active distorting influence of the self-concept. An individual's perception of others' evaluations of one are biased toward favourable assessments.

2. Self-Concept as an Integration of Experience

According to Burns (1982), the self-concept is a powerful determinant of behaviour in that it shapes the way in which the individual experiences are interpreted. Every experience is given a meaning by the individual. Just as there is a strong tendency to maintain consistency between one's behaviour and one's view of oneself, so too is there a tendency to interpret experiences in ways which are consistent with individual views. This factor makes it extremely difficult to change a self-concept that is formed and operating. As Purkey (1970) noted, the self-concept is ultra conservative and extremely resistant to change. Burns (1982) concludes by likening the self-concept to a filter:

The self-concept is like an inner filter - every perception that enters the individual must go through the filter. As each perception passes through the filter, it is given meaning, and the meaning given is determined largely by the view the individual has of himself. If it is a negative view every experience is stamped with a frown. If it is a positive view, each new experience is stamped with a smile.

(Burns, 1982, p. 14)

3. Self-Concept as a Set of Expectations

The self-concept operates to determine what individuals do in situations, and it operates to determine how individuals interpret what others do in situations. Thirdly, it also determines what individuals expect to happen. McCandless (1967) views the self-concept as a set of expectancies, and includes the evaluations of those areas wherein the expectations are held. Individuals who view themselves negatively, expect others to treat them in a manner consistent with this expectation. The way the self-concept controls

expectancies and behaviour leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy. On the other hand, individuals who expect positive experiences, will act in ways which bring them about.

4. Self-Concept as a Source of Motivation

Three major motives are associated with the self-concept: the self-efficacy motive; the self-esteem or self-enhancement motive (this will be dealt with under self-esteem); and the self-consistency motive (this has already been reviewed).

The most fundamental sense of self-concept as cause is found in the notion of human agency, and is expressed in diverse terms such as effectance motivation (White, 1959), self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977), internal locus of control (Rotter, 1966) and self-control (Mischel and Mischel, 1977).

The symbolic interactionists strongly advocated an active creative, and agentic view of the self. A basic assumption being that man is both an actor as well as a reactor. Both James and Mead emphasized the creative aspects of human action, attributing these active properties to the "I" aspect of the self.

White's (1959) concept of effectance or competence motivation has been very influential. He viewed the operation of a motivation for mastery and the experience of self as being a causal agent in one's environment. Exploratory and manipulative behaviours, according to White, are rewarding in their own right (intrinsic) and characteristically occur when basic physiological drives are satisfied. Adler's (1927) concept of "mastery", Franks and Marolla's (1976) concept of 'inner self-esteem' (self-esteem based on efficacious action), and McClelland's (1975) 'power motive' (striving for power and control) all stress the basic motivational element of the active self.

Seligman (1975) studied the importance of self-efficacy when he correlated his concept of "learned helplessness" to depression. Learned helplessness refers to a chronic sense of inefficacy resulting from learning that one's actions have no effect on one's environment. Abrahamson et. al. (1978) argued that depression stemming from learned helplessness is likely to occur when the individual attributes his inefficacy to personal failure rather than to universal conditions.

The perception of self-as-cause has become a focus of attribution theory. Rotter (1966) distinguishes between perceived "internal" and "external" loci of control, as generalized expectancies that individuals develop in relation to their environment, with regard to personal control over events that affect them.

Bandura (1977) in developing a cognitive version of social learning theory distinguishes between efficacy expectations - the belief that one can successfully perform the behaviour required to produce the outcome -, and outcome expectations - an estimate that a given behaviour will lead to a certain outcome. An efficacy expectation is a belief in one's own competence, an outcome expectation is a belief in one's environment. Feelings of futility may result from low self-efficacy or the perception of a social structure as being unresponsive to one's actions. Thus, Bandura (1977) differentiates between perceptions of self and perception of self in relation to social structure.

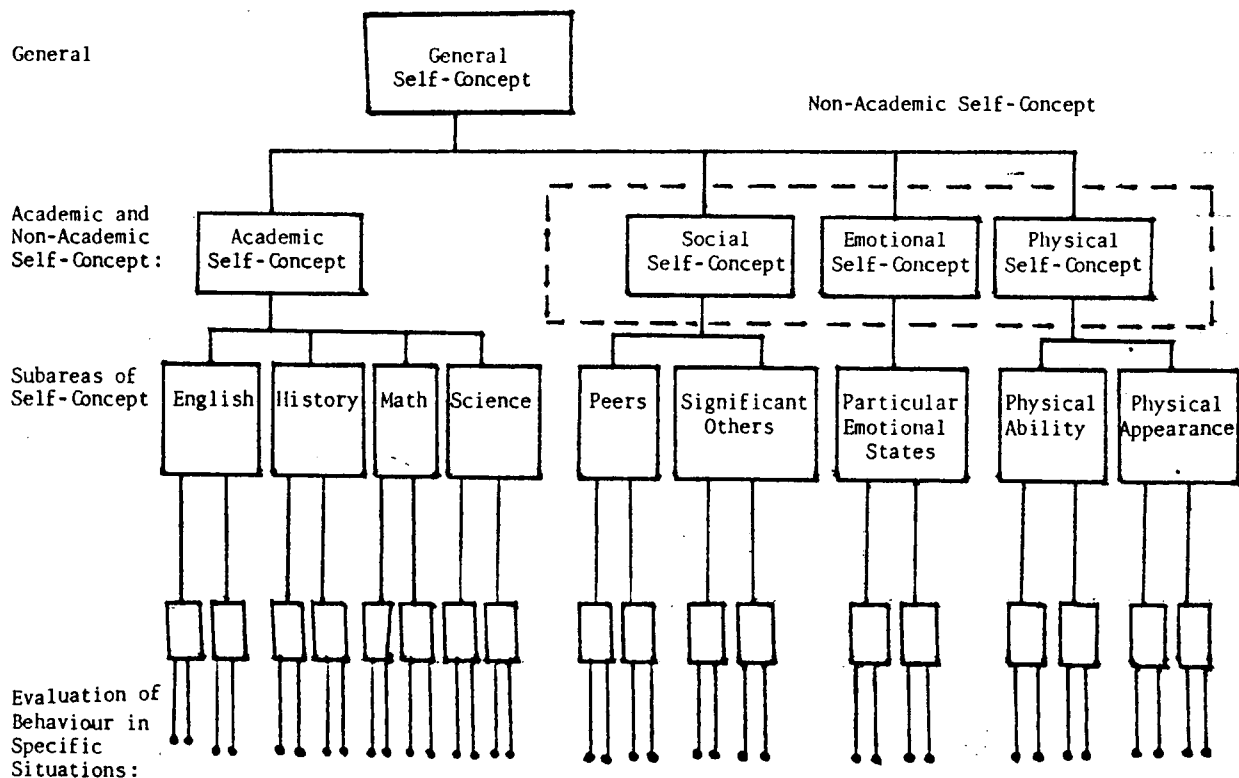
The present investigator believes that Shavelson and Bolus (1982) have perhaps provided the most comprehensive and integrated definition of self-concept, and a brief overview of their theory forms the conclusion of this section on the self-concept.

Self-concept, broadly defined, is a person's perceptions of him- or herself. These perceptions are formed through one's experience with and interpretations of one's environment and are influenced especially by reinforcements, evaluations by significant others, and one's attributions for one's

own behavior (Shavelson et. al., 1976). The construct self-concept can further be defined by seven critical features (cf. Shavelson et. al., 1976; see figure 1): (a) It is organised or structured, in that people categorize the vast amount of information they have about themselves and relate the categories to one another. (b) It is multifaceted, and the particular facets reflect the category system adopted by a particular individual and/or shared by a group. (c) It is hierarchical, with perceptions of behavior at the base moving to inferences about self in subareas (e.g., academic - english, history), then to inferences about self in academic and nonacademic areas, and then to inferences about self in general. (d) General self-concept is stable, but as one descends the hierarchy, self-concept becomes increasingly situation specific and as a consequence less stable. (e) Self-concept becomes increasingly multifaceted as the individual develops from infancy to adulthood. (f) It has both a descriptive and an evaluative dimension such that individuals may describe themselves (I am happy) and evaluate themselves (e.g. I do well in school). (g) It can be differentiated from other constructs such as academic achievement.

(Shavelson and Bolus, 1982, p. 3)

FIGURE 3: One possible representation of the hierachic organization of Self-Concept.



(Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton, 1976)

Thus, Shavelson et. al. (1976) state that the self-concept includes an evaluative component which holds that as the individual matures he learns to evaluate his performance in various situations and in response to different stimulus-objects. It is to this evaluative component (self-esteem) of the self-concept that this study now turns.

3.4 SELF-ESTEEM

According to Wells and Marwell (1976), the meaning of a construct such as self-esteem is desirable only in terms of a longer, more comprehensive theory of human behaviour and is necessarily relative to that theoretical perspective. In attempting to define and understand the process of self-esteem as a component of the self-concept, it is necessary to establish and describe commonalities and the points of divergence among usages. The conceptual importance of self-esteem is dependent upon such a process. Thus, the present investigator's intention in this section will be to highlight both differences and agreements with regard to the process of self-esteem.

However, as McGuire (1968) notes, the call for explicit definition is a familiar one in social science and an overconcern with definitions may be counterproductive - impeding the search for suitable research operations and empirical tests of hypotheses. Kaplan (1964) observes that:

Comparable to the myth of methodology ... is another myth concerning specification of meaning. We might call it the *semantic myth*, the notion that the trouble is chiefly linguistic; if only the behavioral scientist were to eliminate vagueness and ambiguity, define his terms, use definitions of the right kind (operational or whatever), all would be well with him. The fact is that for the most part the behavioral scientist, like everyone else, manages his semantics very well without extreme self-conscious exertions.

(p. 71)

The current problem in self-esteem descriptions is not one of over-definition, - there is no universal definition of self-esteem, - but rather one of an inability to relate to different usages and different empirical applications of the concept. Wells and Marwell (1976) believe that it is necessary to examine the meanings of the term self-esteem, since otherwise it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to relate the concept to other phenomena, both theoretically and empirically. Without adequate definitions, one cannot assess the empirical claims of the research concerning self-esteem. Specifically, one cannot assess (1) the plausibility of the claims or the validity of the observations on which they are based (that is, is the researcher measuring what he purports to be measuring?) and (2) the comparability of the claims with those of other researchers (that is, is researcher A dealing with the same thing as researcher B, who also claims to be studying self-esteem). The present investigator believes that the former inaccuracy is presently common amongst masters and doctoral theses in South Africa. More specifically research often purports to be measuring academic self-concept, while utilizing measures of general self-concept.

Self-esteem according to Branden (1969) is the most important value judgement the individual makes:

There is no value judgment more important to man, no factor more decisive in his psychological development and motivation, than the estimate he possesses of himself. This estimate is ordinarily experienced by him, not in the form of a conscious, verbalized judgment, but in terms of a feeling, a feeling that can be hard to isolate and identify because he experiences it constantly; it is part of every other feeling, it is involved in his every emotional response. Man's view of himself is necessarily implicit in all value responses. Any judgment entailing the issue "Is this for me or against me?" entails a view of the "me" involved. His self-evaluation is an omnipotent factor in man's psychology. The nature of his self-evaluation has profound effects on an individual's thinking processes, emotions, desires, values, and goals. It is the single most significant key to his behavior. To understand an individual psychologically, one must understand the nature and degree of his self-esteem and the standards by which he judges himself.

(pp. 109-110)

Self-evaluation or self-esteem refers to the evaluative and affective aspects of the self-concept (Gecas, 1982; Wells and Marwell, 1976; Shibutani, 1961). Most research on the self-concept focuses on this dimension, so that sometimes the self-concept is equated with self-esteem and the concepts are used interchangeably (Burns, 1982; Wells and Marwell, 1976). According to Gecas (1982), the main reason for the prominence of this aspect of self-concept is the motivational significance of self-esteem. Gergen (1971) observes that a person's self-esteem is of critical importance in determining his behaviour. A second, more pragmatic reason, is the ability to translate a concept of interest into measurable variables. A frequently used operationalized and quantified aspect of self-conception is the level of self-esteem (Wells and Marwell, 1976). Levels of self-esteem have unequivocal ordering and single index scores are quickly obtained from self-report instruments, which have 'face validity'. The crucial point is that different features of identity generally have some judgement or feeling of good or bad associated with them. "In a word, all action somewhere is evaluated on dimensions which grossly display positive and negative ends" (Cottle, 1965, p. 70). And Shibutani observes that "an individual acts as if he were a certain type of person marked by a given set of characteristics (because) each person places some kind of estimate upon himself as an object of value" (1961, pp. 230 and 433). This evaluative, judgemental, or affective aspect of a person's self-conception involves the process of self-esteem.

Fitts et. al. (1971) note that "the actual self-perceptions are important but ... they are probably secondary to the emotional tone or the esteem value of the perception" (p. 23).

3.4.1 Dimensions of Self-Esteem

In much of the literature, self-esteem refers to an individual overall (global) self-evaluation (Rosenberg's [1965] 10-item unidimensional scale is a very widely used measure of Self-esteem). Rosenberg defines the self-concept broadly as "the totality of an

individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object" (1979, p. 7). However, self-esteem has increasingly become differentiated into various aspects or dimensions.

Wells and Marwell (1976) emphasize the elements of affection and evaluation, and identify three principal senses in the literature. Self-love which is primarily affection or cathexis; self-acceptance which is a more conscious or preconscious judgement of affection; and a sense of competence which emphasizes evaluation - comparing an object or event with some standard - and the important feature is the experience of success or failure. The stress is upon abilities and capacities which are associated with a sense of self-confidence. In contrast, in self-acceptance - which also evaluates attitudes with respect to an ideal - the important aspect is the feeling attached to the evaluation.

Branden (1969) states that self-esteem has two interrelated aspects: it entails a sense of personal efficacy and a sense of personal worth. "It is the integrated sum of self-confidence and self-respect ... the conviction that one is competent to live and is worthy of living" (p. 110). Self-confidence denotes confidence in one's own cognitive processes and refers to the conviction that one is competent to think, to judge, and to know. Self-respect refers to a moral appraisal which is based on a statement or value judgement of what is 'right or wrong'. The need for self-respect is a value judgement, the individual cannot separate himself from values and value judgements. At all times individuals judge themselves according to some standard which determines one's self-evaluation.

Brissett (1972), previously referred to in the historical review, suggests that self-esteem encompasses two basic, yet distinct social psychological processes; the process of self-evaluation and the process of self-worth. He argues that the process of self-worth is more fundamental to the human being than a high degree of self-evaluation.

Common to these subdivisions is the distinction between self-esteem based on the sense of competence, power, or efficacy, and self-esteem based on a sense of virtue or moral worth. Wells and Marwell (1976) suggest that these two bases of self-esteem may be a function of different processes of self-concept formation, and constitute different sources of motivation. Competency-based self-esteem is related to effective performance, and is therefore associated with self-attribution and social comparison processes. As Branden (1969) points out, the individual judges himself according to standards or ideals of behaviour.

Self-esteem based on virtue (self-worth) is grounded in norms and values concerning personal and interpersonal conduct. The symbolic interactionists process of reflected appraisals contributes to the formation of self-worth. In conclusion, the present investigator concurs with Gecas (1982) who observes that a distinction between 'self-efficacy' and 'self-worth' is experientially false, and the two concepts are interrelated, with each effecting the other.

The processes underlying evaluation and affection will lead to different forms of description and measurement depending upon which process is emphasized. Descriptions of self-esteem in terms of evaluative processes tend to stress instrumentality - the assignment of some judgement of good or bad on the basis of an object's usefulness. The most common description of self-evaluation is in cognitive terms - as an attitudinal process involving 'cognitive comparisons'. Generally one compares an attitudinal object with some evaluative standard, and makes a value judgement.

In contrast to the functionality of personal characteristics, 'affective process' descriptions of self-esteem emphasize the emotional and behavioural concomitants of self-evaluations. It is not the individual's self-evaluation which is of central concern, but his cathectic response or reaction to it. What appears to be of paramount importance is the emotional or behavioural sequelae of the self-evaluation.

3.4.2 Definition of Self-Esteem

Self-esteem has generally been defined in terms of reflexive attitudes or sets of attitudes (Burns, 1982; Wells and Marwell, 1976). Wells and Marwell (1976) explain self-esteem as

... a hypothetical construct formed by social scientists to summarize certain features of human behavior, and it shares all of the difficulties that people have encountered with such scientific abstraction.

(p. 9)

They refer to self-esteem as "a more or less phenomenal process in which the person perceives characteristics of himself and reacts to those characteristics emotionally or behaviorally" (Wells and Marwell, 1976, p. 64).

Most approaches deal with self-esteem as a particular kind of attitude or as an attitude about a particular object. Coopersmith (1967) has perhaps provided the most widely accepted and utilized definition of self-esteem as an attitude.

By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself; it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy. In short, self-esteem is a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself. It is a subjective experience which the individual conveys to others by verbal reports and other overt expressive behavior.

(pp. 4-5)

The attitudinal perspective describes self-esteem as both global and specific, an individual has many different qualities to which he attaches evaluation, but he may also sum these to form an overall evaluation. This global self-esteem may be regarded as a collection of specific attitudes, or they may be viewed unidimensionally (Rosenberg, 1965).

Secondly, self-esteem is often defined as a psychological relation between different sets of attitudes. It was James (1890) who first conceptualized self-esteem as being the ratio of an individual's success to his pretensions. Relations or discrepancies between different self-perceptions and cognitions is a common conceptualization of self-esteem. Cohen (1959) viewed self-esteem as "the degree of correspondence between an individual's ideal and actual concepts of himself - a discrepancy between ideals and actual attainment" (p. 103). Cohen sees self-esteem as being the result of an individual's experiences of success or failure, which are then compared with his aspirations. The discrepancy approach to self-esteem popularized in clinical psychology with the advent of the phenomenological theories, is a major emphasis of the present study. The description of personal adjustment appears to be intuitively connected through the realism and favourability of self-perceptions - both aspirations and judgements.

The disparity description is framed in terms of a relation between different selves. How a person actually perceives and estimates himself is referred to as the real self. How a person would like to be, or how he feels he should be, is termed the ideal self. Sherwood (1965) distinguishes between an ideal self and an aspired self, with the later being a more realistic and situationally bound perception of the person's aspirations.

Some confusion exists about the meanings of the real and ideal self. Horney (1950) uses real self to mean the person's core of potentialities - levels and responses which would be achieved if the person were to "realize himself". In a sense this is more like an ideal self - it represents those levels that the person is striving toward except that it is not entirely a phenomenally conscious process. Horney uses the term self-ideal to refer not to an aspirational ideal, but to an ideational construction which the person seeks when reality proves too anxiety-producing. As a functionalized set of potentials which is unattainable - a fantasy self - it draws energy away from self-realization.

While a person clearly has many attitudes about himself, discrepancy descriptions generally treat self-esteem as a more singular, unitary property. Cohen (1959) suggests that a person's "feelings of success and failure experienced in a given situation should generalize to his entire self-concept" (p. 103).

In summary, the definition of self-esteem as a particular kind of attitude leaves the standard of evaluation implicit - the potential state with which the actuality is compared. On the other hand, attitude-discrepancy definitions of self-esteem explicitly include the standard of evaluation. Thus, a major difference between these two types of definition is the way they are translated into empirical operations purporting to measure self-esteem. As will be discussed in the section on Measurement, attitudinal descriptions require multiple responses to items and the use of derived combination scores.

Much research has been devoted to studying self-esteem as a psychological response, where the emphasis has been placed on the person's affective response to the content of his self-attitudes. Rosenberg (1965) observes that an individual with

high self-esteem ... expresses the feeling that one is 'good enough'. The individual simply feels that he is a person of worth, he respects himself for what he is ... low self-esteem, on the other hand, implies self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, self-contempt.

(p. 31)

Thus, self-esteem is defined not in terms of attitudinal or perceptual processes, but by specifying the emotional response thereof.

Silber and Tippet (1965) for example, define self-esteem as referring to feelings of satisfaction a person has about himself which reflect the relationship between the self-image and the ideal self-image. They observe that a large discrepancy between the ideal

self-image - what a person stakes himself on being -, and his self-image - how he actually sees himself -, would be expected to lower self-esteem. Conversely, experiences of realistic approximation of the self-image with the ideal self-image would be expected to heighten self-esteem. Measures of both aspects of self-esteem, that is, feelings of satisfaction about the self and the relationship between the self-image and ideal self-image have been used in the present study.

Thus, in self-acceptance descriptions, self-esteem is dependent upon the discrepancy between how a person perceives himself and how he thinks he should be; however, self-esteem is not the discrepancy itself but the feeling which is attached by the person to that discrepancy. The present investigator views the role of anxiety as being an important indication of self-dissatisfaction as a result of actual-ideal self discrepancy, and this will be elaborated upon later.

Finally, Battle (1981) defines self-esteem as follows:

Self-esteem refers to the perception the individual possesses of his own worth. An individual's perception of self develops gradually and becomes more differentiated as he matures and interacts with significant others. Perception of self-worth, once established, tends to be fairly stable and resistant to change.

(p. 14)

3.4.3 Levels of Self-Esteem

While the definitions of self-esteem presented above share many commonalities, the meanings of constructs are heavily dependent upon theoretical contexts, despite the apparent equivalence of terms. Thus, similar definitions of self-esteem often do not lead to similar behavioural predictions.

Although it is difficult to determine an individual's true perception of himself by observing his responses on a self-report inventory, research indicates that inventories used in conjunction with other clinical diagnostic measures are fairly accurate in differentiating individuals who possess low self-esteem from those who possess high self-esteem.

The inherent difficulties in ascertaining valid perceptions of self-esteem will be discussed in the section on measurement. Despite these difficulties, research findings typically indicate that individuals who possess low self-esteem typically tend to differ from individuals who possess high self-esteem. Findings previously noted in this study, of Coopersmith (1967), indicate that there are distinguishing features which characterize individuals who possess high or low self-esteem.

High self-esteem is assumed to be related to 'healthy' behaviour and 'good adjustment', both socially and psychologically (Rosenberg, 1965; Coopersmith 1967; Ziller, 1969). High self-esteem is basic to the self-acceptance perspective (for example, only by accepting and liking oneself, can one accept and like others). High self-esteem is associated with confidence and independence (Rosenberg, 1965), creativity and flexibility (Coopersmith, 1967), and lower disposition to deviance (Kaplan, 1975).

The person with low self-esteem is more likely to lack self-confidence, be shy, be dependent on others, nonexplorative, and guarded, to use defensive facades (Rosenberg, 1965), be unimaginative, value conformity, avoid self-analysis, use repressive defenses (Linton and Graham, 1959), be less creative, less flexible (Coopersmith, 1967), more authoritarian (Boshier, 1969), and self-derogating, and be more disposed toward various forms of deviance or criminality (Kaplan, 1975).

Rosenberg (1965) and Coopersmith (1967) found that individuals who possess low self-esteem tend to experience feelings of distress, self-hatred, psychosomatic symptoms and feelings of depression. Battle (1978) found that self-esteem amongst adolescents and adults, is significantly related to depression - as self-esteem increases, depression decreases.

Other factors related to self-esteem identified by researchers include the following: individuals with low self-esteem perform poorly under stress and failure (Shrauger and Rosenberg, 1970); individuals with high self-esteem are more sociable and have better developed social skills than individuals with low self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965); persons with high self-ideal discrepancies (low self-esteem) have higher social competence (Achenback and Zigler, 1963); individuals with high self-esteem have higher interpersonal instability (Neuringer and Wandke, 1966). Researchers have also presented conflicting results with regard to the relationship between high and low self-esteem and moral or altruistic behaviour, competitiveness, and achievement motivation.

This review of the literature in which self-esteem has been utilized as an independent variable, reveals that self-esteem has been related to almost everything at one time or another (Crandall, 1973). In most research areas, low self-esteem is associated with undesirable outcomes, while high self-esteem is generally viewed as having favourable consequences. A review of the research literature indicates however, that it is by no means clear on this point. A probable reason for these contradictory research findings is that it can be argued that defense mechanisms operate more effectively and forcefully under conditions of high self-esteem to inhibit the perception of negative information (Byrne, 1961) thereby making the individual less open to new experiences and change (Katz and Zigler, 1967).

Cohen (1959) states that individuals who possess high self-esteem, as compared to those with low self-esteem, are characterized by tendencies to protect themselves from negative self-evaluation. They are also more effective in their ability to evaluate an objective failure as a small failure and an objective success as a large success. On the other hand, individuals with low self-esteem do not protect themselves from negative evaluation, and tend to evaluate an objective failure as being a very poor performance and a good success as being a small success.

Others argue that a "medium" amount of self-esteem is optimal for psychological functioning, considering both the high and the low positions as dysfunctional (Cole, et. al., 1967). Extreme responses are not good for personal adjustment, while the middle ground represents a reasonable and realistic amount of self-appraisal and self-acceptance. According to Worchel and McCormick (1963), persons with medium self-esteem seem best able to handle problem-solving situations, because their reactions to incongruency are more attuned to reality. High self-esteem is equated with narcissism or defensive facades and low self-esteem with self-loathing or self-rejection. Well-adjusted individuals are aware of their limitations, accept them, and are willing to change and improve. Thus, these researchers, in general, suggest that the relationship between self-esteem and adjustment, is neither positive nor negative, but rather curvilinear.

Part of the reason for the confusion which exists with regard to levels of self-esteem as an independent variable, is that high self-esteem may be due either to genuinely high self-evaluation, based on effective performance, or to "defensively" high self-esteem, based on insecurity and compounded with a need for social approval (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964).

A major problem that consistently arises in the study of self-esteem is the great difficulty which is usually experienced when one attempts to ascertain valid responses from subjects. For example,

it is extremely difficult to control for faking, either positively or negatively. This disposition to fake is emphasized by Branden (1969), who states that self-esteem is a fundamental need of man. It is a need that cannot be avoided; and those who fail to achieve self-esteem, or who fail to a significant degree in their search for self-esteem, strive to fake it (Battle, 1982). Because they fail to attain self-esteem, they attempt to hide behind a facade and display what Battle (1982) calls pseudo or inauthentic self-esteem. According to Branden (1969), inauthentic self-esteem is an irrational pretense at self-value. It is a non-rational, self-protective device designed to reduce anxiety and enhance a sense of security. Inauthentic self-esteem is maintained through the use of defense mechanisms. Authentic self-esteem, on the other hand, is maintained and enhanced by actions that are in accordance with the individual's moral code.

The authentic individual is motivated by reality and emits behaviors that are consistent with his standards. He is confident in himself and is motivated by love of self, whereas the inauthentic individual is defensive and motivated by the fear that he is not worthy.

(Battle, 1982, p. 40).

The following is a list of categories of defenses which inauthentic individuals generally employ:

1. The man who is obsessed with being popular, who feels driven to win the approval of every person he meets, who clings to the image of himself as 'likeable,' who in effect, regards his appealing personality as his means to survival and the proof of his personal worth.
2. The woman who has no sense of personal identity and who seeks to lose her inner emptiness in the role of a sacrificial martyr for her children, demanding in exchange 'only' that her children adore her, that their adoration fill the vacuum of the ego she does not possess.
3. The man who never forms independent judgments about anything, but who seeks to compensate by making himself authoritatively knowledgeable concerning other men's opinions about everything.

4. The man who works at being aggressively 'masculine,' whose other concerns are entirely subordinated to his role as woman-chaser, and who derives less pleasure from the act of sex than from the act of reporting his adventures to the men in the locker room.
5. The woman whose chief standard of self-appraisal is the 'prestige' of her husband and whose psuedo-self-esteem rises or falls according to the number of men who court her husband's favor.
6. The man who feels guilt over having inherited a fortune, who has no idea of what to do with it, and proceeds frantically to give it away, clinging to the 'ideal' of altruism and to the vision of himself as a humanitarian, keeping his psuedo-self-esteem afloat by the belief that charity is a moral substitute for competence and courage.
7. The man who has always been afraid of life and who tells himself that the reason he is superior is 'sensitivity,' who chooses his clothes, his furniture, his books, and his bodily posture by the standard of what will make him appear idealistic.

(Branden, 1969, p. 151)

Thus, it becomes necessary in discussing self-esteem typologies to distinguish between genuine (authentic) self-esteem and "observed" (that is, measured, self-reported, presented) self-esteem. This will be covered more fully in the following section on Measurement, because many of the discrepancies in self-esteem research result from this distinction between the concept of self-esteem and measured self-esteem, and from its implications for the gathering of empirical evidence.

The problem of authentic versus defensively maintained self-esteem is further complicated by the self-esteem motive which distorts perceptions and cognition, and which results in self-deception. The motivation to maintain and enhance a positive conception of oneself is both pervasive and universal. Wells and Marwell (1976) observe that every self theory posits some variant of this motive.

Greenwald and Ronis (1978) described the present state of cognitive dissonance theory as follows:

The motivational force in present versions of dissonance theory has much more of an ego-defensive character.... The theory seems now to be focused on cognitive changes occurring in the service of ego defense, or self-esteem maintenance, rather than in the interest of preserving psychological consistency.
(pp. 54-55)

Thus, the cognitive dissonance theory has been transformed into a self theory through the role of self-esteem as a motivation for dissonance-reducing actions.

Rokeach's (1979) value theory also emphasizes the motivating mechanism in the discrepancy between a cognitive or behavioural element and the person's self-conception. He points out that such discrepancies are motivating because they threaten self-maintenance and self-enhancement.

As aspects of the self-esteem motive, self-enhancement emphasizes growth, expansion, and increasing one's self-esteem, while self-maintenance focuses on not losing what one has. Covington and Beery (1976) illustrate in their examination of academic self-esteem, that the two engender different behavioural strategies - "striving for success" and "fear of failure". Generally, individuals low in self-esteem are motivated more by self-maintenance than by self-enhancement.

Duval and Wicklund's (1972) self-awareness theory emphasized that change arises from one's awareness of an incongruity between one's idealized self-concept and one's self-image (the self as it appears in behaviour). The individual's self-evaluation as less than desirable motivates him to improve his behaviour in order to maintain self-esteem.

Within attribution theory, the emergence of the self-esteem motive is most evident in discussions of self-serving bias in attribution processes (Bowerman, 1978). This bias is the tendency of individuals to take credit for positive outcomes while denying responsibility for negative outcomes.

The self-esteem motive is manifest in the tendency to distort reality in the service of maintaining a positive self-conception. Rosenberg (1979) shows that selective perception protects self-esteem by influencing which others will be significant; which social comparisons will be made; and which aspects of the self-concept will be central.

An interesting finding with regard to the self-esteem motive, has been the study of Lewinsohn and Mischel (1980) on the relationship between accuracy of self-perception and depression. They found that clinically depressed patients were more realistic in their self-perceptions (level of congruence between self-ratings and observer ratings) than were those in the "normal" control group, who were more likely to engage in self-enhancing distortions. Mischel concluded by speculating that "self-enhancing information processing and biased self-encoding may be both a requirement for positive affect and the price for achieving it" (1979, p. 752).

One further point that must be made in this review of the nature of self-esteem, is the relationship of self-esteem to anxiety. Published research indicates fairly decisively that low self-esteem individuals are more likely to exhibit anxiety (Wylie, 1961). Research findings indicate that there are three general types of responses to anxiety: internalization, withdrawal, externalization (Battle, 1982). Previous findings indicate that individuals possessing low self-esteem tend to internalize more frequently psychophysiological symptoms and generally experience greater subjective distress (Rosenberg, 1965, and Coopersmith, 1967). Aichorn (1935) assumed that externalization (aggressive, antisocial behaviour) is a consequence of low self-esteem.

Becker (1971) argues that it is a function of self-esteem to give the ego a steady buffer against anxiety. The development of self-esteem has as a function, the avoidance of anxiety. It would be expected, then, that the individuals who have failed to develop adequate self-esteem are likely to be anxious individuals. Wilson (1973) posits a different causal chain - he argues that anxiety proneness (which he sees as being genetic) leads to feelings of insecurity and poor self-esteem. This is similar to Epstein's (1973) theory of the self. The empirical outcome is the same as Becker's theory - low self-esteem and anxiety should be positively correlated. A third possibility, - the first two viewing anxiety and self-esteem as separate phenomenon - is that self-esteem and anxiety are effectively the same thing. That is, low self-esteem is merely anxiety in context.

Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) in attempting to measure self-esteem, used a measure of anxiety as a check of the validity of their measure. The assumption made is that anxiety and self-esteem are functionally related to one another, even if they are not equivalent measures. Bagley et. al. (1979) speculate that if self-esteem and anxiety scales are in fact measuring exactly the same phenomenon, then there would be no need to construct special scales to measure self-esteem.

A major emphasis of the present investigation is the delineation of academic self-esteem, and the valid measurement of self-esteem in an academic context. As the present review has stressed, self-esteem has been greatly utilized as an independent variable, and much research has been devoted to studying the relationship between self-esteem and other related variables. Probably the greatest amount of research has been generated in studying the relationship of self-esteem to academic achievement. The present investigator will review the most relevant research findings in this area.

3.4.4 Self-Esteem and Academic Achievement

A person who doubts himself is like a man who would enlist in the ranks of his enemies and bear arms against himself. He makes his failure certain by himself being the first person to be convinced of it.

(Alexandre Dumas, *The Three Musketeers*, 1884)

Public opinion is a weak tyrant compared with our own private opinion. What a man thinks of himself, that it is which determines ... his fate.

(Thoreau, *Walden*, 1854)

Generally, the research evidence shows a persistent and significant relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement. Academic success or failure appears to be as deeply rooted in concepts of the self as it is in measured mental ability. An extensive review by Burns (1982) research on academic prediction revealed that product-moment correlation coefficients ranging from 0,40 to 0,60 can be expected when high school grades, aptitude test scores and achievement test scores are contrasted individually with university grades. Multiple correlation coefficients of these intellectual factors vary from 0,55 to 0,65. Research in general confirms that approximately 50 percent of the variance in academic performance is accounted for by measures of ability.

In a major study of personality and motivation in relation to school achievement, Cattell, Sealy, and Sweeney (1966) found that of the total variance in school achievement 21 to 25 percent were accounted for by a culture-fair intelligence test, 27 to 36 percent by personality traits and 23 to 27 percent by motivational traits. The findings suggest that the level of prediction of school achievement could be doubled by adding measures of personal traits to measures of ability, and trebled by the addition of motivational measures. Since self-esteem is both a personal and motivational variable its overall contribution to the variance of academic achievement should be high.

Brookover's (1967) extensive research on the self-image and achievement, led to the conclusion that the assumption that human ability is the most important factor in achievement is questionable, and that the student's attitudes limit the level of his achievement in school.

Gillman (1969) provides support for this research position, and states that the development of a positive self-esteem is a necessary prerequisite to academic achievement and should be a major objective of every school that is concerned with the development of productive citizens. The recent upsurge of child-centred philosophy surrounding the open classroom movement in education, includes the belief that a child's feelings about himself are a key factor in his ability to achieve in school. The introduction of "Life-Skills Teaching Programmes" (Hopson and Scally, 1982) into the South African Educational curriculum attest to the attempt to "humanize" schools. Thus, Burns (1982) concludes that the inclusion of self-esteem development as a central theme in non-cognitive development, is linked with the all too recent awareness that academic development and progress cannot be considered in isolation from other aspects of human development - the physical, social and emotional development.

Lipton (1963), offers the following remarks concerning the relationship between self-esteem and achievement:

The roots of desire to learn are deep and multibranched. The development of a self-worth and self-value is one of the most important and significant of these branches. To know oneself and to value oneself contributes mightily to the development of an able learner, a curious learner, and a mature learner.

(p. 211)

Canfield and Wells (1976) have developed a "poker chip theory of learning" to explain the research findings which indicate that cognitive learning increases when the self-concept increases:

We see all learning as the result of a risk-taking situation somewhat akin to a poker game (or any other gambling situation, for that matter). In any potential learning situation, the student is asked to take a risk: to write a paper that will be evaluated, to make a recitation which may be laughed at, to do board work that may be wrong, to create an object of art that might be judged, etc. In each situation he is risking error, judgment, disapproval, censure, rejection, and, in extreme cases, even punishment. At a deeper level the student is risking his or her self-concept.

Imagine that each student's self-concept is a stack of poker chips. Some students start the learning game, as it were, with a lot of poker chips; others with very few. The students with the higher number of chips have a great advantage. To continue the poker analogy, the student with only fifteen chips can only sustain three losses of five chips each. The latter student will be much more cautious and reticent about stepping into the arena. This kind of student manifests a variety of behaviors indicating his reluctance to risk learning. They range from "This is stupid, I don't want to do it" (translation: 'I am stupid; I'm afraid I can't do it') and withdrawn silence on one extreme to mischievous acting out on the other.

The student who has had a good deal of success in the past will be likely to risk success again; if he should fail, his self-concept can "afford" it. A student with a history predominated by failures will be reluctant to risk failure again. His depleted self-concept cannot afford it. Similar to someone living on a limited income, he will shop cautiously and look for bargains. One obvious recommendation in this situation is to make each learning step small enough so that the student is asked to only risk one chip at a time, instead of five. But even more obvious, in our eyes, is the need to build up the student's supply of poker chips so that he can begin to have a surplus of chips to risk.

If a student starts out, metaphorically speaking, with twenty chips and he gains fifteen more through the exercises contained in this book, then, even if he loses ten in a reading class, he is still five ahead of the game. But if he loses ten from a starting position of twenty he is now down to ten and in a very precarious psychological position. Viewed in this way, self-concept building can be seen as making sure that every student has enough chips to stay in the game.

(Canfield and Wells, 1976, p. 7)

Burns (1982) concurs with Canfield and Wells's (1976) observation that children enter school with a predisposition towards academic achievement or failure already fertilized by the qualities of parental interest, love and acceptance offered them. He notes that:

"This fairly firm picture of his self-worth provides the child with an array of self-expectations about how he will cope in his school work and how others will react to him as a person. Each pupil is already invisibly tagged, some enhancingly by a diet of nourishing interest and affection, and others crippled by a steady downpour of psychic blows from significant others denting, weakening and distorting their self-concepts."

(Burns, 1982, p. 201)

Battle (1982) observes, however, that advances in attempts to understand the role that self-esteem plays in the achievement process have been limited greatly because there have been few instruments available that reliably assess self-esteem. Schreier and Kraut (1979) note that empirical evidence validating the causal role of self-concept has lagged behind its incorporation into theory and educational interventions. This problem is illustrated by Wylie (1961) who concludes that researchers who study the phenomenon of self-esteem generally employ instruments that are questionable. While this aspect of self-esteem will be discussed in detail in a later section on Measurement, it is sufficient to note that most of the studies reviewed by Wylie (1961) concerning the self-concept, were in fact, studies of self-report. The difference is that the self-concept "is what an individual believes he is. The self-report, on the other hand, is what the subject is ready, willing, able or can

be tricked to say he is. Clearly, these concepts are by no means the same" (Combs, 1962, p. 52). This difference will be dealt with in detail in the section on Measurement of Self-Esteem.

Global self-esteem appears to be significantly related to various measures of achievement. Coopersmith (1967) reported an $r = 0,30$, between his Self-Esteem Inventory and grade-point average in preadolescent children. Morrison, Thomas, and Weaver (1973) reported an $r = 0,40$ between self-esteem score and grades on an objective test. Morrison and Thomas (1975) reported an $r = 0,26$ between total self-esteem score and proportion of thoughts contributed to a class discussion; an $r = 0,40$ between school, self-esteem subset (academic) and contributed thoughts. Correlations ranging from 0,35 to 0,45 were found by Trowbridge (1972) between self-esteem scores and reading level scores for children within different socioeconomic levels. Rosenthal (1973) found that the self-esteem score of dyslexics differed significantly from that of controls.

In a major study of transitional youth, Bachman (1970) found a significant correlation of 0,23 between self-esteem scores based on Rosenberg's Scale and self-reported grades for boys in standard seven (aged 14 to 15 years), and a significant correlation of 0,48 between self-concept of school work ability and self-reported grades.

An analysis by Bachman and O'Malley (1977), based on a sample of matriculants (aged 16 to 17 years), showed that self-esteem is positively correlated with educational success. The study also showed that educational accomplishments seem to have greater importance for self-esteem during the five years beyond high school.

A survey conducted by Richer (1968) of adolescents' experience of school after they left, provides the impression that for less academically inclined youths, the post-school period was a time when they recovered from the emotional and devaluing effects of education. In general, school made Richer's respondents feel a failure, and that large schools offered relatively less opportunity for the personal success of the less able and the average child.

The relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement, is most pronounced when measures of academic self-concept (self-esteem) are employed. Brookover, Thomas and Patterson (1964) conducted a study which tested three major hypotheses: (1) self-concept of ability in school is significantly and positively related to the academic performance of students even with an ability dimension controlled; (2) self-concept of ability in school is differentiated into specific self-concepts which correspond to specific subject areas in the school programme and these specific self-concepts are better predictors of academic performance in the relevant area than is the general self-concept of ability; and (3) self-concept of ability is significantly and positively correlated with the evaluation that one perceives significant others to hold of one's ability.

Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale was administered in two parallel forms: the first designed to measure general self-concept of ability; and the second to measure self-concept of ability in four school subject areas: mathematics, science, social studies and English. Though the references were changed, the substance of the questions remained the same in both forms. The subjects were early adolescent (12 - 13 years old) white school pupils. They found that even when measured intelligence is controlled, the correlation between the grade point average and general academic self-concept was 0,42 and 0,39 for males and females respectively. Moreover, the specific self-concept of ability correlations were significantly higher in social studies for both groups, and for males in maths and science. Thus the findings indicated that generally the specific self-concept of ability was a better predictor of academic performance for males but not for females. Finally, Brookover found that the self-concept was significantly and positively correlated ($r = 0,58$) with the perceived evaluations of the student by other significant people.

Brookover et. al. (1965) found correlations ranging from 0,56 to 0,65 between achievement and self-concept of ability in a study of 12 to 15 year-old pupils.

In a summary of their research, Brookover et. al. (1967) concluded that the correlation between self-concept of ability and grade point average ranges from 0,48 to 0,63 over a six year period (that is, from 11 to 17 years of age). Thus they found that self-concept of academic ability is associated with academic achievement at each grade level. In addition, a significant proportion of pupils with high self-concepts of ability achieved at a relatively lower level, while very few students with a low self-concept of ability achieved at a high level. Burns (1982) interprets this finding as being supportive of the theory that perceived evaluations are a necessary and sufficient condition for the development of a high self-concept of ability, but a high self-concept is only a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for achievement.

Marsh, Parker and Smith (1983) found that academic abilities (reading achievement, intelligence, and teacher ratings of ability in different areas) tended to be uncorrelated with non-academic dimensions of self-concept, moderately correlated with the academic dimensions, and most highly correlated with the academic dimension that most closely matched the particular academic ability. The sample selected were preadolescent pupils in an Australian educational system.

The results of these and other studies (for example, Mintz and Muller, 1977) indicate that a factor specific model of self-concept is of greater utility in assessing the relationship between self-concept and achievement than is the undifferentiated or global model. This finding is in line with the definition of self-esteem presented in the present investigation which emphasizes its multidimensionality. The present investigator queries however, Brookover's semantic description of the scale he used, and prefers to view it as a 'Self-Esteem of Ability' Scale rather than a 'Self-Concept of Ability' Scale.

Many other studies have pointed to the significant relationship between self-concept and academic achievement (Campbell, 1967; Bledsoe, 1967; Gill, 1969). Irwin (1967) studied the self reports of final year university students and found significant relationships between reported self-concept and academic achievement. He stated that: "It may well be that a positive conception of one's self as a person is not only more important than striving to get ahead and enthusiasm for studying and going to university, but that it is a central factor when considering optimal scholastic performance" (Irwin, 1967, p. 271).

An important study completed by Marsh and Parker (1984) utilizing a frame of reference hypothesis within an Australian academic situation, found that early adolescent students ratings of their own self-concepts are substantially correlated with teacher ratings of student self-concepts, with results of academic ability tests, and with teacher ratings of academic ability. Specific dimensions of student self-concept are most highly correlated with the variables to which they are most logically (and theoretically connected). This finding agrees with those of Brookover et. al. (1967).

Secondly, Marsh et. al. (1984) found that academic self-concept is positively correlated with the level of social status and academic ability. Within a given level of school social status, the higher the family social status is, the higher is the academic self-concept, but at a given level of family social status, the higher the school social status is, the lower is the academic self-concept. Marsh's et. al. (1984) frame of reference hypothesis assumes that a student's reference group influences academic self-concept only in the sense that one's own performance is compared with that of one's reference group, and it is this relativistic perception that forms the basis of self-concept. Marsh et. al. (1984) point out that this hypothesis does not suggest what will happen if children from low socio-economic and high socio-economic schools later come together in the same secondary school. Marsh et. al. (1984) raise the question whether it is better for a child to

have a higher academic self-concept and a somewhat lower academic achievement, or a lower academic self-concept and somewhat higher achievement. Marsh et. al. (1984) conclude their study with the following stimulating questions:

For some children the early formation of a self-image of themselves as a good student is probably more important in terms of later schooling than are small differences in their absolute level of achievement. On the other hand, a positive academic self-concept that is based on a comparison with abilities in a low-ability school might not be maintainable in a different academic setting. Will levels of academic performance improve (in an absolute sense, in order to maintain the same relative standing among more able students), or will academic self-concept drop to reflect the lower relative standing that the same level of (absolute) academic performance will produce? Here, again, the answer is not obvious and will probably depend on other variables.

(Marsh and Parker, 1984, p. 230)

These findings have important implications for the present study, where one is dealing with individuals who are moving from different academic settings, that is, from a school to a university context.

The ever-increasing growth in university enrolments, especially amongst Black students, coupled with an insatiable demand for graduates with the necessary industrial, technical and commercial knowledge, has highlighted the need for ensuring greater success at university and a drop in the failure rate. The van Wyk de Vries Commission into universities (1974) stated that the high first year failure rate was a source of concern to the State, the university, the parents and the students themselves. What then is the relationship of self-esteem to academic underachievement?

Most investigators define underachievement as being representative of a discrepancy between potentiality and actual accomplishments. Purkey (1970) suggests that underachievement refers to those individuals who demonstrate well above average on intellectual or academic tests, but who fail to develop their potential.

Shaw, Edson and Bell (1960) reported that male achievers scored significantly higher than underachievers on the following: realistic, optimistic, enthusiastic, reliable, clear-thinking and intelligent. Female underachievers scored higher than achievers on: fussy, confused, hard-headed, lovable, moody, jolly, unselfish, anxious, mischevious, kind, pleasure-seeking, soft-hearted, easy-going, considerate.

Bruner and Caron (1959) found that overachieving subjects in comparison with underachieving subjects had a higher need-achievement score, recalled achievement-related words sooner, had less memory interference, and expended more effort to solve problems in competitive situations.

Fink (1962) studied 14 and 15 year old students and found the combined ratings of three psychologists indicated significant differences between achievers and underachievers. Fink concluded that there is a significant relationship between self-concept and academic underachievement, and that this relationship appears stronger in boys than girls.

Combs (1965) found that underachievers saw themselves as less adequate and less acceptable to others, and they also saw peers and adults as less acceptable. This is consistent with the view that an individual is inclined to project his feelings about himself onto others.

Burgess (1956) in his study of underachievers, found them to be less adaptive intellectually, tended to overgeneralize, overextend themselves, lacking in intellectual control and in the repression of emotional reactivity. Underachievers are as capable as achievers in establishing rapport in social situations, but were more dependent in their attitudes toward others.

Ralph (1966) found his underachieving group to be less able or willing to compete for high grades. They generally felt that school authority and power was vested in adults, rather than students, but turned to peers rather than teachers for guidance.

Taylor (1964) reviewed the literature on the academic underachiever and identified the following characteristics: he is self-derogatory, has a depressed attitude toward himself, has feelings of inadequacy, and tends to have strong inferiority feelings. Harding (1966) found that school 'dropouts' have a significantly low self-concept of their academic ability.

Battle (1975) found that students who were experiencing academic or behavioural problems earned self-esteem scores that were significantly lower than those of students who were functioning satisfactorily.

Finally, there is growing evidence that poor reading ability is closely bound up with feelings of personal worth. Quandt (1973), in his review of the literature dealing with the relationship between reading and self-perceptions, concluded that a positive self-concept contributes greatly to a child's reading ability. Reading achievement also appears to be related to one's perception of ability (Jason and Dubnow, 1973).

Knapp (1955) stresses the role that reading plays in personal adjustment, and sees reading as being basic to the successful adjustment of the child in school, at university, and in life generally.

The failure-to-achieve syndrome, which is experienced by an increasingly large number of youngsters, is not due to lack of potential; rather, it is a consequence of problems in adjustment generally associated with low self-esteem. This position is reflected in the writing of Fraiser and Combs (1958), who state that most failures in reading and spelling are not results of the incapacity of the student; rather they are symptoms of his attitude toward the tasks of reading and spelling. He sees himself inadequately, so he behaves inadequately. Additional support for the position is provided by Combs (1958), who states that most children who come to reading clinics, cannot read because they believe they cannot read and believe themselves to be unable. They behave in terms of the concepts they possess.

(Knapp, 1955, p. 315)

To summarize, research generally shows that achievement is significantly related to self-esteem. It clearly shows that unsuccessful students, whether underachievers, nonachievers, or poor readers, are likely to hold pervasively negative attitudes about themselves and their abilities. Underachievers tend to possess lower self-esteem, more hostility, more negative attitudes about school, are less self-reliant, and possess generally lower levels of adjustment than their achieving peers. Fromm (1955) has indicated that continuing feelings of worthlessness are a characteristic of the unhealthy personality.

Attributing achievement and failure, especially with regard to the self-esteem motive is important in a study of students in transition. Determinants of academic achievement and failure are perceived as different for high and low self-esteem individuals. Weiner (1971) has suggested that the self-perception of success and failure can be understood in terms of the relative weight a person accords to the following factors: ability, difficulty of task, luck and effort.

In a study by Ames (1978), high self-concept children attributed success more to their high ability and engaged in more positive self-reinforcement following success than did low self-concept children. Failure resulted in increased self-therapy by the high self-concept child but to increased self-punishment by the low self-concept child.

Ames and Felker (1979) found that high self-concept children appeared to take credit for their success, while low self-concept children rejected success by taking little personal responsibility for the outcome.

Griffin et. al. (1983) in a study of first year university students found that effort was viewed as a predominant cause of academic achievement while luck was viewed as relatively unimportant. More successful than unsuccessful students attributed their performance to effort and ability. They also tended to make higher attributions to teacher's performance and interest.

An associated finding is the study conducted by Zatz and Chassin (1983), which compared the cognitions of low, moderate, and high test anxious children. Higher test anxious subjects reported more task debilitating cognitions, including negative evaluations and off-task thoughts, and they reported fewer positive evaluations.

Finally, Strube and Roemmele (1985) found that subjects with ego-protective tendencies and low self-esteem preferred tests that were high in diagnosticity of success, but low in diagnosticity of failure, whereas subjects with low self-protective tendencies (both high and low self-esteem) preferred tests which were high in diagnosticity of both success and failure. These results indicate that self-evaluation is mediated by both a desire for accurate self knowledge and a desire to enhance or maintain one's self-esteem. The individual with low self-esteem will adopt an external causal attribute in the face of failure in order to maintain his level of self-esteem.

In conclusion, two factors which are important for achievement, directed behaviours - beliefs about one's ability - , and self-reinforcement mechanisms, have been shown to be strongly related to self-concept.

With regard to sex differences in the self-esteem - academic achievement relationship, the research evidence is clear for males but less so for females, that there is a significant relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement.

Campbell (1965) and Bledsoe (1967) found a stronger relationship between self-concept and achievement in males than in females. Nicholls (1975) found that male pupils tend to attribute success to ability, but females attribute success to luck. Interestingly, Dweck (1974) observed that males and females receive the same amount of feedback from teachers. However, a large proportion of negative evaluations received by boys are based upon their conduct, while for girls it is based upon the quality of their work. Thus, males do not interpret the teachers' negative feedback as a reflection of their ability, while females do.

Purkey (1970) believes that the question of influence of sex on the self-concept is a rich field of exploration and needs much more research.

Research findings into the cause-effect relationship of self-esteem and academic achievement view it as a two-way circular process, that there is a continuous interaction between the self and achievement, and that each directly influences the other.

Gabbler and Gibby (1967), systematically manipulating the self-concept, showed that under the stress of failure even quite able children performed less effectively. They also tended to regard themselves less highly, and tended to believe that they were not as highly regarded by significant others in their lives. Thus, this experiment showed that performance did in fact influence the self-concept.

On the other hand, other studies support the opposite argument that self-concept affects academic performance, and improvement in the latter is preceded by self-concept enhancement (Brookover et. al., 1965).

In general, Burns (1982) and Purkey (1970) in extensive reviews of the literature conclude that the relationship between self-esteem and academic attainment is reciprocal, not unidirectional. Academic success raises or maintains self-esteem, while self-esteem influences performance through expectations, standards, recognition of personal strengths, and higher motivational levels of persistence. Doctoral and masters dissertations purporting to increase academic achievement through self-concept change have generally failed to find an association between self-concept change and academic achievement, due to the utilization of measures of questionable validity. Many methodological and measurement problems appear to exist in the self-esteem literature. Wylie (1974) concluded that no well-constructed, well-validated measuring instruments are yet available, particularly for self-concept in

young children. The failure to find self-concept changes in the programs reviewed by the present investigator was often attributed by their investigators to inadequate measurement in this domain (for example, Harper, 1978). Before turning to the measurement of self-esteem, a summary of this section on self-esteem and education is provided by Kubie (1967) who issues a timely warning of the danger of an education system which "dehumanizes" individuals through an over-emphasizes on the accumulation and absorption of 'facts':

It is my conviction that education without self-knowledge in depth is a process which, like education itself, is never complete. It is a point on a continuous and never-ending journey. It is always relative, never absolute. It is a process which must go on throughout life, if at all; and like the fight for external freedom, it demands eternal vigilance and continuous struggle. This is because in every one of us, from the beginning of life until its end, active forces are at work which tend repeatedly to confuse and obscure our images of ourselves. Therefore, that well-known average man who lacks self-knowledge in depth looks out upon the world through glasses which are discolored by the quality of his own unconscious self-image. Without self-knowledge in depth we can have dreams, but no art. We can have the neurotic raw materials of literature but not mature literature. We can have no adults, but only aging children who are armed with words and paint and clay and atomic weapons, none of which they understand. And the greater the role in the educational process which is played by unconscious components of symbolic thinking, the wider must be this ancient and dishonorable gap between erudition and wisdom. It is this gap which makes a mockery of the more pretentious claims of art, of science, of education, and of religion.

(Kubie, 1967, p. 133)

3.5 THE MEASUREMENT OF SELF-ESTEEM

"First of all," he said, "if you can learn a simple trick, Scout, you'll get along a lot better with all kinds of folks. You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view -"

"Sir?"

"- until you climb into his skin and walk around in it."

(Harper Lee, To Kill a Mockingbird, p. 36)

When you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers, you know something about it; but when you cannot measure it, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind; it may be the beginning of knowledge, but you have scarcely, in your thoughts, advanced to the stage of science.

(Lord Kelvin, in Allan, 1982, p. 1))

The present investigation has clearly illustrated that self-esteem is a central core of research examining human personality, yet after many years of conceptual prominence and utilization in research, the operationalization of this variable remains haphazard and inconclusive. It is probable that no area of psychological research is currently more popular or more confused than that having to do with the measurement of self-esteem. As previously indicated, there appears to be little consensus on a definition. There also appears to be a diverse range of measurement procedures; and, in many cases, there are weak or nonexistent correlations among indicators. (Wylie [1961] lists 493 articles and research reports on the self-concept). Hence, various findings relating to self-esteem are not comparable (Wells and Marwell, 1976; Wylie, 1979). Scales purporting to measure self-esteem or some related concept, continue to proliferate with apparently little willingness on the part of researchers to face the measurement problems inherent in their work. Robinson and Shaver (1970) report that there are now two-hundred such scales in the literature - most used only once.

Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton's (1976) conclusion is still pertinent today; that is, "Self-concept research has addressed itself to substantive problems before problems of definition, measurement, and interpretation have been resolved" (p. 460). Yet studies of the measurement problems in self-esteem research are rare and inconsequential.

It has been previously emphasized that the self-esteem concept has been defined within different theoretical frameworks, and this section concerns itself with the implications of these definitions for the conduct of psychological research. That is, the present investigation is concerned partly with the operationalization of self-esteem. Wells and Marwell (1976) observe that:

It is this connection of the concept with observable and, in some instances, measurable events that makes the concept meaningful to psychologists and sociologists. Given some description of self-esteem as a construct involving processes of behavior, the next task is deciding how to observe specific instances of these processes in experience and to describe them in a meaningful way.

(p. 77)

In general, this is the problem of self-esteem measurement. Measurement is conceived in terms of quantitative processes, variables, and numerical properties. The essential nature of the task is in assigning symbols to persons and events in a way that represents an ordering or classification of these persons according to some property of the construct. Thorndike and Hagen (1969) pointed out that all measurement must comply with the following three requirements:

- (a) The attribute that must be measured, must be clearly identified and defined:
- (b) it must be decided in what way the specific attribute or characteristic can be observed, and
- (c) procedures must be established for converting observations into quantitative definitions.

As previously noted, Coopersmith's (1967) definition of self-esteem as being the evaluation which the individual maintains with regard to himself, and which expresses an attitude (negative or positive), has been most often utilized in self-esteem research. Several features of this definition have methodological implications. First, researchers such as Coopersmith (1967), and Rosenberg (1965, 1979), who define self-esteem as a global positive or negative self assessment (that is, the structural perspective), view self-esteem as a personality trait characterized by considerable stability from one situation to the next, even from year to year. The vast majority of self-esteem researchers thus employ single administration questionnaires designed to measure overall or global self-esteem.

On the other hand, Demo (1985) and Savin-Williams and Demo, (1983), adapt a more processional perspective in their study of self-esteem. They view self-esteem as a fluctuating self-attitude that most often resembles a baseline or standard self-evaluation, but that also encounters situational fluctuations from this baseline as a function of changing roles, expectations, performances, responses from others, and other situational characteristics. In this manner, individuals may have generally favourable attitudes toward themselves, possess self-respect, and consider themselves persons of worth, but on certain days and in particular situations they may feel better or worse about themselves than is typically the case. This viewpoint concurs with James's (1890) simile of self-esteem rising and falling like a barometer. Demo (1985) in his study used multiple and repeated measures to obtain "snapshots" of an individual's self-esteem in different social situations. Savin-Williams and Jaquish (1981) argued that:

What is needed to assess self-regard more accurately are measures that tap a variety of situations or contexts in which individuals find themselves. Such measures allow for contents in which individuals find themselves. Such measures allow for context-specific assessment as well as an overall 'score' (which is simply some derivative of the sum of context-specific scores).

(p. 331)

Secondly, self-esteem results from evaluations of the self as an "object", yet in some of its aspects this object is only available for scrutiny by the subject. This presents great difficulty regarding the validity of measurement instruments, as well as the problems of individual differences in defensiveness and response-biasing.

Combs, Soper, and Courson (1963) believe that most studies purporting to explore the self-concept are not measures of the self-concept, but are rather studies of the self-report. Gordon and Combs (1958) view this confusion as being unfortunate in view of the interest in "self" psychology. Combs and Soper (1957) pointed out that the self-concept and self-report are quite different concepts which cannot be used interchangeably. Purkey (1970) observed that the controversy surrounding the evaluation of the self through self-reports has been over the question of the validity (Is the instrument measuring what it claims to measure?), and the reliability (How consistent are the findings through various administrations?).

Wylie (1979) argues that the self-concept is a strictly phenomenological variable, thus the ratings by others of an individual's behaviour are irrelevant to the validity of scores on a self-esteem measure. However, Robinson and Shaver (1970) believe that it is important to ascertain the extent to which an individual's self-report corresponds to the evaluations others make of him. This is rarely sufficient to establish the validity of a scale designed to measure self-report because it depends in part on an individual's idiosyncratic standards and on his unique access to some characteristics of himself. The establishment of "construct validity" is an important aspect of self-esteem measurement (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955).

The process of establishing the construct validity of a self-esteem measure contains four steps:

a) We may make observational, including mathematical, analyses of the measuring process to determine what variables other than the construct in question might be influencing our results.

b) We may ascertain that there are intercorrelations among measures presumed to index the same construct.

c) It is pertinent to make internal item analyses and factor analyses of an instrument to determine how many basic processes must be postulated to account for response variance on the instrument as a whole.

d) Cronbach and Meehl (1955) have suggested that, in the absence of suitable external validating criteria, we may examine results obtained from studies in which responses on the instrument in question are related to other stimulus and response variables. Positive findings from such a study offer support simultaneously to the construct validity of the instrument and to the theory behind the study. In general, such investigations would involve (a) successful prediction of group differences, and (b) studies of predicted changes over occasions (especially after controlled experimental intervention). We must bear in mind, however, that such findings offer ambiguous support at best, since the ratio of unknown to known variables does not preclude alternate interpretations. We are not, therefore, warranted in by-passing validity procedures of the types (a) - (c) above. The appearance of face validity coupled with studies of type (d) will never suffice to establish the construct validity of a newly devised instrument.

(Wyllie, 1961, pp. 25-26)

Other researchers have claimed the self-report is a valid indication of the self-concept and have used it in further researches. Rogers (1951) adopts the viewpoint that self-reports are valuable sources of information about the individual. Allport (1966) asserts that the individual has the right to be believed when he reports his feelings about himself. Sarbin and Rosenberg (1955) state that the self-report is useful in getting at meaningful self-attributes economically, in terms of time and effort.

Strong and Feder (1961) observe 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 properties of that self-concept.

(p. 170)

Finally, Nunnally (1975) adopts the following position with regard to the problems associated with self-report inventories:

Long ago the author came to the conclusion that generally the most valid, economical, sometimes the only way to learn about a person's sentiments is simply to ask him.

(p. 170)

Combs, and Soper and Courson (1963) define the self-concept as being "what an individual believes about himself, the totality of his ways of seeing himself" (p. 494). On the other hand, the "self report" is a description of self reported to an outsider. It represents what the individual says he is. While the self report will be affected by the individual's self-concept, according to Combs et. al. (1963), this is not a one-to-one relationship.

Combs and Soper (1957) reported that the degree to which the self-report can be relied upon as an accurate (valid) indication of the self-concept depends upon the following factors:

1. the clarity of the subjects' awareness;
2. his command of adequate symbols for expression;
3. social expectancy;
4. the cooperation of the subject;
5. his freedom from threat; and
6. the individual's feeling of personal adequacy.

Wyllie (1961) concluded from her comprehensive review of research on self-concept:

We would like to assume that a subject's self-report responses are determined by his phenomenal field. However, we know that it would be naive to take this for granted, since it is obvious that such responses may also be influenced by the: (a) subject's intent to select what he wishes to reveal to the examiner, (b) subject's intent to say that he has attitudes or perceptions which he doesn't have, (c) subject's response habits, particularly those involving introspection and the use of language, and (d) host of situational and methodological factors which may not only induce variations of (a), (b), and (c) but may exert other more superficial influences on the responses obtained.

(p. 24)

A final implication of Coopersmith's definition of self-esteem is that it is based on attitudes toward the self. This suggests that a wide variety of attitude measurement techniques may be utilized. And, since attitudes may be either conscious or unconscious, these measurement techniques need not be limited to conscious self-reports. That is, projective measures may also be used.

Over-reliance on traditional questionnaires used to measure global self-esteem has created the problem that other dimensions of the self-concept have been neglected. Wells and Marwell's (1976) review of self-concept methodologies demonstrates that no single form of measurement is complete or without its particular biases. "Consequently, to the extent that self-esteem measurement relies upon a single measurement form - orthodox verbal self-ratings - it will be inadequate" (p. 144). Webb (1970) explains that because every data-gathering method has specific biases, "we should like to converge data from several data classes, as well as converge with multiple variants from within a single class" (p. 322). It would seem then that it is necessary to compare various measurement procedures by examining their intercorrelation. By examining convergence or equivalence among measures, one may be able to more easily compare findings across studies and thus construct a nomological network (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955), around the concept of self-esteem. It needs to be pointed out however, that

cross-method convergence can not be equated with construct validity.

Wells and Marwell (1976) described the self-esteem literature in general as having an indeterminate character. Wylie (1961, 1974) was also critical of research in this area, arguing that there are far too many instruments used to measure self-esteem and most are never reevaluated for their adequacy or perceived ability. Gecas's (1982) review of the self-concept literature confirms that measurement continues to be a serious problem facing research on the self-concept and the major obstacle to cumulative and valid knowledge in this area.

Wells and Marwell (1976) note, however, that such problems characterize most social and psychological measurement, having especially plagued cognitive and motivational constructs.

Studies that have examined intercorrelations among measures are discouraging. Spitzer (1969) found poor interrelations among three projective self-evaluation instruments, while Demo and Savin-Williams (1983) obtained only moderate correlations among three self-report measures. Examining analyses of convergent and discriminant validity, Wylie (1974) found cross-instrument correlations ranging from 0 to .81, with the average being about .40. She concluded the following:

Factor-analytic studies of instruments purporting to measure 'overall' self-esteem, self-acceptance, etc., lead one to believe that either there is no such measurable dimension as overall self-esteem or at least some of the scales purporting to measure this construct are doing a poor job of it.

(p. 101)

The unexplained variance among the instruments indicates that they are imperfect measures of a unitary concept.

Demo (1985) reports that the picture is even bleaker when different types of instruments are compared. Inferred measures (evaluations of an individual by persons other than the individual), are susceptible to self-presentation and impression management, which may obscure and distort someone else's perspective of an individual's self-esteem. Genuine self-esteem should result in self-report and inferred measures correlating. Inferred self-rating does not attempt to rate or evaluate individuals "objectively", as in the rating of self-esteem as a social process. Public or social esteem involves individuals (observers) giving their own feelings or ratings of the individual. Inferred self-esteem involves rating the individual's self-feelings by making inferences from their behaviour in ongoing interaction.

Combs, Soper and Courson (1963) raise the question that since on logical grounds the self-report cannot be used as a direct measure of the self-concept, how can one get closer to a valid indication of the self-concept?

Since the self-concept is an organization within the individual's perceptual or phenomenal field, it is not open to direct observation. To study the self-concept it is necessary to infer its nature from observations of the behavior of the individual. One class of behaviors which may be used as a basis for making such inferences, of course, is what the subject has to say about himself. The probability of accurate inference, however, will be greatly increased if a large sample of behavior is used as data from which inferences are made. One way of doing this is to use trained observers who a) make careful observations of a subject under a variety of circumstances and then b) infer the nature of the individual's ways of perceiving himself and his world. Combs and Soper (1957) have called this 'the use of the observer as instrument.'

The 'inferred self-concept' obtained in this fashion is based upon the assumption that, if behavior is a function of perception, it should be possible to observe behavior and infer the nature of the self perceptions which produced that behavior. This 'reading behavior backward' escapes most of the sources of error indicated above for the introspective self report but, of course, does not have a perfect relationship to the self-concept either.

(Combs, et. al., 1963, p. 495)

Shibutani (1961) suggests that

quite apart from what a man may declare publicly or what he may sincerely believe about himself in his conscious life, in behavioristic terms his level of self-esteem is discernible in the manner in which he consistently acts toward himself as an object of value.
(p. 446)

Coopersmith (1967) distinguishes between verbalized self-evaluations and behavioural expressions as analytically distinct, but empirically correlated, manifestations of self-esteem. Shibutani (1961) concurs and observes that:

the essential difficulty is that a man's conception of himself cannot be observed directly; it is something that must be inferred from behavior in a wide variety of contexts. It is only in this way that it becomes possible to get at the presuppositions upon which a number of different acts are consistently predicated.... Furthermore, one cannot rely entirely upon verbalizations even when the subject is cooperative and honest, for the person himself is often unaware of the manner in which he approaches himself.

(p. 238)

Combs, Soper and Courson's (1963) study arrived at a negligible correlation of .114 between the inferred self-concepts and the self-reports of 11 to 12 year old children. Coopersmith (1967) utilizing teacher ratings of self-esteem, using a Behavioural Rating Form, found considerable correspondence between this method and the self-report. Battle (1981), also utilizing a Teacher Behaviour Rating Form, found that teachers' ratings and total self-esteem scores for the total sample and males were significant at the 5 percent level, but values for females were not. The subjects were aged 11 to 12 years. He found that the relationship between teachers' ratings and school related (academic) self-esteem, on the other hand, was not significant. These findings were consistent with those of Piers and Harris (1969) and Coopersmith (1967).

Finally, Demo (1985), used both self-report instruments to measure the experienced self, as well as ratings by others to measure the presented self, that is, the self that is displayed in social interaction and therefore is observable. He used three specific measures of ratings by others: peer ratings, observer behavioural checklist, and observer Q-sorts. Demo's (1985) study amongst 14-15 year old children revealed a number of interesting findings. Two self-report instruments (the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory, and Coopersmith's Self-esteem inventory) intercorrelated significantly, but only Rosenberg's Inventory exhibited significant across-method correlation (.32 with peer ratings). Coopersmith's Inventory correlated significantly with every other measure, except the observer checklist, providing strong evidence of convergent validity.

Demo (1985) found that the peer-based self-esteem scores correlate significantly with the other two measures sharing the observer method and with the Self-Esteem Inventories of Coopersmith and Rosenberg, indicating impressive convergent validity. The observer checklists showed minimal evidence of validity, correlating significantly with the other measures sharing its method but not with any of the self-report scales. Finally, the observer Q-Sort demonstrates strong convergent validity, intercorrelating significantly with all measures except the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.

Wells and Marwell (1976) provide a concise summary regarding the differentiation of the experienced self - which views self-esteem as a phenomenal process to be measured with self-report inventories - from the presented self - observed self-esteem as a set of scores based on the individual's behaviour and gained by the ratings of others. As an attitude assesement, self-esteem researchers frequently give greater weight to what people say rather than what they do - in self-presentation terminology, to the impressions the person "gives" (by verbal expressions) rather than those "given off" by the implicit content and form of nonverbal behaviour.

They conclude with the following summary of the difficulties inherent in the measurement of self-esteem.

However, both kinds of self-presentational behavior are indicative of the person's sense of self - albeit not in the same way. Moreover, as we have suggested, self-esteem involves not just attitudes in general, but a special kind of attitude in which the holder and the object of the attitude are the same person. In this respect, self-esteem as an attitude has a fundamentally private character which may render behavioral observation alone insufficient as a measurement procedure. The most acceptable position seems to be that both forms of measurement - self-rating and ratings by others - are valid techniques when appropriately used, each dealing with analytically distinct facets of self-evaluation.

(Wells and Marwell, 1976, p. 142)

The present investigator has attempted to emphasize the multi-dimensionality of self-esteem in its theoretical conceptualization (For example: Burns, 1982; Battle, 1982; Purkey, 1970). According to this approach, an individual positions himself on a large number of cognitive dimensions such as body image, academic achievement, and racial identity. Each of these may have an associated evaluative scale according to which one judges one's worth on that dimension. Total self-esteem would then be some weighted average of all these dimensional evaluations, where the weights are determined by the salience of each dimension in the individual's overall self-esteem. For example, the present investigator is particularly interested in an individual's academic self-esteem. That is, the individual's evaluation of his academic ability.

This theoretical scheme immediately suggests problems for the researcher. Firstly, if a global self-esteem measure fails to include the most important dimensions being investigated for all subjects, then the measure will have limited construct validity.

Secondly, is the problem of concept administration. Self-esteem measures ask the subject to describe himself and his feelings about himself. The concept to which the rating items are to be applied is some aspect of the individual's self-perceptions, self-feelings or

self-behaviour. The conceptual framework is part of the instrument because it is constructed for the respondent by the instructions given in the administration of the scale.

A person's specific feelings about himself vary greatly from situation to situation and from trait to trait, whereas most self-esteem instruments are intended to index more global evaluations. Thus, the instructions often request the respondent to describe how one "usually feels".

The present investigator strongly agrees with Wells and Marwell's (1976) observation that the instruction aspect of the self-esteem measure has very important implications for the validity of the measure. While there are no studies which have investigated the empirical effects of different concept administrations, Wells and Marwell (1976) hypothesize that the instructions given actually determine the concept being measured.

To tie some specified aspect of self-regard to verbal self-reports, it is essential that respondents apply the descriptive rating scales to the appropriate concept. Otherwise, inter-individual variance may be due either to actual individual differences in self-esteem or to individual perceptual differences in the concept being rated.

(Wells and Marwell, 1976, p. 90)

Where self-esteem is considered a structural property of the relationship between different aspects of the person's self-concept, the measurement procedure involves relating different sets of responses obtained for each of the self-dimensions. Rather than using distinct measures for each dimension, such measurements utilize multiple administrations of the same measures under different conceptual frameworks, thus obtaining an index of self-esteem. A common use of multiple administrations is the procedure of relating the ideal to the actual self-esteem. This will be discussed in the review of the different approaches to the measurement of self-esteem.

3.5.1 Methodological Difficulties

Wylie (1974) in her extensive review of the methodological difficulties in self-concept research, observed that the way in which the self-concept is introduced in the literature is often erroneous and misleading, many researchers making broad, unsupported, and uncriticized generalisation about the self-concept. Wylie (1974) sees the investigators' major weaknesses as (a) not distinguishing adequately between theory and research, (b) citing studies not relating specifically to self-concept, (c) not critically evaluating the research methodologies, and (d) not indicating the lack of consensus in the total field of the self-concept. Wylie further observes that while there have been improvements, generally, the methodology in the majority of studies in the area of self-concept theory has been inadequate. She lists the most commonly occurring kinds of methodological short comings identified in her review of studies of the self-concept:

1. The methods used are often so vaguely indicated as to prevent interpretation and analysis and to make replication impossible. This is of major concern especially as the measurement of self-esteem is a relatively new research area, and has not at its disposal, the use of well-known, standardized methods.
2. There is the common use of measures having undemonstrated, inadequate, or even entirely unexplained construct validity.
3. The heavy reliance on response - response designs, which results in an inability to test antecedent - consequent hypotheses.
4. In some studies there are not enough different control groups to hold constant or account for all the important confounding variables. Frequently no information is given regarding the matching or randomization of groups. This creates great difficulty in identifying exactly what factors may afford alternate interpretations of the findings.
5. In many studies there is the possibility of artifactual contamination between independent and dependent variables, due to such factors as overlapping instruments, the effects of common response sets, and the use of verbal reports not only to index self-esteem dimensions but to measure behaviours supposedly related to the self-esteem as well.

6. Overgeneralizations are often made with scant disregard for the limitations imposed by restricted hypotheses, measuring instruments, groups, and procedures. One especially needs to note the tendency of using artificial, brief, and trivial laboratory manipulations in purported tests of propositions about the effects of long-term, systematic influences on the self-concept. The present investigator has observed a tendency especially amongst doctoral and master research dissertations which often attempt to modify global self-concept utilizing brief and irrelevant group therapeutic programmes. Often these researchers have utilized measures of self-concept to assess self-esteem changes in subjects.
7. In some studies, psychological generalizations are based upon findings of unclear statistical significance.
8. Many studies have been one-shot affairs with no replication or cross-validation of instruments. Thus, it is probable that some of the statistically significant findings are actually due to chance, and the study cannot be repeated.
9. Finally, the use of demographic or sociological independent variables which have unknown relevance to psychological variables precludes clear psychological interpretation of obtained associations (Wylie, 1974, pp. 29-32).

Wylie (1974) has further listed a number of factors which could influence an individual's response on a self-report measure; and thereby, the validity and reliability of the measures. The research investigator in carrying out an internal analysis of his data, should be interested in alternative response interpretations. One part of construct validation involves showing that such accounts of score variance, generally depicted in terms of extraneous influences on the measurement or irrelevant response determinants (Wylie, 1974), are not plausible or are at least unimportant (that is, do not negate or contradict the construct-measure link).

The present investigator emphasizes the following factors which could influence an individual's responses on self-report measures.

1. Social Desirability

Basically, social desirability responses refer to stereotypical responses which reflect what is socially acceptable or valued rather than individual differences on the construct. Many descriptions of self-esteem measurement consider social desirability a very serious validity threat (Cowen and Tongas, 1959). Wylie (1974) views the tendency to respond in a socially desirable way on self-report instruments to be irrelevant or contaminating variables which decrease the construct validity of self-esteem reports.

A number of researchers have found significant correlations between social desirability scales and many types of self-esteem measures - Q-sorts (Kenny, 1956), rating scales (Cowen and Tongas, 1959), and the semantic differential (Meisels and Ford, 1969). Cowen and Tongas (1959) in fact concluded, that the self-concept and ideal-self measure were so heavily loaded with social desirability in their study as to lose meaning independent of the latter variable.

Wylie (1974) observes that there are many contradicting assumptions regarding social desirability. She believes that subjects develop individual trait differences as a result of three "content-free" tendencies: (a) by evaluating the social desirability of many disparate trait descriptions in a specified normative way, (b) by being generally honest or dishonest about deliberately falsifying self-reports, or (c) to be generally defensive or nondefensive to a certain degree about admitting shortcomings to the self.

The certainty of such validity criticisms of self-esteem measurement can be misleading. Different uses of the concept of social desirability suggest different processes and interpretations. Crowne and Marlow (1960) distinguish between item content and response style. Item content concerns the ability of the measuring procedure to elicit stereotypically desirable responses. Edwards (1957) thus defines social desirability as meaning the "scale value for any personality statement such that the scale value indicates

the position of the statement on the social desirability continuum ..." (p. 3). Social desirability, thus, has been used to refer to a characteristic of test items, that is, their scale position on a social desirability scale. The social desirability of a test item is considered a more or less objective feature of the item and is relatively constant across different individuals and groups.

On the other hand, Crowne and Marlow (1960) view social desirability as a response style, that is, the variable is viewed as a property of the individual and his behaviour. It is the tendency of the respondent to produce stereotypical or socially desirable responses independent of test content and reflecting specific personality traits and motives. Both Meehl and Hathaway's (1946) attempts at statistical correction for "faking good" or "faking bad", and Cronbach's (1950) notion of response sets, share a commonality with Crowne and Marlow (1960) in that their interest is in the test behaviour of the subjects.

Kelly (1970) for example, noted that it is possible that individuals with low self-esteem will defiantly resist labelling themselves as worthless individuals. This may be the first stage in seeking out new reference groups, and rejecting existing authorities who have negatively labelled the individual.

Crowne and Marlow (1964) developed social desirability as "behavior motivated by a need for approval and the expectancy that approval can be attained by behaving in culturally acceptable ways" (p. 40).

The present investigator adopts the stance that social desirability should be viewed as a response style rather than a characteristic of a test item. A description may be socially desirable simply because it is "true" for most people. Both Edwards (1957) and Crowne and Marlowe (1964) acknowledge that their respective social desirability scales are trying to measure generally defensive or nondefensive individual trait differences rather than conscious attempts at faking.

In presenting this interpretation, we have taken sides in a dialectic going back to the origins of personality testing, in which are pitted the opposing notions of conscious and deliberate faking or misrepresentation and a less frankly aware, defensive kind of self-depiction. The studies on the approval motive are not, of course, definitive at this point, but they do suggest the latter.

(Crowne and Marlowe, 1964, p. 190)

A contrasting viewpoint is that of Jackson (1967) who recognizes that:

Higher than average scores on the Desirability Scale implies [sic] that the subject either consciously or unconsciously has focused on this aspect of items, and has responded largely in terms of Desirability. High scores may thus indicate either conscious distortion or impression management, on the one hand, or the more subtle influences of atypically high self regard or of a high degree of conventional socialization. Conversely, very low scores may indicate possible tendencies toward malingering, or, more likely, atypically low self regard.

(p. 12)

In conclusion, a common method of estimating social desirability effects, which is used in the present investigation, involves the correlation of self-esteem measures with measures of social desirability response tendencies. Previous research in this area indicates that the correlations between social desirability and self-esteem are generally less than .40, with an average of .30. For example, Crandall (1973) found a correlation of .44 between the Coopersmith Self Esteem Scale, and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Lowe (1961) suggests that the generally significant correlations between self-esteem and social desirability scores "robs these studies neither of significance nor of interest, but does suggest that extreme care must be taken in the labelling of constructs" (p. 329).

Finally, the present investigator agrees with Wylie (1974) who observes that:

The point is, if S's self-reports are socially desirable, this high degree of socially desirable self-reporting does not *ipso facto* invalidate the report as an indicant of his phenomenal self.

(p. 51)

2. Self-Presentation and Distortion

Self-Esteem measurement consists of situated social behaviours, and most often consists of verbal self-presentations. What individuals are willing or able to say about themselves often depends upon the circumstances within which they are acting. A person's self-description may indicate actual and consistent reflexive predispositions or it may largely reflect the presence of social contingencies. The nature of the task of self-evaluation may vary considerably with the setting in which it occurs and the subsequent uses or "apparent" uses to which results will be put. For example, self-esteem measures administered as part of a battery of tests for university entrance, is a very different contest from the self-esteem measures being administered in the contest of a lecture in an introductory psychology class. It seems implausible that a particular respondent will respond identically across these two settings.

Wylie (1974), summarized research on the characteristics of self-disclosure and self-reporting behaviour, and noted that what and how much a subject may be willing to reveal about himself depends on how the researcher behaves toward him, the behaviour of other persons on the task, and the nature of the behaviour involved.

Orne (1962) has emphasized the "demand characteristics" of the experimental situation, in which the individual personality wants to be a "good" subject by behaving in the way he perceives the researcher wishes him to react.

3. Content Areas

Wylie (1974) hypothesizes that it may be more socially acceptable to reveal oneself in certain areas than others, even when the factor of self-favourability of the particular self-report content is held constant across content areas. Or some areas of item content may be differentially revealed because they are more or less salient to the subject's self-esteem. The literature review and definition of self-esteem has indicated that certain dimensions of the self-esteem are more relevant or salient to the individual than others. Burns (1982) notes that self-esteem is learned, and since it is learned it can alter in direction and weighting as other learning experiences are encountered. For example, an individual who evaluates himself as a bright student as a result of good performances receives positive feedback from others. This brings satisfaction, since being a bright student has positive connotations within a society where the achievement motive and success has being positively reinforced. However, this positive evaluation may fluctuate if significant others begin to evaluate other behaviours, for example, sport or politics as being more important. So a lowering of the weighting may occur. Self-evaluation is not fixed, and relates to each particular context. The evaluative significance of most concepts is taken from the surrounding culture, in that many evaluations have become normative.

Jourard and Lasakow (1958) provide support for the contention that what a subject is prepared to reveal about himself often depends on the context and the emotional relevance of the concepts to the subject. Subjects reported that they voluntarily disclosed themselves to others more freely in certain areas than in other areas. For example, they found that subjects were particularly defensive about their personality or body characteristics.

4. Known Identity of the Subjects

Davids (1955) issues a caution that assuming the subject's anonymity could increase the validity of the subject's self-report as an index

of his phenomenal field. Abernethy (1954) found that subjects gave different ratings in a personal setting than in an impersonal setting. However, there is a lack of well-controlled and relevant empirical research in this area.

5. Acquiescence Response Tendencies

The term acquiescent-response set is the tendency to agree with descriptive psychological test items which are positively phrased, without full regard for their content (Cronbach, 1946). The basic form of acquiescent responding on self-esteem measures, is agreement acquiescence or "true responding". Pervin and Lilly (1967) discovered a significant correlation between level of defensiveness and positive self rating on a semantic differential measure. The usual solution is a scale whose items are balanced for agreement, that is, for half the items agreement represents high self-esteem, for the other half, low self-esteem. Thus, the negative biases cancel the positive biases when the item scores are summed. Coopersmith's (1967) Self-Esteem Inventory has sixteen of the twenty-five items negatively phrased.

Other stylistic influences include respondents who make more extreme responses (for example, agree strongly with positive descriptions, disagree strongly with negative descriptions). These subjects will have higher scores than respondents who also evaluate themselves positively but do so in more conservative terms, making less frequent use of extreme categories.

While there is little research reported on this problem for self-esteem measures, Wylie (1974) notes that one kind of response style, neutral responding, or "evasiveness" can contribute to the invalidity of measures.

6. Degree of Restriction of Subjects Responses

The freedom of response is a pertinent determinant of self-report responses (Wylie, 1974). One reason why open-ended reports may omit

important aspects of the self-concept, is that the willingness of an individual to disclose himself may vary depending upon the different content areas of self-disclosure (Jourard and Lasakow, 1958). Subjects report that open-ended instruments are least accurate in self-descriptions because of their lack of structure and reliance upon one's ability to abstract.

The present investigator believes that this methodological problem can be overcome by utilizing a structured projective test which allows the individual freedom to respond but also applies limitations, for example, the Thematic Apperception Test for Zulu's (TAT-Z).

7. Contextual Effects

This has been previously alluded to, suffice to note that Wylie (1974) observes that there are many conceivable contextual effects on self-concept measures, and few methodological studies relevant to the estimation of such influences. Wylie believes that the probability of endorsement of an item does not seem to depend on the probability of endorsement of the items forming the context.

8. Set, Expectation, Task Structure

There has been no systematic study of the influence of variations in the directions or instructions given to subjects upon self-report responses in self-concept studies. There is often a wide gap between what the subject is literally told and the set the researcher infers he has induced in the subject (Cohen, 1959). The experimental demonstration of the equivalence of differently worded instructions is lacking.

Wylie (1974) concludes by stating that to continue to use the approach of disguising the 'goal' of the test through ambiguous structuring may only assure a large amount of uninterpretable remainder variance rather than make a greater proportion of person variance attributable to self-construct variance.

9. Response Frequency

This is the subject's tendency to vary his response to similar concepts. Wylie (1974) concludes that there has been no formal study of the possible influence of response familiarity upon the validity of a self-report technique for revealing an individual's phenomenal fields, and at present there seems to be no development in which to minimize the influence of this variable.

10. Scoring and Statistical Procedures

As part of the search for the influence of irrelevant variables in the measuring process, scoring and statistical procedures themselves, can become confounding variables. While the present investigator recognizes the critical importance of valid measures and correct statistical procedures, this investigation is exploratory in nature, and does not purport to be a validity study of self-esteem. Thus, statistical measures utilized in previous research will be only briefly alluded to in this section.

La Benne and Greene (1969) observed that measures of external validity may be used to overcome some of the difficulties in measuring self-esteem, but ultimately the only class of behaviour or attitude which can be truly used is what the subject has to say about himself - in a sense there can not be an exact external validator of a self-concept, which is a phenomenological measure. Bagley et. al. (1979) believe that if joint factor analysis of a large number of self-esteem scales shows that one or two scales can effectively account for the variance in most of the other scales, one should use the scale with the most predictive value in this respect.

A commonly utilized statistical procedure is the use of intercorrelations, wherein the self-esteem measure of interest is correlated with other measures of self-esteem which are different in format or exact content. Alternatively, the measure(s) may be correlated with measures of other constructs or with other

empirical events not considered to be direct indicators of self-esteem. These latter correlations are taken to indicate the causal structure in which the underlying construct is implicated. The basic criteria by which both kinds of correlations are evaluated for validity is convergence, that is, different measurements, if related, should correlate with each other.

Discrimination between different measures (Campbell and Fiske, 1959) is a second often utilized criterion of validity. That is, the lack of correlation between different measures is also a useful and often desirable form of information (Wells and Marwell, 1976).

A combination of the two criteria, convergent-discriminant approach to validation provides a more substantial form of analysis. The validation strategy is that a measure should correlate well with other measures that theory predicts should be related, but that the measure should correlate negligibly with measures that theory suggests should be unrelated.

The most popular and extensively developed procedure for investigating cross-structural validity is the multitrait-multimethod (MTMM) form of analysis first suggested by Campbell and Fiske (1959). This technique pertains not only to the validation of a single indicator for a single construct, but to the joint validation of a set of several different measures of several different "traits". The convergence-discrimination score allows the researcher to divide the score variation on a set of measurements into discrete components and qualitatively estimate the extent to which variations on the different measures are "trait valid", that is, to index the degree of construct validity for the instruments.

The MTMM procedure is based upon two primary assumptions. Firstly, the sources of score variation on psychological measures can be divided into two distinct groups:

- (1) "method variance" due to the features of the measure and
- (2) "trait variance" due to individual differences in the psychological process being tapped (Campbell and Fiske, 1959).

Secondly, these two sources of score variation act additively.

Wells and Marwell (1976) note that the logic of the MTMM procedures is compelling, being empirically straightforward, and having general acceptance as a validation strategy. However, despite this, there are few applications of the procedure to the validation of self-esteem measures.

To summarize the methodological problems in self-esteem measurement, Crandall (1973) suggests the need for systematic accumulation of construct validity evidence, with the development of validation programs. Wylie (1974, pp. 122-123) specifies three principal tasks: (1) the limitation of research and substantive application to a small number of instruments which can be validated and refined (instead of the present proliferation of transient, untested measurements), (2) the application of sophisticated psychometric techniques to the selection, analysis, and scaling of items and to statistical estimation of the empirical performance of resulting instruments, and (3) the systematic study of situational variables which may constitute extraneous influences on measurement responses.

The present investigator reviewed a number of pertinent research studies which highlight some of the problems in the measurement of individuals with low self-esteem. Engel (1959) found that his self-esteem measure had a test-retest reliability of .53 over two years amongst adolescents. The main source of variability in self-esteem was in those subjects who had very low self-esteem on the first test. The general movement in mean levels was upwards over time, and the change was greater than would be expected from a regression to the mean effect. He concluded that individuals with low self-esteem will attempt to engineer their environment so as to give social returns which enhance self-esteem. This is consistent with the theoretical hypothesis that a dominant need for human beings is to acquire an adequate level of self-esteem.

Thompson (1974) in a major study of deviant preadolescents observed that they felt rejected, undervalued and had a poor self-esteem. By middle adolescence (4 years later), they had reoriented their self-esteem through membership of deviant or delinquent peer groups.

'Significant others' were now other delinquents, rather than teachers and parents.

Bagley et. al. (1979) observe that individuals with low self-esteem seek others who are similar to them. Thus reference groups tend to be changed so as to maximize ego-enhancing feedback. Both Engel (1959) and Kaplan (1975) suggest that the majority of individual's self-esteem is stable over a long period.

As has been suggested, a problem with measuring self-esteem is that individuals with low self-esteem may wish to disguise this from others. Satir (1967) suggests that the individual with low esteem will try and hide his feelings of inadequacy when he interacts with significant others. A person with low self-esteem has a great sense of anxiety and uncertainty about himself.

His self-esteem is based to an extreme extent on what he thinks others think of him.

His dependence on others for his self-esteem cripples his autonomy and individuality.

He disguises his low self-esteem from others, especially when he wants to impress others.

His low self-esteem comes from his growing-up experiences which never led him to feel that it is good to be a person of one sex in relation to a person of the other.

He has never really separated from his parents, that is, arrived at a relationship of equality with them.

(Satir, 1967, p. 8)

These methodological problems indicate that any self-esteem scale will probably underestimate the amount of negative self-esteem, and should thus be a conservative measure. This should be considered when interpreting small but significant correlations between self-esteem and other variables. In general, these correlations will underestimate true relationships.

3.5.2 Measuring Instruments

A review of the literature indicates a proliferation of approaches to empirically assess the presence and influence of self-esteem. The present investigation will not attempt to list all the different instruments, many of which are untried and untested and have only been utilized once. The reader is referred to Battle (1982), Wylie (1974) and Purkey (1970) for a comprehensive list of the specific self-esteem measuring instruments. Given the prohibitive nature of thoroughly listing these measures, the present investigator's intent here is to focus on general issues and tactics rather than specific instruments, with the ultimate goal being to suggest the advantages and disadvantages of each approach.

1. Orthodox Self-Esteem Measurement

Wells and Marwell (1976) describe orthodox measurement as referring to operationalizations which are standardized, objective and quantified.

Verbal Self-Reports

The most common approach has been the use of standardized verbal self-reports or self-descriptions. It is a predominantly verbal technique, which relies upon the verbal aptitudes of the subject. Thus all self-esteem measurement involves a particular form of behaviour - elicited verbal self-presentation - which must be systematically related, via operational specification, to self-esteem descriptions at the construct level (Crowne and Stephens, 1961).

Secondly, self-report instruments involve a direct form of measurement. That is, the subjects' reports are taken to indicate his actual feelings. Phenomenologically, these self-reports are not taken to be identical with self-evaluations, but as forms of behaviour in which these are directly and reliably manifested. The

present investigator has previously noted that a number of researchers (for example, Combs, Courson, and Soper, 1963), have questioned this assumption.

Item Forms

The best-known single-stimulus rating scale, in which the subject is asked to consider one stimulus at a time, and to respond to it singly, is Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory (1967). Battle's Culture-Fair Self-Esteem Inventory (1981) is another example of such an approach.

Beyond the checklist, rating scales may involve almost any number of points. The most commonly used rating scale seems to be the Likert-type, using a five-point format. An example of this format is Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale (1967).

Semantic Differential

In contrast to a single descriptive stimulus, this measurement task requires the subject to respond to multiple simultaneous stimuli (taken jointly as a set). The subject rates a concept (that is, "my self") by locating it on a numerical scale whose verbal meaning is specified by a pair of descriptions defining the opposite poles of the scale. The Intra- and Interpersonal Relations Scale (IIPS) published by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in 1973, is an example of a semantic differential scale which utilizes pairs of adjectives which constitute semantic opposites to anchor the scale. It employs a five-point rating scale, and each bipolar adjective pair constitutes a single connotative dimension.

Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) describe it as an approach to the "measurement of meaning". It attempts to quantitatively describe the domain of connotative meaning associated with a "concept", that is, the linguistic or symbolic representation of things.

Many theories of the self describe it as a process dependent upon linguistic capacities, and because self-esteem instruments deal mainly with verbal behaviour, the semantic differential has substantial appeal.

Q-Sort

The Q-sort has not been utilized in the present research due to its comparative motive. That is, an individual's score on an item is only comparable to the same individual's score for the other items on that measure. As the present study compares the total scores of groups, the Q-sort is not utilized because all individuals are constrained to have the same mean and total score.

Actual-Ideal Discrepancy Scores

Cohen's (1959) definition of self-esteem as being the degree of correspondence between an individual's ideal and actual concepts of himself, is often used as a theoretical justification for the measurement of self-esteem based upon a discrepancy score. A common approach to the measurement of self-esteem involves obtaining a difference between a subject's actual self and his ideal or aspired self. The Intra- and Interpersonal Relations Scale (IIPS) is an example of a measure which utilizes a discrepancy score as an index of self-esteem. There are several problems associated with this procedure. According to Swinehart (1961):

The major weakness in this approach is the frequent failure to establish a baseline for comparisons in measuring the discrepancy; absolute size of the discrepancy is usually taken as a measure of self-esteem, without regard to the subject's satisfaction with his "actual" self-evaluation or the acceptability of a given discrepancy as the subject perceives it. The term "self-acceptance" does not necessarily imply high self-esteem, despite the fact that it is so used in many studies employing a discrepancy measure. Self-acceptance may be based on a realistic recognition of some falling short of an ideal; if this holds true generally, extremely low actual-ideal discrepancies on rating scales or check lists are likely to reflect defensiveness rather than high self-esteem.

(In Robinson and Shaver, 1970, p. 49)

Wylie (1961) found that most of the variation between individuals and over time for a single individual was due to the "self" component and not to the "ideal-self" component.

Cronbach and Furby (1970) suggest:

The claim that an index has validity as a measure of some construct carries a considerable burden of proof. There is little reason to believe and much empirical reason to disbelieve the contention that some arbitrarily weighted function of two variables will properly define a construct.

(p. 79)

Finally, Helper (1958) notes that the discrepancy score is always less reliable than the single self-esteem score. At an extreme, where the correlation between real and ideal self scores is exceptionally high (as it frequently is), the variance of the discrepancy score is almost all error variance (Kenny, 1956).

In summary, orthodox self-esteem measures provide both a global index and specific subsets of self-esteem scores. Wylie (1968) suggests that the use of global indices buries individual differences and disregards the multidimensionality of self-esteem, burying individual differences in the process.

The following forms of self-esteem measurement are briefly alluded to, but were not included in the present investigation due to the economical considerations of the limited availability of the particular group of subjects of interest, the limited testing time available, the most efficient use of skilled test administrators, and the relevance of the measures to the particular research hypotheses.

2. Social Ranking Techniques

In orthodox self-rating, the subject evaluates himself according to some internalized standard. Social ranking requires the subject to compare himself on a trait with some specific collection of other persons.

3. Unstructured Interviews

A specific interviewing procedure developed for indexing self-esteem is that specified by Silber and Tippet (1965). They used a 90 minute, face-to-face interview conducted by a psychiatrist. As their sample size was 44, the total interviewing time was 66 hours. Based upon a rating scale which coded interviewee responses, they identified a five-category hierarchy (1) nondefensive high self-esteem, (2) defensive high self-esteem, (3) inconsistent self-esteem, (4) ineffective defensive self-esteem, and (5) low self-esteem (Silber and Tippet, 1965, pp. 1053-1067). They defined defensive behaviour in relation to self-esteem as being the attempts on the part of the individual to accentuate his feelings of satisfaction with himself, and which involves the presentation of overly positive feelings about the self. A major disadvantage of this method is its impracticality with regard to time and the availability of qualified professional raters with a large sample of subjects.

4. Projective Techniques

One approach to the indirect measurement of self-esteem, is through the use of projective personality instruments. They represent a plausible and economical methodological alternative for self-esteem measurement since it is purported to tap aspects of self-evaluation for which orthodox procedures are inadequate. In a classic paper on projective methods, Frank (1939) asserts: "If we will face the problem of personality, in its full complexity, as an active dynamic process to be studied as a process rather than as entity of aggregate of traits, factors, or as a static organisation, then these projective methods offer many advantages for obtaining data on the process of organizing experience which is peculiar to each personality and has a life career. Moreover, the projective methods offer possibilities for utilizing the available insights into personality which the prevailing quantitative procedures seem deliberately to reject." (p. 408).

In the present study, the investigator utilizes a standardized projective measure in order to deal with three different aspects of self-conception which eludes the direct self-report: (1) unconscious self-evaluation, involving intrapersonal defenses, which deny such information to conscious awareness; (2) unwitting self-evaluation, involving self-feelings which are important determinants of behaviour but which the respondent is unable to satisfactorily verbalize or communicate; and (3) unwitting self-evaluation, involving interpersonal defenses due to social demands and desirabilities. In the present study, the investigator is particularly concerned with this last aspect of self-evaluation and the use of projective techniques.

According to Anastasi (1961), the major features of projective personality instruments are that they are generally disguised and, to an extent, necessarily unstructured.

5. Personality Questionnaires

This measurement procedure is utilized in general personality measurement, but is used much less to measure self-esteem. Self-esteem is regarded as an important aspect of personality, and thus, personality questionnaires represent a further methodological alternative for measuring self-esteem.

In conclusion, this chapter has dealt with the different theoretical definitions of self-esteem, and has reviewed the major criticisms of the measurement of the defined construct. It becomes apparent that self-esteem is a vital and relevant conceptual tool for both psychological and sociological perspectives. The process of how individuals think of and evaluate themselves, as a consequence of basic social conditions and as a predisposition for subsequent behaviours, is an essential construct for interpreting human behaviour. The interpretive significance of self-esteem is reflected by the plethora of attempts to define and operationalize the construct. Wells and Marwell (1976) view self-esteem as

emerging as a social indicator in the analysis of social change and movement. To an ever increasing extent, self-esteem appears to be the catalyst in the assessment of problems regarding the effects of acculturation, academic underachievement, racism, prejudice, and unemployment.

The present investigator notes that this review seems to indicate that problems concerning the definition and measurement of self-esteem are not unique, but are indeed characteristic of other social scientific constructs, for example, intelligence. Thus, the problems of self-esteem measurement are essentially those of social and psychological measurement in general.

The present investigation in attempting to gain a valid measure of the level of self-esteem amongst Black university students, is aimed at developing a set of "standard" operationalizations which corresponds to major schools of theoretical thought about the key components of the structure. This corresponds with Wylie's (1974) recommendation that the measurement of self-regard be limited to a relatively small number of instruments, rather than the continued proliferation of transient and untested operationalizations.

Chapter Four focuses upon relevant research findings on the level of self-esteem amongst Blacks, and any major differences which may have been identified between the level of self-esteem in Black and White students.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SELF-ESTEEM OF BLACKS

Let people realize clearly that every time they threaten someone or humiliate or hurt unnecessarily or dominate or reject another human being, they become forces for the creation of psychopathology, even if these be small forces. Let them recognize that every man who is kind, helpful, decent, psychologically democratic, affectionate and warm, is a psychotherapeutic force even though a small one.

Maslow (1970, p. 254).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Wells and Marwell (1976) note that if major furores over racial discrimination are generated by studies of differential intelligence, minor controversies, at least, center upon the effects of such discrimination on the self-esteem of Blacks. "If some people fail in school because they lack intelligence, we are told that others, who are intelligent, fail because they lack the self-confidence which is part of self-esteem" (Wells and Marwell, 1976, p. 1). Variations in self-esteem across the categories of race and social class have generated a great deal of research and theoretical speculation.

Beginning with Clark and Clark's (1940 and 1958) classic expositions of racial awareness, there has been continued interest and controversy concerning the relative self-perception of advantaged and disadvantaged children. Studies using idiosyncratic techniques such as playmate selection, drawings, doll play, and picture tests, found both Black and White children preferred whites, and that many Black children had negative feelings about being Black. The findings of Clark and Clark (1940) for example, that the majority of Black children indicated a preference for white dolls and frequently identified a white doll as being similar to themselves, were widely interpreted as showing that Blacks have negative self-images and generally devalue themselves. Researchers such as Radke et. al.

(1949), Morland (1958), and Butts (1963) all confirmed the basic discovery of lowered self-esteem in Black children. Myrdal (1944) and Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) provided interpretative studies which affirmed the thesis that demonstrable psychological damage was present in American Blacks caught in a racist society. Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) strongly assert that social discrimination leading to low self-esteem is at the heart of Black psychodynamics. Myrdal (1944) in commenting upon perceptual distortion in a social climate supporting prejudiced attitudes, made the following interesting observation:

Quite unintentionally I happened to refer to the sculpture (of a negro being hanged) as representing a lynching. My hostesses immediately reacted as to a shock and explained eagerly that I was totally mistaken. The sculpture represented a soldier being hanged, probably behind the front for some offence ... They were bent on convincing me that I was wrong; they mentioned that none of all the thousands of visitors to the exhibition (in a town in the Southern United States) had ever hinted at the possibility that the sculpture represented a lynched negro ...

(p. 35)

Myrdal's observations confirm the finding that people with different levels of prejudice perceive people and situations which have some racial connotation in different ways: not only do they feel differently about these phenomena, but they also see them differently (Horowitz and Horowitz, 1937).

Furthermore, Katz (1964) showed that Black self-deprecation exists through college. Black students were consistently socially inhibited and subordinate to Whites, tending to accept the White students contributions uncritically even when the group members were matched for intelligence and were experimentally made to display equal ability on the group tasks.

Current research has found- either no difference between the self-esteem levels of Blacks and Whites, or that Blacks have slightly higher self-esteem than Whites (Yancey et. al. 1972; Rosenberg and Simmons 1972; and Taylor and Walsh, 1979). This

It may well be that these traits are to be found in some Africans. Does this in itself suggest that these traits reflect a natural, almost genetic pre-disposition? Some of us are saying that this is not African nature. That there is no such a thing as African nature. We are saying that these traits and many others are patterns of adaptation to an unfriendly, always threatening environment. We are saying that the best human potential, given the black existential experience, would in all probability develop similar adjustment manoeuvres. Reality demands that we conceptualise the problems as one essentially involving human nature, one involving a universal tendency to adapt to circumstances however gruesome.

(Manganyi, 1973, pp. 10-11)

A further significant compounding variable in these contradictory findings with regard to the level of self-esteem of Blacks has to do with serious methodological problems inherent in the research. Many of these studies have been subject to methodological criticisms for comparing Blacks and Whites of different socio-economic classes, using too small samples, and using measuring instruments of unknown reliability and validity (Nobles 1973). Dreger and Miller (1960 and 1968) in extensive reviews of comparative studies of Negroes and Whites believe that while there is a need for more and better research in all areas of psychological investigation, nowhere is the need greater than in this area of scientific endeavour, ...

especially where norms have scarcely begun to be established, where tests which have even failed to prove themselves with white subjects are applied almost unquestioningly to Negro subjects and tests with white norms are utilized as if class and caste distinctions have no bearing on temperament or personality as a whole.

So-called "personality tests" may be inappropriate for testing most Negroes who are different from whites in socioeconomic status (Auld, 1952; Hoffman & Albizu-Miranda, 1955) and caste. In this area intensive studies of whites and Negroes need to be performed by scientists who understand both psychodynamics, sociodynamics and adequate scientific procedure.

(Dreger and Miller, 1960, p. 381)

Manganyi (1973) agrees with White (1984), and comments on some general limitations of studies of Black South Africans by White South Africans:

The first of these limitations is an obvious one. It amounts to the fact that the white experience is so existentially distant from the black experience that white workers have to abstract to a very unhealthy extent in order to move beyond the level of mere description to that of analysis and understanding (interpretation). The second limitation arises out of the fact that the economic motive has generally been very active in the decisions relating to the areas of the black experience which whites have chosen for study. Studies have been considered valuable to the extent that they have offered clues relevant to the possible harnessing of the black labour force for the benefit of industry and commerce. The recurrence of the themes 'African abilities', 'motivation' and 'attitudes' is a very clear index of this preoccupation (pp. 9 - 10)

Manganyi (1973) also alludes to errors of transubstantiation in identifying two contradictory viewpoints - a deficit-deficiency model and a growth model.

Indeed we find that in the life experience of the African, there is hardly any situation in his life in which his sense of self-esteem is nourished. His wife and children may have been forced by conditions beyond his control to lose the modicum of respect which they may have had for him as an effective, self-steering agent in his psychosocial environment. If we were to formulate his psychic status in a phenomenological way, we could say that his subjective experience is one of feeling emasculated. There are other more positive sides to this picture such as the Africans' will to survive (resilience).

At this point in the discussion, I would like to make the following submission. Some observers have never tired of pointing out that the African is 'by nature' without initiative; that he has a low aspiration level; that he will always say 'yes' when he should have said 'no'; that he is emotional and hedonistic and that he has the uncanny habit of not keeping time and talking around the point. The stock explanation for this life style is that it is in the nature of Africans, that we just have to understand this and we will have made the great discovery.

finding has generated a great deal of theoretical speculation.

White (1984) believes that many of these recent findings with regard to the increased level of self-esteem of Blacks, reflects that the picture of blackness being projected in the literature of psychology is changing from a deficit-deficiency, victim analysis, "Mark of Oppression" (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951) syndrome, to a growth model which is discovering strengths in Black personality traits, behaviours and attitudes.

This change in the level of Black self-esteem appears to have occurred during the heightened Black consciousness of the late 1960's and early 1970's, whereby many of the Black middle class went through an identity transformation, reflected by a change in the level of their awareness from Negro to Black.

A further confounding variable with regard to psychology's initial support of the position that Afro-Americans are inferior - which Guthrie (1976) asserts is a blatant example of scientific racism - is Nobles' (1977) concept of errors of transubstantiation. Errors of transubstantiation occur when psychologists and other behavioural scientists use a frame of reference developed out of one cultural experience base and attempt without correction to apply this frame of reference to interpret the behaviour of people in another cultural framework. White (1984) cogently observes that when the theories of human behaviour, developed out of a European-American cultural framework, and deemed to be universal are applied to Black individuals or groups they often don't fit neatly into the established categories. When they don't fit, European-American psychologists have historically interpreted the differences between Blacks and Whites as deviant behaviour, without raising the question of valid differences, inappropriate norms, faulty measuring tools, cultural bias, ethnocentrism, or errors of transubstantiation.

Furthermore, some researchers (for example, Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972) have found that Black children's self-esteem was higher than that of White children, not lower. Noting that Black children interact relatively rarely with White people, and that self-esteem appears to be based on comparisons within membership groups, Rosenberg and Simmons concluded that self-esteem impairment should not be viewed as a prime cause of Black children's lower academic achievement. Similar conclusions have been reached by Christmas (1973) in a review of comparative studies of the self-esteem of Blacks and Whites. However, Christmas noted that subjects' characteristics such as sex, age and grade typically varied from one study to the next, and little attention had been paid to the relevance of these factors to the racial differences found.

Finally, in a review of research on Black identity and self-esteem, Porter and Washington (1979) observe that general comparisons shed little light on the development of self-esteem within minority groups:

At this point, we do not need more studies of general differences in self-esteem between black and white populations. Variations in racial and personal self-esteem should be investigated with careful attention both to the effect of macrostructural factors and to the specific situational and personal contexts in which these factors operate.

(p. 70).

Gecas (1982) adds that greater specification of dimensions of self-evaluation and of self-concept is advisable in this area of research. For example, Porter and Washington (1979) found that Blacks reported higher levels of self-regard but lower feelings of personal efficacy than Whites. Taylor and Walsh's (1979) differentiation of self-esteem into several content-specific dimensions revealed racial differences that would have been hidden if only global self-esteem had been considered. The present investigation will attempt to emphasize the multidimensionality of self-esteem throughout the study and thereby ensure that significant aspects of a subject's self-esteem will not be lost in non-specific global measurements.

The introduction has briefly outlined the classical and present theoretical and empirical viewpoints with regard to Black self-esteem. While the literature on race and self-esteem is fraught with contradictory, inconsistent and generally weak findings, the present chapter will outline the major empirical studies completed in this area, critically evaluating the methodological shortcomings of these studies. This chapter outlines the interpretation of the recent evidence on race and self-esteem, and will allude to the relationship of self-esteem and prejudice. Finally, research on Black self-esteem undertaken within the South African context will be presented.

4.2 THE CLASSICAL POSITION

Davey (1983) has argued that central to the motives of children coming to share the attitudes and values of those around them is the fundamental need to understand their own identity. A critical part of social identity is derived from the knowledge that one belongs to certain social groups, but in order to understand how one's group membership defines one's place in society, the individual must come to know where his particular group stands in relationship to others. Thus the establishment of social identity involves both the process of social categorization, as well as the process of social comparison.

Clark and Clark (1947) demonstrated that young Black children in both the northern and southern states of America had difficulty accepting their blackness and had serious social identity problems. They presented 253 Black children, aged three to seven, with four dolls which were identical in every respect except for hair and skin colour. In the experimental situation the subjects were asked to respond to the following request by choosing one of the dolls:

1. Give me the doll that you like to play with.
2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Give me the doll that looks bad.
4. Give me the doll which is a nice colour.
5. Give me the doll that looks like a white child.
6. Give me the doll that looks like a coloured child.
7. Give me the doll that looks like a negro child.
8. Give me the doll that looks like you.

The first four requests were designed to reveal preferences, requests 5 to 7 to indicate knowledge of 'racial differences' and request 8 to show self-identification.

The Clarks found that the ability to recognize gross ethnic differences was well established by the age of three, progressing to 100 per cent accuracy by the age of seven. Approximately two-thirds of the children preferred the white doll to the brown doll and about a third of them identified with the white doll in response to question 8. The majority of children preferred the white doll at every age level.

Thus the classical thesis as explained by Clark (1955) is based on the fact that a child cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in the larger pattern of emotions, conflicts and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race. Thus early in life the Black child absorbs the cultural norms, values, and judgements made about his race.

Clark (1963) asserts,

As minority-group children learn the inferior status to which they are assigned and observe that they are usually segregated and isolated from the more privileged members of their society, they react with deep feelings of inferiority and with a sense of personal humiliation. Many of them become confused about their own personal worth.

(p. 63)

And again, in 1965, he maintains,

"By the age of seven most Negro children have accepted the reality that they are, after all, dark skinned. But the stigma remains; they have been forced to recognize themselves as inferior. Few if any Negroes fully lose that sense of shame and self-hatred.

(p. 65)

Most investigators have been interested in racial comparisons of the development of awareness of racial categories, a sense of racial identity, and associated evaluative attitudes toward one's race and self because of their concern with the unfavourable social conditions experienced by Blacks. Interpretations of racial comparisons are difficult unless certain variables are controlled. Wylie (1979) points out that if Blacks are less accurate in choosing dolls most like themselves, such a finding per se cannot be used to infer relatively more negative attitudes among Blacks towards race or self. Wylie (1979) goes on to a consideration of the following: (a) the level of conceptual attainment varies as a function of cognitive development, and whereas Black and White subjects are equated in this regard nothing specifically relevant to racial concept attainment can be assumed. Socioeconomic level (associated with ability and achievement scores) is often not controlled for, and therefore, the level of conceptual attainment is uncontrolled. (b) Young Black children may have had less reason to begin to differentiate between races owing to more extreme segregation or to parental protectiveness and unwillingness to talk about such differentiations.

Other factors which need to be considered in assessing the validity of the research findings include the following: (c) in some of the earlier studies, Black dolls were not available, so white dolls were painted! This approach created an anomalous doll, one which might correctly have been regarded as 'strange' by both Black and White children; (d) undeveloped discriminative capacities in general; (e) inability to understand the task; (f) the availability of only two colours (Black or White); this may have presented a less appropriate choice for lighter-skinned Black children than when several shades were available, leading to more cross-race choices among Black children.

Most of the subsequent studies which followed the Clarks' lead included a White comparison group. Davey (1983) notes that variations in methods, materials, chronology and geographical context often make detailed cross-study comparisons speculative.

However, the substantive findings of the Clarks were confirmed by Goodman (1952), Morland (1962) and Porter (1971).

Asher and Allen (1969) reported a slight, but statistically non-significant, increase in White preference amongst Black children in the thirty years that separated their study from the original study of the Clarks. Setting up two theoretical models in their prediction of change between their sample of children and that of the Clarks, they first predicted that because of social and economic progress there would be an enhanced feeling of competence and pride amongst the Black children. The alternative hypothesis was that economic progress and greater social mobility would lead to frequent comparisons with Whites who were generally more advantaged and that such social comparisons would lead to increased feelings of inferiority on the part of the Black group.

Asher and Allen (1969) administered the Clarks' preference questions, substituting puppets for dolls, to 341 Black and White children, whose ages ranged from three to eight. They controlled for socioeconomic status, and most of the children attended desegregated schools.

The White and Black children were consistent in their preference for the white puppets and rejection of the brown puppets and no differences in the proportion of own-race preferences occurred between middle and lower class children. The authors interpreted the absence of a significant difference between their Black sample and that of the Clarks to be in accordance with their social comparison hypothesis. That is, the apparent rise in economic status combined with integrated schooling contributes to more frequent comparisons with Whites and to increased feelings of inferiority. Asher and Allen attributed such feelings to the relatively inferior position of the Black community as a whole, rather than to attacks on personal competence.

Cooley (1902), Mead (1934), and Sullivan (1953) utilizing reference-group theories made the following predictions. Compared to the advantaged, White group: (a) lower self-esteem will be found among Blacks; (b) the same level of self-esteem will be found among Blacks; (c) higher self-esteem will be found among Blacks. These outcome-predictions would depend upon which variables are controlled for in the particular research study.

Lewin (1948) maintained that self-hatred is an outcome of membership in an underprivileged group, especially one which is "kept together not only by cohesive forces among its members but also by the boundary which the majority erects against the crossing of an individual from the minority to the majority group" (p. 164). Lewin goes on to say, "There also seems to exist in every underprivileged group a tendency to accept the values of the more privileged group in a given society" (p. 177), and "frequently it is the more privileged people within the underprivileged group, or those people whose open or secret intent is to pass the line ... [who experience] uncertainty, ... instability, and often self-hate" (pp. 179-180). "One of the better known and most extreme cases of self-hatred can be found among American Negroes" (p. 189). Lewin notes that negative self-esteem is not only generated by enforced membership in a group which is derogated and cannot satisfy its needs, but also by the ambivalent feelings each member experiences with regard to their own group.

Clark (1959) agrees with Lewin in that "the cohesion and strength of the sub-culture [may well be] a direct function of the discrepancy between its values and the values of the larger, rejecting culture" (p. 248), since he is not successful in rejecting the standards of the White culture and evaluating himself according to the standards of the subculture.

Erikson (1966) concurs with Clark and remarks that "there is ample evidence of 'inferiority' feelings and of morbid self-hate in all minority groups" (p. 155).

Kardiner and Oversey (1951) compiled a study based upon 25 Black case histories. Information was gained from psychoanalytic interviews and projective testing. Purportedly finding evidence of self-hatred in all cases, they asserted that social discrimination leading to low self-esteem is at the heart of Blacks' psychodynamics.

Ausubel (1958) states that a member of a minority group has no option but to develop basic feelings of inferiority and low self-esteem.

Being a Negro, however, has many implications for the ego development of young children that are not inherent in lower-class membership. The Negro child inherits an inferior caste status and almost inevitably acquires the negative self-esteem that is the realistic ego reflection of such status. ... Having no compelling reasons for not accepting this officially sanctioned, negative evaluation of himself, he develops deeply ingrained feelings of inferiority.

(p. 364)

Despite serious methodological shortcomings within the studies they reviewed, Dreger and Miller (1960) concluded that while

the evidence points to similarities in the value systems of whites and negroes. Differences in self-concepts are marked, however, in that being a white person in a white society appears to mean little in respect to the development of self-concepts, whereas being a Negro in a white society seems to be one of the most important factors in such development.

(p. 386)

And that

self-concepts seem to suffer in the Negro subculture in contrast to those of whites.

(p. 394)

In 1968, Dreger and Miller while again referring to methodological flaws in the research they examined, reached the same conclusion that there is little doubt that the American Negro holds relatively negative self-evaluations toward himself.

In the conclusion of their 1960 review, Dreger and Miller make the following observations that while

there are some wholly well-meaning persons who hold that ... racial differences ought not to be found; or if found, should immediately be explained away as being somehow immoral and reprehensible. Nevertheless, we are not satisfied that either those who believe that genetic differences exist in psychological functions or those who maintain that no such differences can be found have succeeded in establishing their position. Most students in the period of this review have leaned to environmentalist explanations.

(p. 394)

Proshansky and Newton (1969) suggested that while the Black child learns to associate 'Negro' with 'dirty', 'bad', and 'ugly', the white child learns to associate 'white' with 'clean', 'nice' and 'good'. For the Black child, these judgements operate to establish his own racial group as inferior to White people.

White (1984) notes that the psychology of Blacks was largely ignored up to the 1960s, and that Afro-Americans were unacknowledged and unseen within psychology textbooks. When Afro-Americans were mentioned, the emphasis was on deviance, pathology and abnormality, using descriptive terms such as impulse-ridden, passive-dependent, disorganised, emotionally immature, poor self-image, self-hatred, identity confusion, psycho-sexual conflicts, and cultural deprivation (Jones, 1972). Warren (1965) captures the flavour of the Samboism image of the Black in his description of Sambo as:

The supine, grateful, humble, irresponsible, unmanly, banjo-picking, servile, grinning, slack-jawed, dependent, slow-witted, humorous, child-loving, childlike, watermelon-stealing, spiritual-singing, blamelessly fornicating, happy-go-lucky, hedonistic, faithful black servitor who sometimes might step out of character long enough to utter folk wisdom or bury the family silver to save it from the Yankees.

Later, North and South, Sambo lived on - in white eyes - as Pullman porter, bootblack, yard boy, sharecropper, waiter, barber, elevator operator, the Three Black Crows and Step-and Fetchit. Sambo it was said was "just the way niggers are". He was eternal and immutable.

(p. 52)

According to White (1984) the word Black in the 'Euro-American' view connotes a meaning of sinister, evil, foreboding, dirty, unclean, death and impending doom, while terms such as blackball, blacklist, black market, blackmail, and blacklist indicate behaviour or situations which have negative connotations. Burgest (1973) observes that while the devil is black, angels are white and the psychological opposite of blackness is the essence of cleanliness and purity.

Pettigrew (1964) outlined the many assaults on Black self-identity and self-esteem, concluding that:

For years, Negro Americans have had little else by which to judge themselves than the second-class status assigned them in America ... many Negroes, consciously or unconsciously, accept in part these assertions of their inferiority. In addition, they accept the American emphases on "status" and "success". But when they employ these standards for judging their own worth, their lowly positions and their relative lack of success lead to further self-disparagement.

(p. 9)

In a later article, Proshansky and Newton (1973) commented that:

there are obvious differences in schools, housing, employment, and income; less visible, but equally serious, are the heavy psychological costs of low self-esteem, feeling of helplessness, and basic identity conflict.

(p. 176)

The assumption in most of these studies is that the Black person who feels disdain or hatred for his own racial group, expresses disdain and hatred for himself. According to Burns (1982), this assumption led to considerations of the conditions which fostered Black self-identity or a particular self-esteem which was characteristically Black. Black self-esteem was assumed to be the consequences of the experiences of Black people. It was also assumed that the self-esteem of the Black person was the antecedent of his particular behaviour. Research previously alluded to in this area reflects both of these approaches. Thus, Pettigrew (1964) suggested that the real tragedy of the Black is that, having been found to play the

servile, passive and inferior role, he came to believe in it as a reflection of his self-image. Pettigrew noted that by coming to evaluate himself the way others do, the Black grows into the servile role, which in time becomes indistinguishable from the person himself. Deutsch (1960) also noted that Black children generally have more negative self-concepts and were therefore more morose, passive, and more fearful than their White academic peers.

The main emphasis of this research was an attempt to establish that the experiences of Black people amounted mainly to a perennial source of conflict, within a vicious cycle, which detrimentally affected their self-esteem. Many researchers have placed even greater emphasis upon the family experience. Dai (1953) observes that basic self-concept development in both Blacks and Whites depends on relationships with parents and parent substitutes, and both groups could experience both positive and negative factors in such relationships. Dai emphasizes the fact that more frequently Black children live in broken and/or mother-dominated homes, which can harm the child's self-esteem or the development of a sense of positive gender identity.

Seward (1956) pertinently states:

The argument is frequently advanced that it is the child's relationship with the significant adults in the home that is the important thing for his conception of self, rather than cultural factors. There is, of course, no question about the important role played by the individuals around the child, but ... the [Negro parent's] very capacity for loving has been impaired by the crippling deprivations which he has experienced throughout his own lifetime. Before the child is conscious of being a Negro himself, he is affected by the tensions in his parents over *their* being Negroes.

(p. 130)

Deutsch (1967) hypothesizing why the Negro has failed to take full advantage of the opportunities open to him, observes that firstly the Negro has not been fully integrated into American society, and often vocational knowledge is not available outside the cultural

mainstream. Secondly, while the high percentage of broken homes in the Negro community is recognized as having a negative effect upon the child's emotional stability, often the effects upon the child's motivation, self-esteem and achievement orientation are not often identified. Deutsch (1967) further notes that marginal economic and encapsulated social circumstances have had a particularly negative effect upon the level of self-esteem and need for achievement of the Negro male in an extremely narcissistic and competitive society. These facts have contributed to the instability of the Negro family, and particularly to the fact that it is more often broken by the absence of the father. This results in a dearth of positive experiences between the child and a successful male model.

According to White (1984), the deficit-deficiency model of the Black family is one of a disorganized single-parent, subnuclear, female-dominated social system. As a result of a background of servitude, deprivation, second-class citizenship, and chronic unemployment, Black adults have not been able to develop marketable skills, self-sufficiency, future orientation, and planning and decision-making competencies, thought to be necessary for sustaining a successful two-parent nuclear family while guiding the children through the socialization process.

The Euro-American society places a premium upon decisive male leadership, in such a society the Black male was portrayed as lacking appropriate sex role behaviours. According to White (1984), the Black male had been psychologically castrated and rendered ineffective by forces beyond his control. As a result of his absence, the Black male is unable to provide leadership.

White (1984) believes that the deficit-deficiency model of Black family life places the female into the role of a matriarch. The Black male child in the matriarchial family has on the one hand, no adequate father figure to emulate in acquiring the conventional masculine instrumental behaviours, and on the other hand, is exposed to a female model who subtly undermines the role of the father as a

responsible, resourceful provider. The effect of an absent role model, coupled with the negative image of masculinity that is being projected, prevents the male child from acquiring the level of self-esteem he needs to resolve successfully the issues associated with his identity and psychosexual development, as he evolves through adolescence and early adulthood. The final outcome of this female-dominated socialization process is the creation of a further generation of Black males who will be unable to build the social role skills necessary to become instrumental leaders within the family, to interact positively with females, and to provide sound role models for their children.

According to White (1984), the Black female child, presented with an abundance of feminine role models without the input of adult males, develops an exaggerated sense of his own worth, and has little knowledge of a productive heterosexual relationship.

Rainwater (1966) focused on the Black family's central role in transmitting the values and attitudes of and toward society. He observed that for most children, growing up involves developing feelings of competence and mastery over the environment, while for the disadvantaged child the process is reversed. In growing up, the Black child learns what he cannot do. He learns about the obstacles to his mastery of his environment, and above-all he learns of the futility of trying. Thus, while Rainwater defines the working-class urban Black family as the crucible of identity, he is pessimistic regarding its effect upon a child's self-esteem.

It is important to note that, at least in the urban North, the initial development of racial identity in these terms has very little directly to do with relations with whites. A child experiences these identity placements in the context of the family and in the neighbourhood peer group ... In this way, one of the effects of ghettoization is to mask the ultimate enemy so that the understanding of the fact of victimization by a caste system comes as a late acquisition laid over conceptions of self and of other Negroes derived from intimate, and to the child often traumatic, experience within the ghetto community....

To those living in the heart of a ghetto, black comes to mean not just "stay back" but also membership in a community of persons who think poorly of each other, who attack and manipulate each other, who give each other small comfort in a desperate world. Black comes to stand for a sense of identity as no better than these destructive others. The individual feels he must embrace an unattractive self in order to function at all.

(Rainwater, 1966, p. 205)

In summary, while all theoretical and research results led to the hypothesis of lower self-esteem for coloured minority group members in the 1950s and 1960s, Burns (1982) believes that these earlier studies contain a number of limitations. In most of the studies children were presented with Black and White stimuli and asked which they preferred. Both White and Black children tended to identify with the White stimuli. These studies were usually interpreted as being evidence of self-rejection amongst Blacks. According to Burns, the logic of this interpretation contained three levels: (a) the assumption that Black and White stimuli represent Black and White people; (b) the assumption that choosing the White stimuli implies a rejection of the Black stimuli, and the rejection of Black stimuli is evidence of rejection of Black people; and (c) the assumption that this failure to prefer and identify with Black people implies rejection of the self.

These indirect measures of Black self-rejection were characterized by a lack of control of the possible influence of the following confounding variables: geographical region, the year the study was done, skin colour and age of the subjects, physical characteristics of the stimuli, differential testing experience and differences in intelligence and social class of the subjects. Burns (1982) concludes that because of these potential criticisms, the results from these doll studies cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of low Black self-esteem and self-worth, and Black self-rejection.

A further criticism resides in the theoretical frameworks of these earlier studies. The earlier theories took for granted that the dominant White majority comprised the 'significant others' whose values and reflected appraisals determined the self-regard and other aspects of self-esteem in racial or ethnic groups.

Alternative hypothetical arguments have now been developed from Mead's (1934) and Sullivan's (1953) reference-group theories. According to these theories, racial or ethnic status should either be minimally related to global self-esteem, or perhaps the self-esteem of Blacks might be expected to exceed that of Whites.

Rosenberg (1973) contends that the parents of Black children are highly valued significant others, capable of building positive self-esteem in the early formative years of Black children. Baughman (1971) and McCarthy and Yancey (1971) point out that segregation means that Black children do not have much opportunity to compare their family members, neighbours, peers, or selves with the dominant group culture. Therefore, their self-esteem is based mainly on feedback from significant others in their own group.

Developing these more optimistic views, Barnes (1972) asserts:

It is possible for a black child to have or develop a positive, actualizing self-concept in this society, under ... [the] conditions that the black community containing the child and family be characterized by a sense of peoplehood, group identification, or black consciousness, or pride, and that the family be identified with or experience a sense of belonging to the community. It is postulated that when these conditions prevail, the black community, interposed between the family and white community, serves as a filter against the harmful inputs from the latter. In social system terms the black community either rejects such messages as input or in its transformations of them renders them innocuous.

(p. 178)

These authors thus disagree with Rainwater (1966) who proposes that there is a good possibility that a ghetto Black child will attend a school

where his Negro teachers either overtly or by implication reinforce his community's negative conceptions of what it means to be black (so that) the child has little opportunity to develop a more realistic image of himself and other Negroes as being damaged by whites and not by themselves.

(p. 205)

McCarthy and Yancey (1971) believe that Blacks of lower status are probably members of a distinctive subculture which provides alternative and realistically attainable criteria of success. Lewis (1970) notes that it was Martin Luther King's declaration that the basic human issue in the development of Black Psychology was the issue of 'somebodyness', heralded the advent of the rise of Black consciousness in America in the late 1960's.

The modern era of Black Psychology confronted the psychological issues involving liberation, self-determination, Black pride, consciousness of one's worth as a human being, and the right of Black people to determine their own identity. Thus Hannerz (1968) saw the adoption of the label soul among lower-class Blacks, as being in effect, a method for "proclaiming one's own achievements to be the ideals ... one's way of life to be, superior, ... reducing self-doubt by persuading 'soul brothers' that they are successful ... (and) belong to a select group" (p. 462).

The advent of the strength-oriented or growth model, in contrast to the earlier deficit-deficiency model, saw the psychology of Blackness moving toward a concentration on the strengths of Blacks - their openness to self and others, resilience, psychological connectedness and interdependence, the oral tradition, creative synthesis, fluid time perception, and the value of direct experience combined with respect for the elderly (White, 1984).

Finally, the movement towards a growth model was confirmed in the late 1960s and 1970s with the results of research on levels of self-esteem which demonstrated neither significant differences between White and Black self-esteem nor a difference in favour of Black people. Despite this evidence, Proshansky and Newton (1973) concluded that for the Black person there "are heavy psychological costs of low self-esteem, feelings of helplessness and basic identity conflict" (p. 176).

4.3 THE PRESENT STATUS OF SELF-ESTEEM RESEARCH IN AMERICA

Current American research indicates that there is no significant difference between the self-concepts of Black and White individuals. Gibby and Gabler (1967) and Zirkel and Moses (1971) obtained such results for Black and White elementary-school pupils. Zirkel and Moses (1971) in a study of the level of self-esteem of Black and White ten to eleven year old pupils, matched the groups on socioeconomic level, intelligence, and geographical location. Using Coopersmith's (1967) Self-Esteem Inventory, they found that the mean self-esteem score of Black and White pupils to be almost identical.

Rosenberg (1965) in a major study in which he developed the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, found that the distribution of self-esteem percentages were almost identical for Black and White Protestants aged fourteen to seventeen years old. A further revealing finding was that the proportion of high self-esteem responses was shown not to be a function of socioeconomic level, and not to be a function of the rank order of the prestige accorded them by society. Renbarger (1969) reported similar results for college and adult students.

The early research of Clark and Clark (1939 to 1947) has already been alluded to. It is worth noting that not all the partial replications and variations on the Clarks' work has been confirmatory. Most recent publications have yielded no racial differences in misidentification scores.

Gregor and McPherson (1966) used the Clarks' doll techniques to compare Black and White children in segregated schools in an unspecified area of the 'deep south'. The subjects were aged six to seven, and even though the socioeconomic level was uncontrolled - hence the Black sample's cognitive functioning level might have been lower - virtually no errors were made in either group when it came to choosing the child that 'looks like you'. Thus the own group identification of the Black children was much stronger than in the Clarks' study and there was an increment in own-group preference.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) suggested that the Clark's misidentification results might be misleading. They pointed out that a greater proportion of light-skinned Black children than dark-skinned children had misidentified and that this could be because they perceived the white dolls colouring to be actually closer to their own than that of the dark brown doll. They therefore administered the Clarks' questions to 75 Black and White five-year-old children using a mulatto doll in addition to white and dark brown dolls. Equal proportions of light and dark-skinned Black children chose the mulatto doll as looking more like them. Only 13 per cent of the Black children chose the white doll while there was no racial difference in misidentification, and the level of misidentification was higher amongst the White children. The investigators concluded that the unanticipated result was perhaps due to the fact that the mulatto doll was the most appropriate choice for some White children who were darker skinned. However, 50 per cent of the dark skinned Black children also chose the mulatto doll despite the discrepancy between its colouring and their own. Porter (1971) suggests that Greenwald and Oppenheim inadvertently created a choice bias by using colouring variations which were too small for accurate discrimination by four and five-year-olds.

In summary, failing to support earlier studies of greater racial misidentification among Blacks, recent publications reported no racial differences in misidentification of racial pictures or dolls. Wylie (1979) observes that whether these findings are a

function of methodological refinements, of changing racial awareness or attitudes on the part of Blacks, or of some other unknown factor cannot be discerned by a comparative examination of these studies.

Some studies have presented evidence that the self-concepts of Black children may surpass those of their White counterparts. Zirkel and Moses (1971) found the self-concepts of Black 11 and 12-year-olds to surpass, although not significantly, those of the White children in the same classes. De Blaissie and Healy (1970) found the mean self-concept of Black students to be significantly superior to that of White students on two measures. Hodgkins and Stakenas (1969) compared Black high school and college subjects to White students who were representative of such populations in a clearly segregated environment. Scores from an idiosyncratic semantic differential instrument was used to index "self-adjustment" and "self-assurance". They found that the mean self-concept scores of Black students to surpass significantly that of the White students. However, when the parents socioeconomic status was controlled for, this significant difference was lost. The interpretation of these null results should be guided by caution due to the lack of control of such factors as the segregated racial context, intelligence or grade point average, as well as by the lack of reliability of their idiosyncratic semantic differential.

Hundt and Hardt (1969) selected subjects from Black and White high-school students both before and after participation in an Upward Bound Program (a precollege enrichment program for students from low-income families). The investigators implicitly controlled for grade point average. They found on six separate testing occasions, utilizing Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Inventory, that the scores of Blacks fell above those of Whites. Significance tests for these comparisons were however, not given.

Bartee (1967), in a study involving college students, and Soares and Soares (1969), and Trowbridge (1970), found the mean self-concept of disadvantaged (mainly Black) students to consistently surpass that of better-off (predominantly White) students.

The main purpose of the study conducted by Soares and Soares (1969) was a comparison of the self-perceptions of a sample of 'culturally disadvantaged' students from 9 to 14 years old with the self-perceptions of another sample of similar age ranges of children who would not be generally categorized as disadvantaged. They defined these self-perceptions as including the self-concept (how the individual believes himself to be at the moment), the ideal-concept (how he wishes he were or hopes to become), and the various reflected selves (how he believes others view him) (Soares, 1969, p. 34).

They found that the disadvantaged group not only indicated positive self-perception, but that they indicated higher positive self-perception than their middle-class counterparts. Soares and Soares (1969) in explaining their results noted that disadvantaged children are exposed only to other disadvantaged people in school as well as at home. There was thus very little cross-group feedback available. A further explanation suggested by the investigators was that the occurrence of higher self-esteem in the 'disadvantaged' group may have been due to the possibility of those children finding less difficulty in meeting the expectations of teachers and parents, that is, these children are not expected to perform well, therefore they find little difficulty in fulfilling this expectation and, consequently, are more satisfied with themselves. On the other hand, the advantaged child may be more pressured than he should be by significant adults. If he fails to measure up to their expectations, the result may be lower self-esteem and lower self-perception.

In the final analysis, of course, both disadvantaged and advantaged children in elementary school indicate positive self-perceptions, which are neither overly high nor unduly low. Therefore, despite their cultural handicap, disadvantaged children do not necessarily suffer from lower self-esteem and a lower sense of personal worth. It may well be that the common denominator is effective and realistic teaching. The challenge, then, is to help the disadvantaged students maintain their positive self-images and yet function at a more realistic and higher level of aspiration, with neither dropping out of school nor yielding to the pressures of the high school.

(Soares and Soares, 1969, p. 43)

Trowbridge (1972 and 1974) in a study of 3 789 children from 133 schools, aged between eight and fourteen-years-old, found a significant negative relationship between race and level of self-esteem. While Trowbridge did not control for intellectual differences between races, the higher mean self-esteem score (obtained on Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory) of the Black group in this study cannot be plausibly attributed to this uncontrolled, but irrelevant determiner. However, Trowbridge cautions that the shortage of middle-class Blacks in the sample, raises questions with regard to the representativeness of the sample.

Burns (1982) concludes his review of comparative studies of White and Black self-esteem by observing that the existence of lower self-esteem amongst Black people can no longer be regarded as inevitable, and notes that in relatively recent studies this trend continues. For example, Edwards (1974) and Stephan and Rosenfield (1979), found no significant differences in self-esteem between White and Black students.

This present investigation has alluded to the classical deficit-deficiency model and its emphasis upon the role of the family in denigrating the self-esteem of the individual. White (1984) notes that the proponents of the pathology-oriented, matriarchial family model (with its supposedly detrimental influences on self-esteem development in boys), the frequency of broken homes and illegitimacy, and the higher evidence of extended as opposed to nuclear family structure, did not consider the resiliency of minority group members, nor the possibility that a single-parent Black mother could serve as an adequate role model for the children of both sexes. The notion that the mother could reflect a balance of both instrumental and expressive traits, was largely ignored because of the rigid classification of psychosexual roles in American society.

White (1984) describes the Black extended family model, in contrast to the single-parent subnuclear family, as consisting of a related and quasi-related group of adults linked together in a kinship network. They form a cooperative interface with each other in confronting the concern of child-rearing.

The Black extended family which can be seen as an outgrowth of African patterns of family and community life, emphasize collective survival, mutual aid, cooperation, mutual solidarity, interdependence, and responsibility for others (Nobles, 1974). These values transcend sex roles and allow men and women to participate in the management of economic resources, child-rearing and other issues of family life without being categorically restricted on the basis of gender.

White (1984) argues that the Black extended family exists primarily because Black people face the common fate of oppressive economic and social conditions, it exists out of necessity as a way of surviving in an oppressive class system. MacAdoo's (1979) work with upwardly mobile middle and upper-middle class Black families suggest that not only does the extended family model persist when Blacks move up the socioeconomic ladder but the Afro-American values of mutual aid, interdependence, and interconnectedness also remain as the guiding ethics of family existence.

This study appears to contradict the findings of Brandel-Syrrier's (1978) study of upwardly mobile Blacks in South Africa. While this study will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere, it is suffice to note that she found that, when thinking about or planning for the future, the "Reef town elite" were unconcerned about their fellow Blacks, and had clearly chosen to disassociate themselves, though not without feelings of shame, from their own group in order to concentrate almost exclusively upon their own socio-economic advancement.

Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) in a major study on the relevance of family organization on social self-esteem amongst Blacks, divided each racial group into those coming from two types of family background (separated or never-married against all others). They found a substantial association between self-esteem and family background among Whites but not among Blacks. To support their hypothesis that this finding could be attributed to the fact that

Black children from separated or never-married parents experience less stigma than do White children from such backgrounds, Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) showed that

black children from separated or never-married families are virtually no more likely than other black children to say they have often or sometimes been teased about their family; but white children from such families are considerably more likely than other white children to report this type of teasing.

(p. 81)

Assuming that White stigmatization of the broken family is greater than Black stigmatization, and that the unusualness of this kind of background might be relevant to the degree of stigmatization, Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) predicted that,

if he were in a white school, the self-esteem of the black child from a separated or never-married family would clearly be affected, but not if he were in a black school.

(p. 81)

Supporting this prediction they found,

In the predominantly black schools [where separated or never-married families were very highly represented], ... it apparently makes no difference to the child's self-esteem whether or not he comes from a separated or never-married family. In the mixed or predominately white school, on the other hand, a substantial impact is observed: 42 percent of the black children from separated or never-married families have low self-esteem, compared with only 19 percent of the other black children [$p \leq .01$].

(p. 81)

In conclusion, the more recent emphasis upon a growth model with regard to the development of Black children in American tends to contradict the earlier logic and evidence on negative self-esteem. The Black child growing up in the extended family is exposed to a variety of role models covering a wide age span where social behaviours are not completely regulated by conventional sex roles. This offers the children a greater opportunity to incorporate a balanced pattern of expressive and instrumental behaviours. Since

parents may not be equally effective as role models at every stage of the child's development, the presence of a range of role models allows the children a series of options at any stage of their development in terms of adults they might seek out for guidance (White, 1984).

Secondly, through intermittent reinforcement by similar agents and factors in the environment which serve as identification models and instruments for imitative learning, individuals in disadvantaged areas can acquire self-acceptance (Wheat, Slaughter and Frank, 1967).

Thirdly, in a cultural framework that stresses interdependence, emotional closeness, and physical touching, young children are likely to be given considerable affection, nurturance, and comforting physical contact (Kunkel and Kennaid, 1971). This warmth from others generates a sense of confidence in the child that facilitates the unfolding of exploratory behaviours and curiosity drives. The child feels positive about himself, feels a basic trust in the early social milieu, and is thus willing to develop autonomy, an important precursor of self-esteem. The interactive effect between the natural epigenetic growth processes and the child's exploratory behaviour produces an active mastery in the normal range of preschool developmental tasks (White, 1984).

Supportive evidence for the assertion that Black preschool children are on schedule in sensory, motor and cognitive development and in the development of self-esteem comes from the research of Bridgeman and Shipman (1975). Avoiding the deficit-deprivation findings of earlier investigations, they assessed the developmental mastery of children with multidimensional assessment techniques and with culture-free measurement instruments.

Bridgeman and Shipman (1975) found that the active mastery of primary competencies during the first six years, reinforced by the approval of the extended family, strengthens the child's confidence and trust in self and others. The child's own sense of competence

combined with nurturance from the extended family becomes the basis for the development of positive self-esteem. In a sociocultural framework where authenticity, openness to feelings, and spontaneity are encouraged, children are not thought to repress large parts of themselves as human beings in terms of a good me-bad me self-concept (White, 1984).

Taylor's (1976) review of the empirical research on the self-esteem of Black children concluded that they have as much self-esteem as White children. He also noted that the self-esteem of Black children is determined primarily by contacts within the Black family and community rather than by the negative imagery of Blackness in the Euro-American culture.

4.4 THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF THE CURRENT POSITIVE VIEW OF BLACK SELF-ESTEEM

Current empirical research has found either no difference between the self-esteem levels of Blacks and Whites, or that Blacks have slightly higher self-esteem than Whites. The present investigator presents viewpoints which seek to explain this counterintuitive finding, given the widespread discrimination, prejudice and poverty that Blacks are exposed to. Secondly, there is a need to explain the conflict between the earlier research findings with their emphasis upon negative self-esteem, and the current positive emphasis.

4.4.1 Methodological Explanations

Wylie (1979, pp. 129-133) identifies the following major areas of criticism in her evaluation of studies carried out on racial self-esteem:

1. The reliability and validity of the measures used in identifying racial self-esteem has often been lacking.

2. Many of the studies of global self-esteem or of specific aspects of self-esteem (for example, self-concept of school ability or academic self-esteem) have used idiosyncratic measures rather than better-known, more fully explored and developed instruments.
3. Often uninterpretable discrepancy scores have been used.
4. It is possible that reported direct association between racial standing and self-esteem scores could have been plausibly interpreted as a result of the reliability artifact. That is, since Blacks tend to be poorer readers and are assumed by educators to have less motivation for academic tasks, could their responses on self-esteem tests be determined more by chance than is the case with children of the White, English-speaking majority group?
5. The possibility of experimenter effects needs to be considered in interpreting self-esteem scores. Pettigrew (1964) quotes a Negro folksong which says, "Got one mind for white folks to see, 'nother for what I know is me". He observes that the race of the interviewer is a complicating factor which has not yet been fully understood. In a similar vein, White (1984) comments on Blacks controlling powerful white folks by a psychology of deception based upon subtle linguistic nuances and seeming agreement. Finally, reference has been made to Nobles' (1973) comments on errors of transubstantiation. He argues that:

It is evident that the data collected by these [white] researchers reflects not the reality of African (black) self-conception but rather the researchers' natural selective (mis)perception of it. We note that the definitional significance of Africa to black self-conception has not been considered, even though Africa has been critically important in the lives of the great majority of black people. It is possible and highly probable that these researchers are unable to take into account the "African reality" of black people living in America. ... Because of this, not only is the rejection of all previous research called for, but we must also question whether or not all researchers' actual presence in the black community is at all warranted.

(pp. 26-27)

Baughman (1971) reported that there was no effect of examiner race on Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory scores. Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) reported no trend for self-esteem scores of high school pupils to vary according to interviewer race or degree of congruity between race of interviewer and subjects. Finally, Yancey, Rigsby and McCarthy (1972) found that the race of the interviewer was unrelated to Rosenberg's self-esteem scores in their Black, adult subjects.

6. In many studies relating racial status to self-esteem, the size of the numbers were small. Wylie (1979) notes that any racial group is extremely heterogeneous with respect to variables such as academic achievement levels which are themselves conceptually and empirically associated with certain self-esteem variables. Thus, large numbers are necessary to bring out any main racial effects with other variables being adequately controlled for. Many of the studies have reported only small empirical trends between racial variables and most self-esteem measures; thus it appears as if statistical significance will be attained only if large numbers are used.
7. Intellectual ability and academic achievement are known to be associated with self-esteem measures and racial status, especially self-concept of schoolwork ability, ideals for educational and occupational levels to be achieved, and specific self-reported personality characteristics. Many studies have not controlled for intellectual ability and actual academic achievement, and therefore, any conclusions reached with regard to the relationship of racial status with self-esteem measures need to be interpreted with great caution.

There appear to have been major methodological differences between earlier and more recent studies compounding the difficulties in comparing the findings of these studies. Most of the earlier studies were based upon small unrepresentative samples, particularly of preschool children, while the later studies have investigated large random samples, primarily of older children and adults.

Secondly, studies differed with regard to the definitions and dimensions of self-esteem investigated. Clark and Clark's (1940) doll studies were concerned with attitudes toward being Black and toward the Black race in general. Recent research, in contrast, has focused on global self-esteem, on one's general feeling of worthiness as a person (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). It is thus possible that an individual may rate the Black race as less good in general than the White race without feeling that he himself is less worthy as a total human being. Therefore, it is distinctly possible that there is a difference between global self-esteem measured in later studies and racial self-esteem measured earlier.

Thirdly, early and later studies have differed with regard to the measures they have used. The earlier studies utilized idiosyncratic semi-projective measures, while the later studies used more objective attitude tests and scores with demonstrable reliability and validity. For example, Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory has been widely used and is reasonably well-validated. On the other hand, projective techniques generally possess low reliability and are difficult to validate, so the doll technique would tend to produce results which are more doubtful than those derived from rating scales.

Gray-Little (1979) found that the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory to be accurate in revealing racial differences amongst Black and White twelve to fifteen-year-olds. The Self-Esteem Inventory is correlated with a large number of race-sensitive demographic variables. They found that when Black and White students were matched for either achievement or academic aptitude, their self-esteem scores do not differ.

It is interesting to note that Burns (1982) in a review of comparative studies of Black and White self-esteem found that Black pupils tended to score higher on defensiveness and conflict indicative of low self-criticism, contradiction and confusion in self-perception. In general, it also appears that whether Blacks

are more positive or less positive than Whites depends on the aspect of self-esteem under consideration.

Subjects' characteristics such as sex, age and grade have varied from one study to the next, with little attention paid to the relevance of these factors to racial differences found (Christmas, 1973). In many studies, socioeconomic status and educational achievement have been neither controlled nor co-varied (Wylie, 1979). In Soares and Soares (1969) study previously referred to, 66 per cent of the disadvantaged children were Black, while 90 per cent of the advantaged children were white. No attempt was made to clarify the role of socioeconomic or racial factors in accounting for the differences in self-esteem scores.

A further significant and often overlooked factor is that of contextual variables. Specifically, the racial make-up of the school or university may be an important determinant of the direction of racial differences in self-esteem. Most of the studies that report higher self-esteem scores for White students or no racial differences were completed in integrated schools (for example, Rosenberg, 1965). Studies that report more positive self-concept scores for Black children seem to have been completed in either segregated schools (Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968) or desegregated schools in which Blacks were a majority (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972; Soares and Soares, 1969).

An important question that results from the current empirical findings - that Blacks do not have a lower self-esteem than Whites, - seems to be that of the mechanisms by which the Black individual is able to maintain his level of self-esteem. In a society in which Blacks are undergoing the stresses of a changing social order, in which they are subjected to extensive prejudice and discrimination, in which as children they are more likely to originate from homes characterized by illegitimacy, legal separation, or abandonment, how do they maintain an adequate level of self-esteem?

Debate over the proper interpretation of the more recent evidence on race and self-esteem remains active. Adam (1978) detects an ideological bias both in the choice of the instruments of assessment and in the manner in which results are interpreted. Adam points out that the early studies in the Clark tradition which were interpreted to demonstrate 'Black inferiorization', and which were used effectively as a lever in the struggle for Black civil rights appeared, after the onset of Black militancy, to take on the taint of racism, "the 'damage' inflicted by an oppressive society begins to look like a defamation of a people which is moving collectively against its oppressors" (Adam, 1978, p. 49). Adam's believes that as a consequence the psychometry inspired by the Clarks became unfashionable and the journals began publishing self-esteem studies which had the intention of 'putting to rest' the lower self-esteem - in - Blacks tradition (McCarthy and Yancey, 1971, p. 591).

Adam (1978) observes that as a result one no longer knows what is going on under the self-esteem label. Self-esteem has become a psychological abstraction. Davey (1983) notes that the term tells one nothing about how Black people cope with restricted life chances in earning a living or going to school.

Sympathy with minority members, and a desire to free them from the stigma of low self-esteem have led to attempts to deny its existence. Analysis has become arrested in an ill-defined psychological state divorced from the original problematic and abstracted from the political context which made it meaningful. This obliteration of the problem ironically lends itself to the modern 'benign neglect' policy toward black problems and to the rationale undermining affirmational action.

(Adam, 1978, p. 49)

Pettigrew (1978) acknowledges that oppression and subjugation have negative personal consequences for minority individuals, but he maintains that proud strong minorities are possible despite the 'marks of oppression'. This viewpoint emphasizes Porter's (1971) observation that there can be a noticeable discrepancy between the 'real' personal self and the 'racial' self.

According to Burns (1982) one type of explanation of the more recent evidence on race and self-esteem assumes that mainstream discrimination and oppression must have a negative effect upon the Black psyche, and it is argued that contrary findings reflect inadequacies in research strategy. White dominance pushes Blacks either to excessive compliance and low self-esteem or to excessive militancy and exaggerated self-esteem.

In contrast, other theorists assume varying degrees of autonomy for the Black subculture, allowing it to act as a buffer against the negative evaluations of mainstream Whites. Powell and Fuller (1973) suggested that the increase in Black nationalism with its emphasis on Black pride, resulted in higher Black self-esteem, but the noncomparability of earlier and more recent research limits possibilities for empirical tests of this hypothesis.

A number of hypotheses have been advanced to explain the lack of low self-esteem in a disadvantaged ethnic minority group, which according to the present investigator appear to be mutually inclusive.

4.4.2 System Blame Hypothesis

Myrdal (1944) emphasized the tendency of persons within the Black community to blame what appear to be personal failures in mainstream eyes on the White-dominated American social institutions rather than on themselves. McCarthy and Yancey (1971) developed this idea that Blacks are more likely than Whites to blame the "system" (externalize blame) for their relatively low status, thereby minimizing the effect of social stratification on self-esteem. They argue that blaming escape is primarily available to working-class Blacks, but not to middle-class Blacks who are more likely to have internalized mainstream criteria. The assumption is that working-class Blacks will be more inclined to blame the American system than will middle-class Blacks at any level, and also that for the individual a direct effect of system-blaming will be the

preservation of self-esteem. McCarthy and Yancey (1971) add that Black subcultural norms and values as well as blaming the system help Blacks to escape from the burdens of mainstream 'success' criteria, and serve to protect the self-esteem of working-class Blacks.

Hendrix (1980) suggests that an external orientation (control) may be a more positive attitude for disadvantaged groups leading to more positive self-concepts. He found a correlation of 0.35 between self-esteem and external control. This research implies that an external orientation represents the recognition of the existence of external control factors (discrimination, racism, poverty) which influence the success or failure of Black people in general.

Taylor and Walsh (1979) proposed that when socioeconomic status is controlled, the global self-esteem of Blacks is at least as high as that of Whites. They argued that lower status Black people would blame the 'system' and this helps to maintain positive self-esteem. Their study showed that while Blacks do have self-concept levels equal to those of Whites neither system blaming nor Black-pride ideology accounted for self-esteem maintenance. Taylor and Walsh's (1979) study is particularly noteworthy because of the differentiation of self-esteem into several context-specific dimensions. This revealed racial differences that would have been hidden if only global self-esteem had been considered.

Burns (1982) summarizes the findings of this hypothesis by noting that Black Americans appear to have resources enabling them to maintain a level of self-esteem at least equal to that of Whites. These sources of psychological support appear to be of longstanding existence rather than the product of any recent ideology, and seem to be available to persons of varying socioeconomic levels and to operate most effectively in the sphere of social and family self-esteem, areas which are remote from White influence. Thus findings suggest that Black individuals survive threatening and oppressive situations without experiencing radical damage to a more

stable self-picture sustained by the resources of more supportive primary groups. These findings suggest that the following hypothesis appears to be more tenable than the system blame hypothesis.

4.4.3 Significant others or Insulation Hypothesis

The fact that significant others of most Black Americans are fellow Blacks rather than prejudiced Whites is a critical resource serving to sustain Black self-esteem. The selection of reference groups within the Black community for social comparison serves as a major resource in this regard. An individual's self-esteem is influenced less by the larger society and more by opinions of significant others in his immediate environment. Thus, although a Black individual's race, family structure or socioeconomic status may be devalued in society, in his immediate context most others share these characteristics. Comparing himself to other Blacks, the Black child does not feel any less worthy as a person on account of race or economic background. Living in a segregated environment as most urban Black children are, they may be less aware of societal prejudice than is assumed. Baughman (1971) raises the possibility that the Black resisted the White's definition of him more effectively than most observers have usually estimated.

In attempting to explain the changes in research findings from the 1950s to the 1970s, Hall, Cross and Freedle (1972) have hypothesized the reference-group situation as involving a transition through four stages. In the first stage, called a preencounter or Negromancy stage, the person has a very negative impression of Blackness, sees the Euro-American culture as much more sophisticated, and generally the individual's behaviour and self-attitudes are determined by the 'oppressor's logic' (p. 159). Upon entering the encounter stage, the Negro has encountered a major personal disappointment in his attempts to aspire to Euro-American expectations.

He or she discovers that structural oppression in the United States is real, and that white folks do not mean what they say about fair play and justice for all. Concomitantly comes the discovery that there is some substance to Afro-Americans and the cultural heritage that has enabled them to survive and keep on climbing, despite the fact that they have been denied and continue to be denied the full range of opportunity in American life.

(White, 1984, p. 9)

Carrying the belief to an extreme that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective, the individual enters the immersion stage in which everything of value must be Black. He becomes obsessed with blackness, the Afro-American culture, and the African heritage. In the final stage of Black awareness, the internalization or universal stage, the individual focuses on other things besides himself and his racial group, and behaves in a self-confident and secure manner. That is, no longer feeling irrelevant, the individual can accept the belief systems of others which don't exactly align to their own. Thus, it would appear as if a favourable level of self-esteem will be found amongst Blacks after the preencounter stage.

There is a need to discriminate between personal and racial self-esteem in explaining the lack of low self-esteem in Blacks. The early doll studies (Clark and Clark, 1958) looked at racial self-esteem; while current scales tend to measure personal self-esteem so that Black individuals can indicate they have good qualities and have personal efficacy in their own social environment.

While Pettigrew (1967) notes that research has not identified under what conditions groups come to be regarded as referent, Heiss and Owens (1972) suggested the possibility that Blacks use different reference groups as bases for their reflected self-appraisals according to the specific kind of self-evaluative area involved. For example, Heiss and Owens (1972) assume that Blacks will use the Black group as their self-evaluative standard regarding those specific traits which are: (1) of little concern to the Whites with

whom a Black interacts, and (2) relatively irrelevant for success in the larger society (for example, self-evaluation as a parent).

A possible implication of this view is that Blacks may protectively experience such traits as more salient for their over-all self-esteem than is the case for traits on which they are forced to evaluate themselves relative to Whites. Favourable evaluations on the more salient traits could counteract less favourable standings on the less salient ones. Thus, perhaps hypotheses about racial differences in self-evaluations involving the more and less salient classes of traits may be more productive than is the traditional hypothesis that Black status in a White society affects Blacks' overall self-esteem level. The present investigation has specifically delineated self-esteem into its component areas, as well as measuring global self-esteem.

Heiss and Owens (1972) suggested that the relationship between the self-evaluations of Whites and Blacks varies according to the particular dimension under consideration. Specifically, they argue that the buffering function of the Black community will operate for working-class Blacks in the spheres of family life and social activity, but not in such spheres at school or work "where whites have important control over the Black man's fate" (p. 363). These investigators assert that failure in the measurement process to take account of the many facets of self-esteem is responsible for the misleading conclusion that their minority status imposes no toll on the self-esteem of Blacks.

It would thus appear to be erroneous to assume that Blacks use Whites as significant others. Heiss and Owens (1972) suggest that the evaluations of Blacks are much more relevant. Since evaluations received by Blacks from other Blacks resemble evaluations that Whites give other Whites, one of the assumed causes of lowered self-esteem disappears. Furthermore, the criteria of worth used by Blacks may be achievable subcultural ones, not necessarily those of the dominant society, and thus another potential source of low

self-evaluation is removed. In their study Heiss and Owens (1972) found that the Blacks used Blacks as significant others. They found that Blacks also used subcultural standards. The relationship between the self-esteem of Blacks and Whites varies depending on the traits involved. Family roles are particularly influenced by subcultural factors. Coopersmith (1967) noted that:

It is from a person's actions and relative position within [his] frame of reference that he comes to believe that he is a success or failure - since all capabilities and performances are viewed from such a personal context we must know for example conditions and standards within a given classroom, groups of professionals, or a family before making any conclusions about any individual's feelings of worthiness.

(p. 20)

The system blame explanation did not appear to play much part in determining self-esteem of the Black subject in Heiss and Owens' study.

A similar theory suggests that Black Americans maintain their global self-esteem by minimizing the relevance of threatening dimensions. Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) proposed the concept of "value selectivity", (that is, devaluing the domain where one has low status), as a method of mitigating the effects of low economic status. Heiss and Owens (1972) have noted that Black self-esteem is probably most vulnerable in the White-dominated spheres of school and work, even when socioeconomic status is controlled. Thus, value selectivity predicts that such spheres will be relatively less salient to the global self-esteem of Blacks than to Whites. Gecas (1982) comments that while all of these explanations sound reasonable, none have received much empirical support.

In Rosenberg and Simmons's (1972) study of the level of self-esteem of subjects aged eight to nineteen years of age, the percentage of Whites attaining low self-esteem scores exceeded the Black percentage by fourteen per cent. Insulation in segregated environments has preserved or inflated Black self-esteem since most of the Black subjects attended segregated schools.

A significant finding of this study revealed that the lower average school grades that were actually characteristic of the Blacks did not seem to counteract the trend toward higher Black self-esteem.

School grades seem to make less difference for the self-esteem of black children. This is especially striking among the near-failing pupils; the self-esteem of such white pupils is vastly lower than that of other whites, whereas the self-esteem of such black children is only moderately lower than other blacks. This suggested that blacks, particularly those whose school achievement is low, may more successfully employ certain defense mechanisms. ... We found that the black child who did poorly in school was less likely than the corresponding white to feel that his school marks represented an accurate appraisal of his intelligence, to believe that his parents considered him unintelligent, and to care strongly about the quality of intelligence. It was suggested that the black child's social environment was more hospitable to the use of these protective mechanisms.

(Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972, p. 102).

One should note however, that while this is the most extensive study directed toward self-esteem as a function of race, these researchers did not control for measured ability when looking at self-esteem and achievement, nor did they look at self-esteem and ability scores, with achievement held constant.

Coopersmith (1975) offers a cogent summary of the evidence that contradicts the earlier trends for Black students in America to have lower self-esteem than White students.

There is increasing evidence that as long as the child stays within an environment in which his culture is in a majority he is able to sustain positive feelings about himself.... The social forces that have sought to segregate the blacks have provided an environment in which these blacks are insulated against direct assaults upon their feelings. In this environment black children are not teased about their racial characteristics, insulted because of their academic performance or demeaned because of the illegitimacy or breakup of their families. Insulated by that environment he has the support to reject the low status to which white society assigns his race.

(pp. 161-162)

4.4.4 Social Class Hypothesis

Closely related to the insulation hypothesis, Fu, Korslund and Hinckle (1980) demonstrated the role of socioeconomic class on the self-esteem of three ethnic groups. At lower income levels there was little difference between the self-esteem of the White, Black, and Hispano Americans. Middle-income minority-group members had significantly lower self-esteem because their self-evaluation are more majority-group orientated as a result of increased contact with and exposure to significant others from the majority ethnic group who are perceived by society as having higher status.

Children from working-class backgrounds have lower internal standards for judging the adequacy of their achievement and they are less involved in achievement experiences than middle-class children; hence their poorer achievement is felt to be less of a threat to their self-esteem. Such low standards lead to greater self-satisfaction and less motivation for change. Thus, subjects in Trowbridge's (1970) working-class group displayed high self-esteem even in the face of low academic achievement.

4.5. USE OF DEFENSE MECHANISMS

The present investigator hypothesizes that a further factor involved in the maintenance of self-esteem is the use of defensive manoeuvres in order to maintain self-esteem.

Cohen (1959) argued that different ego defences are employed by individuals with high and low self-esteem. Cohen's theory states that individuals with high self-esteem defend their self-esteem by avoidance, whereas low self-esteem individual's utilize projection. That is, individual's with low self-esteem will distort unfavourable feedback.

An individual with genuine high self-esteem should be less concerned to avoid failure, since it is not particularly threatening. Defensively high self-esteem individuals, ought to do more than react to success or failure, they ought to attempt actively to change their public definition after failure, to gain approval when possible, and to encourage social situations to maximize their self-enhancement (Burns, 1982). Self-presentations are one way of manipulating social situations to gain approval (Jones, 1964). Schneider (1969), utilizing a self-monitoring scale, found that subjects who were told they had failed were significantly more self-enhancing in their public presentations than were successful subjects. The study also revealed that failing individuals with high self-esteem showed high positive correlations between positiveness of self-presentation and need for approval scores (as measured by the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale). In other words, individuals with high self-esteem and great need for approval (that is, the individual with defensive high self-esteem) exhibited positive self-presentations in reaction to failure. The higher the need for approval, the more positive was the self-presentation of the failing, high self-esteem subject. Thus for the defensive individual, it is probable that a self-presentation strategy of positiveness may be used to maintain the high level of reported self-esteem.

This was confirmed in an experiment undertaken by Schneider and Turkat (1975), in which defensive high self-esteem subjects presented themselves more positively than subjects with genuine high self-esteem. Thus, to the extent that positive self-presentations indicate a need for approval, it appears as if defensive high self-esteem individuals may be differentiated from genuine high self-esteem individuals by their stronger need for approval in the face of negative feedback.

When failing, defensive high self-esteem individuals will be strongly affected by the evaluations of others for their feelings of

self-esteem. Thus, they would be more concerned with the presentation of a socially desirable appearance than individuals with genuine high self-esteem (Burns, 1982).

Smith (1975) in a review of the vocational aspirations and expectations of the Black individual observes that most authors agree that the Black adolescent has a great deal of incongruency of vocational aspirations and his occupational expectations (for example, Dreger and Miller, 1968). Haberman (1966) explains the Black youth's, incongruency of vocational aspirations and expectations by noting that disadvantaged youngsters often overcompensate for feelings of inadequacy by assuming superficially high aspirations. This viewpoint has a great deal of similarity to Alfred Adler's (1927) concept of 'organ inferiority' and the individual's attempts to compensate therefor. Taking a somewhat different route, Sexton (1971) suggests that recent gains of Black people have contributed to soaring and unrealistically high ambitions. Research tends to indicate that lower class Black youth are inclined to retreat from competition and that middle class Black youth are inclined to set very high levels of academic self-esteem and occupational achievement - levels even higher than those of White youth of a comparable socioeconomic background - as forms of defensive coping (Smith, 1975).

Finally, more racial-comparison studies have been done with MMPI scales than with any other self-report instrument. Harrison and Kass (1967) and Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968) summarized the results of research, and found that of particular interest was the fact that the Black samples tended to score higher on the Lie (L) scale and the Validity (F) scale than did the White samples. While in every research the racial groups differed on important variables such as the racial context of the school, socioeconomic level, IQ, and degree of literacy, however, this does not account for the fact that these scales rather than others tend most consistently to yield higher Black scores.

Graham (1977) provides a description of an individual with a high L scale score as a person who may be:

1. trying to create a favorable impression by not being honest in responding to the items
2. conventional; socially conforming
3. unoriginal in thinking; flexible in problem solving
4. has poor tolerance for stress and pressure
5. rigid, moralistic
6. overevaluates own worth
7. utilizes repression and denial excessively
8. manifests little or no insight into own motivations
9. shows little awareness of consequences to other people of his/her own behavior
10. may be confused.

(p. 19)

Finally, Cicrelli (1976) found that negative evaluation raised the level of self-esteem of children belonging to the working-class. Burns (1982) interprets this result as indicating that working-class children are defensive concerning negative evaluation, and observes that children block out threats to self-esteem and overevaluate feelings of self-worth. This implies that children from working-class backgrounds are not immune to middle-class expectations and values when they may be reacting to the fear or insecurity of not attaining such standards with the use of defensive manœuvres against this anxiety being generated which, in turn, leads to reporting a higher level of self-esteem than one might expect given the reality factors of the situation.

4.6 DESEGREGATION OF EDUCATION AND SELF-ESTEEM

An issue relating closely to the relationship between self-esteem, significant others, insulation, social class and defensiveness is school desegregation.

Within South Africa, the educational policy of the Government, while undergoing some dilution recently, is based upon segregated education for Blacks and Whites. Dr Verwoerd in charge of Bantu (Black) education in 1954 declared that:

The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open for him. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive training which has as its aim absorption into the European community, while he cannot and will not be absorbed there.

(In Watts, 1980, p. 12)

Chuenyane (1983) in a major study of 600 Black South African secondary school students (matriculants), noted that 88,5 percent expressed a need for a change in the educational system.

While the effects of desegregation is not an issue within South Africa to-day, the current rapid constitutional and social political changes occurring indicate that the effects of desegregation upon self-esteem of Black South Africans may possibly soon be relevant.

In America and Britain there have been a number studies of the effects of desegregation on Black self-esteem, and viewpoints regarding the advantages and disadvantages of segregation versus desegregation.

Bernard (1958, p. 151) insisted that "inescapable inferiority feelings" were a psychiatric implication of school segregation. On the other hand, Gregor and Armstrong (1964) argued that segregated environments insulated the Black child from psychological tension and, thereby, fostered a positive self-esteem. Hodgkins and Stakenas (1969) say:

Within the segregated community, where most if not all significant others are Negro and the majority of prior experience is with other Negroes, no difference would be expected in the incidence of positive or negative self-concepts in a specific situation in the Negro or white segments of that community. Because the Negro is segregated, race as a basis of self-evaluation is eliminated within situation boundaries.

(p. 372)

Thus on the one hand, educators and social scientists argue that Black self-esteem and Black academic achievement is impaired by segregation, and on the other hand, some have argued that segregation should not be expected to lower self-esteem and that integration might actually impair it.

Bachman (1970) in a major study of over 2 000 sixteen year-old pupils found that desegregation had a negative effect on self-esteem. Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) argued that Blacks in an integrated setting may have lower self-esteem than those in a segregated setting, for the following reasons: (a) Blacks who attended integrated schools were victimized more about their race, (2) Blacks scored lower marks than Whites (even though they tended to obtain better marks than Blacks in segregated schools), (3) entering an integrated school situation, Blacks may experience the White group's devaluation of aspects of their group's values and behaviours which they had previously considered positive, and (4) integration could increase the Black children's realization of their families' relatively depressed socioeconomic status.

On the other hand, St. John's (1971) study of 957 twelve-year old children found that desegregation had no effect upon Black self-esteem. Based upon all these studies, it appears that desegregation sometimes has negative effects on Black self-esteem and never has positive effects. However, Wylie (1979) cautions that in all of these studies, none fulfilled the necessary criteria to enable one to draw conclusions about the effects of integrated education or living on general self-esteem in Black children or adults.

In summary, in both Bachman (1970) and Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) - the largest and most correct methodological studies cited - higher self-esteem was found in the segregated group.

4.7 ACADEMIC SELF-ESTEEM AS A FUNCTION OF RACIAL STATUS

A major concern of the present investigation is the level of academic self-esteem in relation to global self-esteem amongst Black university students. The theoretical overview has attested to the significant relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement.

Wylie (1979) cautions that in looking for racial differences in self-esteem of academic ability, it is important to control for ability and/or aptitude and for socioeconomic level, because each of these variables is thought to be related to measures of self-concept of ability or self-estimated intelligence. Further, are needs to control for the racial context of the schools or universities from which subjects are chosen.

The Coleman Report (Coleman et.al. 1972) investigated the level of self-concept of school work ability amongst half a million Black and White pupils, between the ages of six and seventeen years from 4 000 schools. They found that there were no differences between Negroes and Whites on reported academic self-esteem.

Bachman's (1970) survey of two thousand sixteen year-old children revealed that while there were only 256 Blacks in the sample, all three Black groups exceeded the White self-concept mean. In commenting on these results, Bachman (1970) points out:

One of the things that makes interpretation difficult is the very nature of our measure of self-concept of school ability. Respondents were asked to rate themselves 'compared with those in your grade in school' or 'compared with other boys your age.' In principle, the appropriate reference groups would be a very broad cross-section of young men; however, to the extent that respondents actually used friends and acquaintances as their reference group, their answers may contain some built-in controls for socioeconomic level and intellectual ability. For example, a black respondent in a southern segregated school may quite correctly see himself as above average in scholastic ability compared with his friends, yet be closer to the average when compared with our total sample. In this example, the respondent has already matched himself with others of roughly equal socioeconomic level and intellectual ability; the adjustments provided by Multiple Classification Analysis in such a case might actually overcompensate.

Wilson (1969) commenting on the results of his multivariate analysis noted that Negroes report slightly higher perception of their academic ability than Whites.

Rosenberg and Simmon's (1972) asked their subjects "How smart do you think you are?", and assessed the responses on a four point Likert type scale. An interesting finding was that more Black than White students, attaining actual academic achievement scores of 50-59 per cent, thought they were "pretty smart", and 0 per cent of Blacks as compared to 20 per cent of Whites with 50-59 per cent actual academic performances thought they were not at all smart. Finally, no support is given by this study to the hypothesis that Blacks estimates of their academic ability are depressed.

In summary, in those studies which tried in various ways to control for socioeconomic level and/or ability level, Blacks tended to make higher self-estimates of ability than that of Whites.

4.8 SELF-ESTEEM AND ETHNIC-MINORITY CHILDREN IN BRITAIN

Britain provides a natural laboratory for the study of the effects of prejudice and minority rights upon self-esteem because all schools are integrated.

Newly immigrant children often come from materially worse environments than the urban poverty of a British city. They come with the ardour of pilgrims to a promised land expecting the city streets to be paved with gold. The existence of an education system with legitimate mobility lines to success, is a confirmation of these expectations. It is not surprising first generation immigrants have more positive self-concepts than their peers. Socialization into the reality of the system was probably responsible for the markedly more negative self-images of their children.

(Burns, 1982, p. 339)

Milner (1975) and Young and Bagley (1979) found that Black children displayed more negative feelings about their self-characteristics, including their ethnicity when compared to American research. Such

feelings may cause difficulty in identity consolidation when the child has to incorporate these negative feelings within a self-concept which attempts to evaluate being Black in a positive rather than negative way (Weinreich, 1979). Because of this finding, coupled with the way British society in general regards and treats Black people, many Black adolescents seem to experience problems in self-esteem (Burns, 1982). Despite contradictory findings, the literature indicates that Black adolescents (especially males) have somewhat lower levels of self-esteem than their White peers (Bagley, Mallick and Verma, 1979). An important exception to this generalization is the case of classrooms with a high proportion of ethnic minorities; here the support given by a Black peer group nurtures a more positive self-esteem, as it has in America. Weinreich (1979) observes however, that it is probable that many Black adolescents have problems in identity formation.

Lomax (1977) utilized a sentence completion test to measure self-esteem in an all girls senior school and found that while only one-third of the pupils were Black (two-thirds were of West Indian origin), and although these Black girls were disproportionately allocated to lower streams, they had significantly higher levels of self-esteem than their White peers. However, Black British girls had poorer self-esteem than West Indian girls. It would thus appear that, despite the supportive context of a school in which the majority of pupils are Black, a longer exposure to English culture (integration) had a depressing effect on self-esteem.

Louden (1977) using a self-esteem scale developed by Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) found no overall difference in the self-esteem of English, West Indian and Asian adolescents although the self-esteem of both West Indian and Asian girls was higher than that of the English girls. Louden found that in general the more Blacks that were in a school, the higher were the levels of self-esteem in the Black pupils. The relationship was however, curvilinear, and it was the group of West Indians in schools with medium concentrations (30

to 50 per cent of Blacks) who had the highest levels of self-esteem. Louden suggests that the degree to which minority groups are insulated from various types of White racism has a marked influence on the level of self-esteem amongst minority groups. Thus both American and British research suggests that Black pupils can maintain reasonable levels of self-esteem if they live within a predominantly Black rather than a White world. The longer and the greater their exposure to the 'dominant' culture the greater the chance of their self-esteem being lowered.

On the other hand, Bagley, Mallick and Verma (1979) in a study of 1 900 West Indian adolescents in 39 British schools, have shown that the level of self-esteem in West Indian boys is below that of both White boys and West Indian girls. This effect for Black girls to have better self-esteem than Black males contradicts the findings of studies of White English subjects, in which males have better self-esteem than females.

Bagley et. al. (1979) also examined levels of self-esteem in West Indian pupils in relation to their proportions in the school classes studies. Their findings were similar to those of Louden (1977), and indicated a significant trend for the self-esteem of Black pupils to be enhanced as ethnic concentrations increase. This finding is consistent with the American research of Rosenberg and Simmons (1972). But against this evidence Stone (1981) found no difference in the self-esteem scores of West Indian Children attending schools with a high proportion of West Indian children and those where the proportion was less than 50 per cent. She observes, following her discussion of Black culture and consciousness, that "people derive the means to sustain a sense of self from many sources and do not rely on negative and hostile views as their source of information about self" (Stone, 1981, p. 233). However, Milner (1981) has pointed out that it seems improbable that Black people can insulate themselves from the valuation placed on their group by White people. He notes that race attitudes enter into the total spectrum of cultural media with which the individual has contact irrespective of whether it is in a segregated or non-segregated environment.

An interesting study undertaken by Jones (1977), examined the hypothesis that success in sport would be associated with higher levels of global self-esteem in Black pupils. Utilizing Coopersmith's general self-esteem scale, he found that West Indian adolescents had significantly poorer levels of self-esteem than their White peers, even though they excelled more than Whites at school in sport. Although White pupils who excelled at sport had higher levels of self-esteem, this was a function of their generally high academic performance level. Blacks, even those excelling in sport, were generally in lower streams, and it was probably this academic debility rather than sporting success which was the most powerful influence on general self-esteem. Those West Indians who were in higher academic streams tended to have levels of self-esteem which were equal to those of their White peers in the same stream.

With regard to Non-American studies of ethnic preference, it does appear that the apparent devaluation by some children of their own ethnic group was not peculiar to American Black-White relationships, but was more likely to be related to the social norms governing the relative position of groups in a particular society. Milner (1973), using Clark's doll technique, assessed children aged between five and eight years of age attending desegregated schools, and found that 100 per cent of White children chose the white doll in response to the question "which doll looks most like you?". Only 52 percent of the Black children made the correct choice. Milner interpreted these findings as not indicating cognitive confusion but rather ethnic-minority children's negative evaluation of their own group, and thus their denial that they are Black as a form of defensive coping. Milner sees group evaluation and self-evaluation as being closely linked, and he suggests that this misidentification in his Black subjects is indicative of a confused identity.

Weinreich's (1979) case-study approach revealed that since individual identities are formed simultaneously by daily interactions, both within and without the membership group, that a degree of identity diffusion is likely to be experienced. He found

that identity diffusion was stronger amongst Black than White pupils in Britain.

In conclusion, Burns (1982) remarks that children cannot continually be insulated against other standards and values, and if they are to live and work successfully in Britain they must learn to compete on Euro-American criteria. This observation is equally applicable within the South African context. However, to do this, equality of opportunity and treatment must be available. This overview has revealed that so long as the child remains in an environment in which he is in the majority culture he can maintain positive feelings about himself. The social forces that have imposed segregated living have insulated the minority groups from negative feelings. The Black child living within a Black environment is likely to find supportive interactions. He is also likely to find a peer group which does not accept the school judgments of their performance as a valid judgement of his worth. Coupled with individual defences, the Black child's environment makes it comfortable for him to reject the significance of negative judgment by 'White' institutions and thus continue to experience heightened self-esteem even when not achieving well, since academic worth is not one of his pretensions anyway. That Black children and students do not devalue themselves when they perform poorly academically, has important implications for education and motivation. There is sufficient social support from significant others which does not depend on academic prowess so that the child or student is unlikely to be motivated by fear of academic failure in what he regards as essentially a White institution.

Before concluding this chapter with a review of relevant research findings on self-esteem and the Black individual within the South African context, the present investigator will present a summary of the research findings discussed in this chapter.

American research before 1970 suggests that the majority of Black children had internalised the negative stereotypes which the dominant White culture held concerning them, and consequently had a lower level of self-esteem than their White peers. A number of hypotheses have been expounded, including projection or system blame, group insulation, value selectivity and defensive coping. While each explanation has some validity, the present investigator believes that a conceptualization of Black self-esteem would necessarily need to integrate each hypothesis, as each appears to operate at different levels of conceptualization. The insulation hypothesis has received much empirical confirmation, in that Black children who evaluate themselves according to the standards of their Black peers may have high self-esteem. Related to this finding is that, that desegregation of education tends to reduce the self-esteem of minority groups as they come against majority group standards and prejudice.

Studies of self-esteem amongst minority children in Britain have produced diverse and contradictory findings. Studies have revealed that Black children have considerable difficulty with the formation of an adequate ethnic identity and self-esteem. As Black children grow older they develop protective sub-cultures and new reference groups which encapsulate their identities from 'vulgar' racism. An important variable for the formation of an adequate sense of ethnic identity appears to be the amount of social support a Black adolescent receives from his Black peer groups.

4.9 THE EFFECTS OF PREJUDICE UPON SELF-ESTEEM

A necessary prologue to a review of relevant research into the level of self-esteem amongst Blacks in South Africa would be to briefly consider the effects of prejudice upon self-esteem in general.

South Africa is a complex heterogeneous country in which the most pervasive and important social differentiation is on ethnic lines. A consequence of the Population Registration Act of 1950, which divides the South African population into separate groups (Black, White, Coloured and Asian) is that "there is a very clear status

system based on race" (Lever, 1978, p. 7), with Whites occupying the dominant and controlling political and economic positions, followed in descending order of power by the Coloureds, Asians, and finally the Blacks.

In South Africa Blacks are discriminated against on the grounds of skin colour. For example, although South African Coloureds are largely Afrikaans-speaking and belong mainly to either the Catholic, Anglican, or Dutch Reformed Churches (Kies, 1979), they are, nevertheless, classified as "non-White" and, subsequently, find themselves on the brink of the world or in a state of marginality (Dickie-Clark, 1966). Heaven and Niewoudt (1981) comment that considering the total situation in South Africa, one could expect Blacks to exhibit lower levels of self-esteem than Whites.

Bagley et. al. (1979) note that an important tenet of the view that cultural factors, that is, supra societal factors, are important sources of racism is the assumption that racist attitudes are institutionalized, in language, in social policies, in the practices of government, commerce and education. Clearly this is the case within the South African context.

Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962) have defined prejudice as being a unfavourable attitude toward an object which tends to be highly stereotyped, emotionally charged, and not easily changed by contrary information. Young and Mack (1962) view prejudice as being a culturally predetermined, biased attitude toward a person or social group. What are the psychological effects of social, educational, and economic deprivation?

Gergen and Gergen (1981) observe that the person who is a target of discrimination frequently may carry a heavy psychological burden, and the continual rejection by others may result in feelings of worthlessness, inferiority and self-hatred. Turner and Wilson (1976) found that Negroes living in the North were most likely to be suspicious and distrustful of Whites and to become estranged from the

dominant White community. These individuals also tended to be higher in Black 'race consciousness'. In addition, Black adults living in northern urban centres are more likely to be separatist in orientation, alienated, and fearful of race genocide.

Halsell (1969) in a unique experiment, temporarily turned her skin black and then went to live as a Black in the Black community. She wrote of the prevalence of a feeling of futility, entrapment, and pointlessness, and of the difficulty of survival. Finally, she notes the pervasiveness of White prejudice, discrimination, and sexual harassment.

The present investigation has previously noted the findings of the Clarke's (1958) and Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) of feelings of self-hatred amongst Black children and psychiatric patients respectively. These findings confirm the viewpoints of several therapists who have noted significant correlations between acceptance of self and acceptance of others. Fromm (1939) observed that, as the self is an object of feelings and attitudes in the same way as others, then attitudes toward others and towards the self must necessarily be similar. Adler (1927) noted that an individual's tendency to denigrate others arises out of personal feelings of inferiority. Thus prejudicial attitudes appear to be self-maintaining and form a homeostatic balance within the individual. That is, discrimination could result in lowered self-esteem or self-criticism, which in turn, will result in the individual with low self-esteem being unable to love or esteem others.

Nightingale and Stover (1985) observe that in South Africa there are 150 psychiatrists, none of whom are Black, serving a population of 25 million. They believe that psychiatrists in South Africa should condemn apartheid because it proclaims that Blacks are inferior beings, thereby undermining their self-esteem and, by doing so, their mental health. Both the Society of Psychiatrists of South Africa and the Psychological Association of South African have drawn

up statements of policy on apartheid, in which they recognise and deplore the potentially harmful psychological effects on individuals as a result of discrimination based on race and colour (Nightingale and Stover, 1985).

In conclusion, it would appear as if prejudice on an individual level has a negative impact upon an individual's personality and social behaviour, and in fact, results in prejudiced behaviour within that individual. Bagley et. al. (1979) note however, that the prejudice manifested by the majority of the population is an essentially normal and (normative) process. While prejudice is not associated with being psychotic or paranoid, individuals who are anxious, depressed, neurotic, or have poor self-esteem do tend to be more prejudiced than others. They have to a greater extent chosen the cultural symbols of racism as a means of protecting their identity, or enhancing their self-esteem.

Bagley et. al. (1979) argue that individuals have a pervading need to maintain self-esteem; a need for order in their social world; a need for social power in at least some limited sphere; a need for consistency of values and consistency of social returns; and a need to minimise anxiety and uncertainty in everyday affairs. These underlying psychological needs mean that, according to particular social circumstances, individuals will choose to be prejudiced in order to maintain some personality equilibrium, some freedom from anxiety, some status or social power, and some enhancement of the self.

Much research in this area has been devoted to the effect of prejudice on a macro or group level, specifically with regard to the stereotyping of specific personality characteristics of racial ethnic groups. Brigham (1971) defines an ethnic stereotype as being "a generalization made about an ethnic group, concerning a trait attribution, which is considered to be unjustified by an observer" (p. 31).

The importance of ethnic stereotyping for the present investigation concerns the research question of whether or not there is a correspondence between a stereotype and the individual group members' self-descriptions. Such evidence would suggest that stereotyping may be a factor in influencing the individual's level of self-esteem.

Reviewing earlier research on stereotypes of Blacks and Whites, Brigham (1971) states:

Stereotypes of Negroes as assessed by the Katz and Braly paradigm have tended to be rather definite and quite negative. Such traits as superstitions, lazy, dirty, and ignorant usually have headed the list in frequency of attribution. Recent psychological research and public opinion polling results indicate that although the United States white's view of Negroes may be becoming somewhat less negative, it is still radically different from his view of white Americans.

(p. 20)

Morsbach (1972) used a 20-trait semantic differential technique with university students to obtain descriptions of the six major 'White' and 'non-White' groups in South Africa. The Asians (Indians) evaluated their own group more favourably than their group was evaluated by Afrikaans, English, Jewish, Coloured, or Africans. Morsbach (1972) noted that despite general wariness shown towards the "Indians" by the other groups tested, the Indian subjects' high self-esteem indicates that they do not experience feelings of self hatred, and in fact, display a positive autostereotype. This evidence is suggestive that stereotypes of a derogated group are not necessarily accepted by that group.

Wylie (1979) in summarizing her review of research studies in this area, observes that although Blacks may have given some evidence, especially in earlier studies, of accepting certain unfavourable trait attributions as applicable to their group, the current evidence favours their resistance to accepting the validity of these attributes for Blacks in general. On the contrary, recent evidence

suggests a greater group-favourability bias in Blacks' attributions to Blacks in general than in Whites' attributions to Whites in general.

These findings have been confirmed in a study undertaken by Edwards (1984) of White and Black first year South African university students. Utilizing a modified form of Wrightsman's (1974) Philosophy of Human Nature Scale as a measure of perception of race groups, he found that Black respondents perceived their own group as being more trustworthy, conventionally good, variable and as more altruistic. Blacks were most cynical about the White group and rated them lower than Blacks or coloureds on trustworthiness and on altruism. Whites rated Blacks low on strength of will or rationality which Edwards interpreted to mean that Blacks were perceived to have a low internal locus of control (a perception which was not shared by the Black respondents themselves).

Manganyi (1973) has emphasized how historically the South African Black has been defined by Whites as intellectually and racially inferior, and been treated both socially and politically accordingly. He also has described how Blacks have accepted this construction of themselves and come to see themselves as inferior and unworthy.

In discussing the self-evaluation of low-status Whites in South Africa, Schlemmer (1972) asks: "If lower-status whites feel relatively demoralised and inadequate how demoralised and inadequate must Blacks not feel?" (p. 24). Low self-esteem often leads to self-hatred, traces of which are evident in the African populations (Lever, 1979).

Pettigrew (1964) in an American study has shown that a stable and happy family life can act as a buffer against a hostile environment. Lever (1979) believes that it is doubtful whether the fragmented African life, brought about by the migratory labour system, can fulfill this role. If Blacks have feelings of

inferiority, self-hatred and low self-esteem, it would lead to the prediction that they would not rate themselves more positively than other race groups, and might even rate themselves lower than they rate Whites.

Edwards' (1984) finding that the Black students rated members of their own racial group more favourably tends to disconfirm Black self-hatred and feelings of inferiority. Manganyi (1973) notes that within the framework of 'black consciousness', there has been a corrective swing away from the negative effects of discrimination. Edwards (1982) observes that there has been little quantitative research to measure the extent to which Blacks believed themselves to be basically second class citizens, or to measure the extent to which this have been corrected by the work of Black Consciousness writers.

It would appear as if Blacks have entered Hall, Cross, and Freedle's (1972) stage of immersion in which everything of value should be interpreted from a Black perspective. Edelstein (1972) for example, asked South African Black high school pupils to rate how they felt about being black on the scale 'Proud- Indifferent-Ashamed', and 97 percent responded with the 'Proud' category.

While a number of writers have described how low self-esteem has been one result for South African Blacks of 'institutional racism' and discrimination, unfortunately empirical research into the consequences of discrimination on Black self-esteem has been noted for its paucity. This chapter concludes with a review of the relevant research studies into Black self-esteem in South Africa.

4.10 South African Studies of Black Self-Esteem

A review of Black research on self-esteem, reveals a number of difficulties peculiar to South Africa. First, there is a dearth of in-depth studies with which comparisons can be made, and against which findings can be tested. Secondly, while Tyson (1979) has

suggested that South Africa with its complex heterogeneous country has great potential from a scientific point of view for the study of self-esteem, he believes that most social psychological studies on racial self-esteem are simplistic in their design, analysis, and interpretation of results and highly unrepresentative as regards their subject population.

Louw-Potgieter (1982) concurs with Tyson's criticism and adds that the psychological tools used in studies on self-attitudes, need to be critically examined. He notes that invariably attitude questionnaires have been used, but insufficient effort has been expended for their proper construction. Finally, he observes that when American and European questionnaires have been used in a South African context, no question about their validity has been raised, even with measuring instruments which might be outdated and too simplistic to cope with the complexity of social reality in South Africa today. Louw-Potgieter (1982) concludes by stating that very little attention has been given to the development of self-esteem amongst Blacks in South Africa.

There appears to be two main research approaches to the study of self-esteem amongst Blacks in South Africa. Firstly has been the approach in the form of qualitative analysis and descriptions (for example, Danziger, 1975; Louw-Potgieter, 1982; and MacCrone, 1975). This approach captures the richness of the complex texture of beliefs and feelings that respondents have about themselves, and members of their own and other groups. Brandel- Syrier (1978) illustrates this approach by observing that:

With due respect I must, however, confess that I myself do not attach much value to research findings obtained by means of ticking off given choices or filling in questionnaires, particularly when dealing with members of another culture. Even the most refined of subsequent scientific analyses and statistical methods cannot validate data obtained by written questions often misunderstood and meaningless or irrelevant to the respondents' life experience.

(Brandel-Syrier, 1978, XV)

Louw-Potgieter (1982) observes that autobiographical, ethnographical, and psychological accounts of inferiorized persons plus the microsocial relations developed as surviving strategies in a constraining macrosocial order may supply a more complete picture of racial self-esteem than a questionnaire.

However, Lever (1979) points out that there are immense research problems associated with a qualitative approach to the study of these phenomena, which need to be recognised. Firstly, there is the difficulty of persuading Africans to talk freely about their hardships, resentments and the manner in which they evaluate themselves and others in South Africa. Describing one's own emotions of past experiences is in itself a difficult task. Secondly, a member of the minority group (for example, a Black student), finds it problematic to describe his emotions to a member of the majority group (for example, a White researcher). The shortage of alternative suitably-trained African sociologists and interviewers compounds the problem further.

Thirdly, there is the temptation on the part of research workers to seek out African respondents who are better educated. Most surveys on African attitudes and beliefs are not based on representative samples, and the reliability of many samples is also questionable.

Finally, there are difficulties in communication with African respondents and in the drafting of questionnaires arising from differences in customs, interpretation and manner of speech.

Many of these problems are also relevant to the second research approach to the study of self-esteem amongst Blacks in South Africa, namely, quantitative techniques. These have been used since they enable exact comparisons to be made and provide a finer measure of the strength and intensity of the various phenomena uncovered by the qualitative research. Quantitative research completed in South Africa appears to be limited in the information it provides regarding the way members of a group perceive themselves (Edwards,

1984). Many of the South African studies reviewed in the area of Blacks Self-esteem have employed a collection of stereotype adjectives, for example, Lobban (1975) and Edelstein, (1972). While providing a general impression of aspects of self-perception, it is a coarse form of measurement.

A further quantitative measure utilized in South African research on Black self-esteem is the semantic differential (Osgood and Suci, 1955). The semantic differential measures attitudes toward various concepts in terms of polar opposites. It has been demonstrated that concepts are judged according to at least three dimensions: activity, evaluation and potency (Morsbach and Morsbach, 1967).

To summarize, much of the research completed in South Africa has been cross-cultural in nature, in which specific ethnic groups have compared themselves on stereotype adjectives. To the present investigator's knowledge, there has been no definitive study which has specifically attempted to determine the level of self-esteem of Blacks, utilizing standardized measures of self-esteem. Mann (1971) observes that within South Africa, the study of ethnic attitudes has been meagrely dealt with. He notes that researchers have generally preferred the easy option with regard to the assessment of self-esteem. That is, that studies have usually relied upon relatively superficial survey data on which to base their findings. Due to the paucity of in-depth studies on Black self-esteem, the present investigator will briefly allude to cross-cultural studies in this review, highlighting findings which have some relevance to Black self-esteem.

Morsbach (1973) employed the semantic differential to determine the attitudes of eighty two Black students toward the concepts "Me" and "Africans". He found that the Black respondents judged themselves more positively than "Africans" in general, and concluded that this was probably due to the fact that they consider themselves as an elite group.

Danziger (1975) reviewed the contents of "future autobiographies" written by 108 male and 54 female Black high school students over a period of twelve years (1950 to 1962). He found that the future autobiographies of Black subjects tended to stress the social limitations on personal planning and hence to give much less space to the individual's private aspirations and much more space to his socio-political aspirations. They tended to conceptualize their chances for success more in group-oriented than in individualistic terms. There was also evidence of limited realistic personal planning, and a significant amount of fantasy with regard to future plans and goals. Danziger (1975) concludes by observing that

the white ruling group's attempt at monopolizing the control of social change by exercising total control over the lives of the African majority is producing profound changes in the psychological future of at least a section of the African group. Insofar as the psychological future functions as a guide to future action the ground is being laid for a value-oriented counter-movement for which social reality is defined essentially in political terms. The limitations which mounting restrictions place on the individual's ability to project a personal future are likely to reduce personal efficiency in an economic context in the same measure as they encourage the subordination of individual goals to collective aspirations.

(pp. 125-126)

MacCrone (1975) used a "life-history" questionnaire to study the recollections Blacks have of how their attitudes toward their situation and towards other ethnic groups have developed. The sample consisted of 19 social work students, most of whom were already qualified teachers.

MacCrone (1975) interpreted the results of the life history questionnaire as indicating that the dominated Black group had a highly developed group tradition and consciousness of its own, that it had not accommodated itself to, or accepted the "brute fact" of White domination, and that the Black group, was itself differentiated into a number of distinct tribal groups. MacCrone (1975) identified within the sample a violent resistance toward

domination which finds expression in hostility, aggressiveness, hatred, suspicion and dislike. He sees the results of this anger having negative consequences upon the self-esteem of Blacks.

This aggressiveness cannot readily find expression in an overt form. Some of it may recoil upon their own selves but a good deal of it is likely to find expression in indirect or substitute individual and group activities such as ridicule of the white man, negative or non-cooperative behaviour, strikes and communist agitation, anti-social and criminal acts such as robbery with violence, religious movements confined exclusively to Africans and with an anti-European bias (of which there is a plentiful and bizarre crop in South Africa), withdrawal from European culture with a return to their own cultural values and a glorification of their own past. But so far as the direct effect upon the growth of individual personality is concerned, it seems clear from the reports provided by several of our subjects that the repercussions of their hostility and aggressiveness have certainly aggravated for them the problems of a normal social adjustment and the development of a normal individual personality.

(MacCrone, 1975, p. 140)

MacCrone (1975) concludes by observing that the South African Black possesses well-developed psychological resources which enable him to cope with the dominative behaviour of the White minority group. His awareness of group-belongingness (a racial or national rather than a tribal consciousness) makes it possible for him as an individual to confront his domination with the security that his group provides him with a framework upon which he can make his stand ...

his awareness of group-apartness enables him to bring into play all those powerful social attitudes that maintain the distinct identity of the in-group while challenging the pretensions of the out-group; his awareness of a group heritage and a group tradition, however over-evaluated, sentimentalized, and distorted they may be, provides him with a set of cultural values in which he can take a pride and which he does not owe to the European; and, finally, his awareness of the arbitrary character of the caste pattern, which he knows was imposed by force and to which he knows there are alternatives, serves to sanction his resistance against all forms of domination in a colour-caste society while at the same time it defines in an obvious way the goal towards which he should strive.

(MacCrone, 1975, p. 146)

Brett and Morse (1975) studied the attitudes of a sample of 150 "middle-class" Blacks on the Witwatersrand, utilizing the Thematic Apperception Test for 'Zulus and an idiosyncratic questionnaire as measurement instruments. All interviews were conducted by three trained Black interviewers between November 1960 and February 1961. The results reveal that in 76 per cent of the TAT stories, the individual was seen as the victim of a hostile environment, in a further 19 percent the individual showed the ability to take independent action but failed owing to the superior strength and hostility of the factors operating in the wider environment. Only in 5 percent of the stories did the researchers find individuals with the ability to take independent action with some expectation of success.

Brett and Morse (1975) compared the results obtained by the two methods and found that a superficial optimism concealed a deeper-lying and more pervasive pessimism about both the subject's expectations and their capacities in the society as it functioned.

The subjects in this study, according to Brett and Morse (1975), tended to blame the structure of the total society for the belief that they would be unable to satisfy their needs and ambitions. This finding seems to confirm the system-blame hypothesis.

Lobban's (1975) study of the self-attitudes of urban Blacks represents one of the most specific and systematic attempts to measure the level of self-esteem of Blacks in South Africa. In order to examine the effect of discrimination upon the self-esteem of Blacks, 51 Matric pupils completed a questionnaire consisting of an adjective check-list (Katz and Braly, 1933) designed to assess their image of themselves. The average age of the subjects was 20,5 years. The questionnaires were administered by a Black female psychology graduate according to standardized instructions.

The results revealed that subjects held very different images of the various groups. Urban Blacks in South Africa were seen by 74 per

cent of the subjects as unfree, powerless (53 per cent) and black (51 per cent). American Negroes were perceived by only 26 per cent of the subjects as been unfree, powerful (35 per cent) and black (56 per cent).

In order to uncover the type of psychological relationships existing between subjects and each of the ethnic groups, subjects were asked the following additional questions: (1) To which group do you feel the closest; (2) admire the most; (3) aspire to belong to.

Lobban (1975) observes that the most significant result to emerge from this aspect of the study is the positive way in which the subjects perceived their own group (Urban Blacks), Blacks in independent countries, and American Negroes. The positive regard for these ethnic groups is emphasized by the fact that the three traits which the subjects felt best described how they "would like to be", namely free, civilized and black, were the traits that they felt described these three groups.

The subjects' reasons for regarding the three groups so positively were different. Urban Blacks were positively regarded mainly by virtue of the subjects' sense of belonging with them. American Negroes were positively regarded because of the militant Black nationalism which the subjects felt this group espoused, while Independent Blacks were positively regarded because the subjects perceived them to be relatively free and unoppressed, unlike themselves.

Lobban (1975) also investigated whether the Black subjects had internalized "white attitudes". and, as a result, thought they themselves were to blame for their low status or whether they felt that the social system and not themselves had caused them to occupy an inferior position in South African society. This is an important question for a number of reasons. Pettigrew (1964) has suggested that American negroes have low self-esteem because they have internalized the negative views held of them by White Americans.

Gurin et. al. (1969) have argued, that it is motivationally healthy for members of a dominated group to perceive that they are constrained by external forces in the system, and to blame the system rather than to evaluate themselves negatively as individuals. Merton (1964) observes that social change aimed at improving the circumstances of the dominated group will not occur if the latter espouse the values of their dominators and turn the blame for their inferior position onto themselves.

Lobban (1975) found that her subjects blame the South African social system rather than themselves for their present position. Drawing comparisons with Gurin's et. al. (1969) American sample, Lobban (1975) observed that American Negroes do not believe, to the same extent, that the American social system is responsible for their situation. American Blacks tend to blame themselves more than do Blacks in South Africa. Lobban suggests that the self-esteem of Blacks in South Africa is likely to be more positive than those of American Negroes.

Finally, Lobban (1975) assessed the level of self-esteem of her subjects, utilizing a "Real" self and "Ideal" self score as an index of self-esteem. The greater the correspondence, the higher the individual's self-esteem. The results indicated that the subjects did not have very negative self-esteem. Lobban (1975) hypothesized that the subjects were probably helped in developing such favourable self-images by the fact that the South African social system makes it easy for them to attribute any failures on their part to the system rather than to themselves.

Lobban (1975) acceded that somewhat less positive self-attitudes might have been found had she used a more "in-depth" procedure.

We feel, however, that while such procedures may have uncovered negative self-attitudes ten years ago, this would not be the case today. After all, over the last few years blacks in South Africa have been presented with new reference groups (American Negroes and Africans in independent countries) which have helped them to develop a positive set of self-attitudes.

In conclusion, the present study suggests that South African blacks, or at least those represented by the present sample, have not suffered damaging psychic effects as a result of their oppressed position. This seems to be due to the fact that the subjects blamed the system for their present "inferiority" and identified with other black groups, who enjoy more freedom than themselves, rather than with the dominant white group.

(Lobban, 1975, p. 178)

Orpen and Nkohannde (1977) examined the relationship between internal control, self-esteem and self-respect measures of the effort-performance and performance-outcome beliefs in a sample of White and Black low-level managers in South Africa. They found that the White managers were significantly more internally oriented and had significantly higher levels of self-esteem than the Black managers. They attributed the Black-White differences largely to the disadvantaged social position of the Black managers relative to White managers.

Brandel-Syrrier (1978) utilizing an idiosyncratic questionnaire and interviews as measurements, investigated socio-cultural change amongst a group of sixty socially mobile Black men residing in Reeftown, a Black town situated near Johannesburg. While this study contains no statistical evidence of her conclusions, Brandel-Syrrier's study represents one of the few in-depth studies of the process of cultural change within South Africa.

Brandel-Syrrier (1978) observes that a primary characteristic of the subjects in her sample was cultural immaturity rather than a cultural maladjustment. She notes that the subjects being unaccustomed to self-analysis and introspection, displayed a lack of ego-awareness and ego-continuity, similar to adolescents in search of an identity. When questioned on their goals and aspirations, the subjects answers were often formless and elusive. The same respondent would give a different reply to the same question. Responses were often incoherent and inconsistent, self-contradictory and fanciful.

In describing the attitudes the subjects hold towards themselves, often no account was taken of the reality of their situations. A dangerous discrepancy yawned between their aspirations and their actual achievements, between their opportunities and their capacities. However, they easily resigned themselves when reality turned out differently, and settled comfortably for less.

Brandel-Syrrier (1978) does not see the psychological mobility of the subjects in her study as being different from other transitionals.

Lerner describes this mobility as the principal characteristic of the people in the Near East who are the subjects of his study. Balandier sees it as a symptom of emotional (and cultural) immaturity, which is the typical characteristic of adolescents in search of an identity. In this transitional stage it is the most important fact about urban transitionals on the Black continent, as also about our elite. Balandier calls it, rather beautifully, *disponibilité* (lit. "availability"). The word was given enormous currency by André Gide in *Les Nourritures Terrestres* (1897) and has since been accepted as a technical term in a changed meaning, as "an adolescent availability", which is the meaning in which it is here used.

Geoffrey Gray talks of "a particular character type that has become prominent in American society and perhaps Western society as well." This character, he continues, "is distinguished by a promiscuity of selfhood, a capacity to undergo instant transformations and take on attitudes, emotions, beliefs and even whole identities with bewildering ease."

It is a "character lacking a self and thus promiscuously open to any adventure of selfhood". It applies to "the millions of seekers in America who run from pop cult to pop cult seeking instant transformations and the illusion of authentic selfhood." He quotes as (extreme) examples an Eldridge Cleaver, a Patty Hearst, a Timothy Leary.

Geoffrey Gray explain its emergence as the result of the desire "to earn the attention and approval" and "to render himself lovable" of man in a society in which, as I would express it, there is an over-emphasis on the value of popularity. He then "comes to believe that the self he performs is the self he is."

(Brandel-Syrrier, 1978, p. 183)

Finally, Brandel-Syrrier (1978) observes that like other people caught up in a new national impetus, the subjects in her sample are strongly ethno-centric, and that their widest human horizon does not reach further than the Black world. Every experience is interpreted in terms of the subjects own racial awareness.

Gathercole (1981) in a study of thirty Black executives in industry in South Africa also found evidence of low self-esteem amongst her sample. She hypothesized that the Black executives are comparing themselves with their white colleagues in the organisation, and are thus using the White executives as a reference group. By evaluating themselves against this group, their self-esteem is influenced in a negative direction due to the following factors: dissimilar executive authority, limited opportunities, lack of acceptance as individuals in the organisation, being more closely supervised, racial discrimination, and standards of living (Gathercole, 1981).

Heaven (1981) attempted a cross-cultural check of self-esteem among Black and White university students as part of a major cross-cultural study of conservatism in South Africa, and its relation to ethnic attitudes. Recognising the need for researchers in South Africa to aim at more representative samples rather than selected samples of university students, as well as the paucity of research been conducted among non-White groups in South Africa, Heaven's sample consisted of 111 Black students from the University of Fort Hare and the University of the North. Utilizing a semantic differential with 15 polar opposites as the measuring instrument, the results indicated a positive level of self-esteem amongst the Black sample.

Heaven (1981) interpreted the high level of self-esteem amongst the sample as being due to two possibilities. Firstly, that Fort Hare/North students form an elite group. Morsbach (1973) has observed that Black students regard "Me" more positively than "Blacks" thus suggesting that Blacks students regard themselves as an elite group within their own ethnic group.

On the other hand, Heaven (1981) posits that the research findings pointing to an overall positive self-esteem among Blacks may be one of the effects of the Black consciousness Movement. Heaven (1981) adds that Blacks may blame society rather than themselves for lack of personal success. This finding in part reflects the results of vigorous work by Black leaders and writers to establish a sense of dignity despite their adverse economic and political circumstances. Thus in 1979, Manganyi remarked: "After the renaissance of the 1970's ... a difference has come about ... (Black) people have a greater self-respect ... they are more self-reliant and have an inner sort of energy" (Manganyi, 1981, p. 43).

Louw-Potgieter's (1982) study of the reactions of South African students to their status in society will be reviewed for illustrative rather than comparative purposes. She presented a program on victimization as part of the social psychology course at the University of Transkei. As a lesson on the concepts of self-image and the ideal self, eighteen subjects (with an age range of 21 years to 57 years) were asked to complete ten statements starting with the words "I am" and ten statements starting with the words "I would like to be". Subjects then compared these two sets of statements. Three subjects admitted that there was wide discrepancy between their real and ideal selves.

Louw-Potgieter (1982) noted that a high value was placed on a prestigious job, material wealth, and education. This finding she explained in terms of the poor socioeconomic circumstances of the subjects, and the unequal distribution of wealth in South African capitalist society.

In a group session, the ways in which a person protects his self-image by means of defense mechanisms were explored. Louw-Potgieter (1982) observed that three defense mechanisms and accompanying mannerisms were commonly employed by these subjects in order to protect their self-image. (a) Emotional insulation which may be interpreted by the majority group as apathy and/or incomprehension,

and which may start a cycle of self-fulfilling prophecies which in turn may have grave implications for any learning situation. (b) Introjection and its accompanying mannerisms, such as "hand washing" when addressing a member of the majority group. Louw-Potgieter interprets this behaviour as reflecting an advanced stage of the process of accepting the negative labels conferred upon a minority group by a majority group. (c) Repressing anger and hatred, which may alienate a person from his own emotional experiences to such an extent that it may influence personality development (Louw-Potgieter, 1982).

Louw-Potgieter's (1982) study in the form of qualitative analysis has captured some of the complexity of the self-attitudes Blacks have towards themselves, and is probably unique in its recognition of the role of defense mechanisms in the formation and maintenance of self-esteem.

Finally, Edwards (1984) assessed the level of self-esteem of 225 black first-year psychology students at the University of Fort Hare. Utilizing Wrightsman's Philosophy of Human Nature as his measurement instrument, Edwards found that there was some support for his prediction that the Black respondents would have a more favourable perception of their own group than of other groups. The results revealed that the Black subjects perceived their own group as more trustworthy (the extent to which people are believed to be trustworthy and honest); conventionally good (the extent to which the subject tends to agree with attitude statements which suggest that people are basically good in a conventional sense); variable (the extent to which individuals are perceived to differ among themselves and also in their responses from one situation to another); and as more altruistic (the extent to which people are believed to help others without thought of personal gain). Edwards (1984) interpreted these results as supporting previous studies in which Blacks were not found to have low levels of self-esteem.

In summary, a number of investigators have utilized qualitative techniques in South Africa in order to assess the level of self-esteem among Blacks. These rather coarse forms of measurement have provided a general impression of aspects of self-esteem. The quantitative methods of studying self-esteem have recorded a high level of self-esteem among Blacks. However, while the studies of Edwards (1984), Heaven and Nieuwoudt (1981), and Lobban (1975), represent a more systematic method of investigating self-esteem, the quantitative methods utilized have tended to be indirect measures of self-esteem, in which the investigator has made inferences regarding the level of self-esteem. This procedure is lacking in both scientific validity and reliability. The present investigation is an attempt to provide a definitive statement on the measurement of self-esteem amongst Blacks, utilizing direct measures of self-esteem of proven validity and reliability. Secondly, Louw-Potgieter (1982) in her research has alluded to the role defense mechanisms play in protecting an individual's self-esteem. In general, however, most of the literature review has revealed that measures of self-esteem are developed which often avoid the issue of the role of potentially debilitating defensive coping strategies in order to maintain self-esteem.

In the present investigation, the investigator in his assessment of self-esteem has found it important to recognize quantitative distinctions between defensively maintained levels of self-esteem and self-esteem that grows out of a more integrated harmony between a realistic self-image viewed in the context of a realistic ideal self-image. It is the present investigator's belief that true self-esteem is based upon a realistic appraisal of an individual's behaviour.

Thirdly, in the psychological literature reviewed in this research, measures of self-esteem have been developed which often avoid the issue of qualitative differences amongst individuals with high and low self-esteem. While Coopersmith (1967) has attempted to deal with some of these complexities in his studies of self-esteem in the pre-adolescent period, his methodology with regard to his sample and its representativeness, has contained a number of inherent flaws.

In the present investigation, the investigator will attempt to differentiate both quantitatively and qualitatively amongst individuals possessing high and low self-esteem.

In the following chapter the hypotheses to test the above objectives will be formulated followed by a discussion of the methodology and measuring instruments utilized in the present research.

CHAPTER FIVE

HYPOTHESES AND RATIONALE

5.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The preceeding chapters provide an overview of the available literature on the theories and development of self-esteem, the definition and measurement of self-esteem, and the present status of self-esteem research in South Africa. Due to the investigator's selective interest in this field, it was attempted to emphasize the following aspects in the literature review:

- (a) While self-esteem is a central form of research examining human personality, the operationalization of this variable has been haphazard and inconclusive. There is a diverse range of often idiosyncratic procedures; and, in many cases, there are weak or nonexistent correlations among indicators.
- (b) The over-reliance on traditional questionnaires used to measure global self-esteem has created the problem that other dimensions of self-esteem have been neglected. The literature review has clearly illustrated the multidimensionality of self-esteem.
- (c) There have been few attempts to compare various measurement procedures by examining their intercorrelations and the convergence or equivalence among measures.
- (d) The contextual framework including the instruction aspect of the administration of the self-esteem measure has important implications for the validity of the measure. There are few studies which have investigated the empirical effects of different context administrations. Rather than using distinct measures for each dimension of self-esteem, there is clearly a need for research which utilizes multiple administrations of the same measure under different contextual frameworks, in order to obtain an accurate and valid index of self-esteem. Thus an important objective of the present investigation is to assess the effect of different contexts upon the measurement of self-esteem. In the present investigation, these contextual variables will be referred to as the temporal order variable.

- (e) Research undertaken in South Africa has shown that Blacks have a high level of self-esteem. A major problem that has consistently arisen in the literature review is the great difficulty in ascertaining valid responses from subjects. Little attention has been paid to the role of such factors as social desirability, self-presentation and distortion. An individual's level of defensiveness could influence his response on a self-report measure, and thereby, the validity and reliability of the measures.
- (f) In delineating the dimensionality of self-esteem, the research evidence shows a persistent and significant relationship between self-esteem and academic achievement. Advances in attempts to understand the role that self-esteem plays in the achievement process have been limited greatly because of a disregard of the dimensionality of self-esteem.
- (g) Finally, the review of research on the self-esteem of urban Blacks reveals a dearth of in-depth studies with which comparisons can be made, and against which findings can be tested. In presenting findings of high self-esteem amongst Blacks, no attempt has been made to initially evaluate these findings with regard to possible defensiveness, characteristics of the distribution of scores and the representativeness of the samples.

From the literature review the experimenter concludes that a more accurate assessment of self-esteem needs to be validated before self-esteem research can address itself to such substantive problems as self-esteem modification. The investigator's general aim with this exploratory study can be summarized as follows: To determine the effectiveness (representativeness) of a variety of instruments that are intended to measure the level of global and specific dimensions of self-esteem, and the level of defensiveness amongst Black university students.

The investigator therefore sets out to converge data from several data classes by comparing various measurement procedures by examining their intercorrelations, that is, by examining convergence or equivalence among measures. The investigator acknowledges that

cross-method convergence can not be equated with construct validity, and emphasizes that this study does not fall within the parameters of a validity study.

Secondly, a structural perspective is assumed in this study. That is, self-esteem is a personality trait characterized by considerable stability from one situation to the next, even from year to year.

Thirdly, the investigator sets out to examine the intercorrelations between self-esteem and various measures of defensiveness.

5.2 HYPOTHESES AND RATIONALE

This investigation starts with the proposal that global self-esteem and defensiveness may or may not change as a function of situational variability. Global self-esteem may be viewed as a self-attitude which may or not change as a function of the context in which the individual is assessed. Different dimensions of self-esteem may vary depending on their relationship to aspects of the social context, that is, in terms of changing roles, expectations and performances required (Gecas, 1972). In the present investigation, measures of self-esteem and defensiveness were administered at different times and in different geographical locations. These differential testing environments will be alluded to as the temporal order variable and will be explained in detail in the experimental procedure in Chapter 6.

A second aim of this investigation is to descriptively illustrate the characteristics of self-esteem with regard to measures of central tendency. As this process will be descriptive in nature, no hypotheses will be formulated, but should be viewed as a qualitative assessment of self-esteem.

A third aim of this investigation is to examine the intercorrelations of various measures of self-esteem and defensiveness in order to identify the most "representative" measurement procedures respectively.

A fourth aim of this investigation will be to assess the relationship between the representative measure of self-esteem and defensiveness, and the interactive effect of defensiveness on self-esteem.

Finally, this investigation will explore the relationship between self-esteem and personality traits as measured on personality tests standardized on Black subjects in South Africa.

In order to subject these general research hypotheses to experimental investigation, specific research hypotheses were formulated for each of the main factors included in the general research hypotheses. Null-hypotheses were then formulated for the statistical analysis of each of the research hypotheses.

Research Hypothesis I

There will be a statistically significant difference in the global self-esteem of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 1:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 2:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Culture-Fair Self-Esteem Inventory in relation to the temporal order variable.

Research Hypothesis II

There will be a statistically significant difference in the academic self-esteem of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 3:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 4:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by the academic scale of Battle's Culture-Fair Self-Esteem Inventory: academic scale in relation to the temporal order variable.

Research hypothesis III

There will be a statistically significant difference in the dimensions of self-esteem of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 5:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the general self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Culture-fair Self-esteem Inventory in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 6:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the social self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Culture-fair Self-esteem Inventory in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypotheses 7:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the personal self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Culture-fair Self-esteem Inventory in relation to the temporal order variable.

Research Hypothesis IV

There will be a statistically significant difference in the defensiveness of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 8:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the MMPI Lie Scale in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 9:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale in relation to the temporal order variable.

Null-hypothesis 10:

There will be no statistically significant difference in the defensiveness of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory Lie Scale in relation to the temporal order variable.

Research Hypothesis V

There will be a statistically significant relationship between Coopersmith's and Battle's measures of global self-esteem, amongst Black university students.

Null-hypothesis 11:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory.

Research Hypothesis VI

There will be a statistically significant relationship between measures of global self-esteem and dimensions of self-esteem amongst Black university students.

Null-hypothesis 12:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and their general self-esteem as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory.

Null-hypothesis 13:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and their social self-esteem as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory.

Null-hypothesis 14:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and their academic self-esteem as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory.

Null-hypothesis 15:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and their personal self-esteem as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory.

Null-hypothesis 16:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the full scale self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and their general self-esteem scale.

Null-hypothesis 17:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the full scale self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and their social self-esteem scale.

Null-hypothesis 18:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the full scale self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and their academic self-esteem scale.

Null-hypothesis 19:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the full scale self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and their personal self-esteem scale.

Null-hypothesis 20:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the full scale self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and their scores on Brookover's self-concept of ability scale.

Null-hypothesis 21:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and their scores on Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale.

Research Hypothesis VII

There will be a statistically significant relationship between the dimensions of self-esteem amongst Black university students.

Null-hypothesis 22:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-esteem Inventory Academic Scale and their scores on Brookover's Self-concept of Ability Scale.

Null-hypothesis 23:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory General Scale and their scores on Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale.

Null-hypothesis 24:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory Social Scale and their scores on Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale.

Null-hypothesis 25:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory Personal Scale and their scores on Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale.

Research Hypothesis VIII

There will be a statistically significant relationship between measures of global self-esteem and defensiveness amongst Black university students.

Null-hypothesis 26:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and their defensiveness as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory lie scale.

Null-hypothesis 27:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and their defensiveness as measured by the MMPI-Lie Scale.

Null-hypothesis 28:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Null-hypothesis 29:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory Lie Scale.

Null-hypothesis 30:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and the MMPI Lie Scale.

Null-hypothesis 31:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Research Hypothesis IX

There will be a statistically significant relationship between self-concept of ability and defensiveness amongst Black university students.

Null-hypothesis 32:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the self-concept of ability of Black university students as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and their defensiveness as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory Lie Scale.

Null-hypothesis 33:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the self-concept of ability of Black university students as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and their defensiveness as measured by the MMPI Lie Scale.

Null-hypothesis 34:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the self-concept of ability of Black university students as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and their defensiveness as measured by Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale.

Research Hypothesis X

There will be a statistically significant relationship between different measures of defensiveness amongst Black university students.

Null-hypothesis 35:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the MMPI lie scale and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Null-hypothesis 36:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the MMPI lie scale and Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory lie scale.

Null-hypothesis 37:

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and Battle's lie scale.

As the following three research hypotheses form part of the post-hoc analysis of the data, only a summary of their null-hypotheses will be given.

Research Hypothesis XI

There will be a statistically significant relationship between global self-esteem as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and personality traits of Black university students.

Null-hypotheses 38

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and the scales of the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ).

Null-hypotheses 39

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and the scales of the Intra- and Interpersonal Relations Scale (IIPS).

Null-hypotheses 40

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and the scales of the Thematic Apperception Test for Zulus (TAT-Z).

Research Hypothesis XII

There will be a statistically significant relationship between academic self-esteem as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and personality traits of Black university students.

Null-hypotheses 41

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and the scales of the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ).

Null-hypotheses 42

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and the scales of the Intra- and Interpersonal Relations Scale (IIPS).

Null-hypotheses 43

There will be no statistically significant relationship between the academic self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and the scales of the Thematic Apperception Test for Zulus (TAT-Z).

Research Hypothesis XIII

There will be a statistically significant relationship between defensiveness as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and personality traits of Black university students.

Null-hypotheses 44

There will be no statistically significant relationship between defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and the scales of the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ).

Null-hypotheses 45

There will be no statistically significant relationship between defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and the scales of the Intra- and Interpersonal Relations Scale (IIPS).

Null-hypotheses 46

There will be no statistically significant relationship between defensiveness of Black university students as measured by Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale and the scales of the Thematic Apperception Test for Zulus (TAT-Z).

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH METHOD

6.1 SUBJECTS

When conducting research of this nature, it is, of course, ideal to deal with a representative sample of the population. Results and interpretations based on the responses of certain sections of a population could give one-sided or biased views. However, it is difficult to obtain representative samples in general, and especially in South Africa's Black townships during the period of civil unrest. For this reason, it was decided to approach Black university students. Furthermore, university students can be regarded as the future leaders of their community; their self-attitudes are therefore important. Finally, university students have had some exposure to paper and pencil tests.

The decision to study the level of self-esteem amongst Black students who fall into the life stage of "young adulthood" rather than "early adolescence" was prompted by several considerations. Due to the present sociopolitical upheaval in South Africa, Black pupils attending schools are largely inaccessible for research purposes. By this stage of young adulthood, the individual has moved through high school, a period of relative stability in academic and social affairs and is sufficiently advanced in his academic activities to have a good idea of his relative self-worth and competence. He also has had exposure to competitive standards and his academic performance should be reflected in his self-esteem.

Developmentally, the self-esteem has been shown to be ultra-conservative (Lecky, 1945). The self resists change, and strives for consistency. Therefore, adopting a structural perspective, the present investigator believes that the self-esteem will remain relatively stable throughout the period of young adulthood.

The present investigator excluded subjects from the sample who were older than 34 years of age. This decision may appear to be arbitrary, because attempts to specify the precise age at which "young adulthood" begins and ends are open to question. Levinson (1978) views the age period between 17 and 34 (the age range of the subjects in the sample) as being the life stage of "early adulthood". The present investigator utilized Levinson's life stages, as a general estimate of the ages of "early adulthood".

Erwee (1976) classified the White population of Port Elizabeth into five social classes using the occupation of the male head of the family as his criterion. His classification was as follows:

<u>Class</u>	<u>Occupational description</u>
Upper	Top professional, executive and administrative
Upper middle	Professional, administrative and managerial
Middle	Independent commercial, subordinate administrative, technical and clerical with some responsibility (including inspectionary and supervisory). Defence and police forces, law enforcement and fire fighting personnel excluding specific ranks.
Lower middle	Artisans, skilled workers with trade qualifications, supervisory manual. Defence, police and law enforcement with no rank.
Lower	Routine clerical and administrative, semi-skilled and unskilled.

While these indices of socioeconomic status are not applicable to the sample utilized in this research, they serve as approximate guidelines for the purpose of describing the subjects in the present sample. The subjects chosen could be classified as falling into Erwee's lower middle and lower socioeconomic classes. However, no attempt was made to control accurately for socioeconomic factors in the present study.

A major criticism of previous research with regard to self-esteem has been the lack of control of a subject's characteristics such as sex, age and academic aptitude. Wylie (1979) has noted that in many studies, little attention has been paid to educational achievement and academic aptitude.

The present investigation controls for subject's educational achievement and academic aptitude. All subjects included in the sample had to successfully complete the Vista Entrance Test. This test comprises of a composite score obtained from three different measures: namely, matriculation symbols and the verbal reasoning and English reading comprehension subtests of the Academic Aptitude Test (HSRC, 1981). Verbal ability is of particular importance to the subjects included in the sample, as they were enrolled for courses in the human sciences and languages. The Academic Aptitude Test has been standardized for South African Black students.

The present investigator emphasizes that while academic aptitude and educational achievement were controlled for in the present study, no attempt was made to co-vary the subjects with regard to these factors.

The population from which a sample was obtained consisted of Black male and female students enrolled in undergraduate courses at Vista University which caters predominantly for urban Black students.

The battery of tests employed in the present investigation was administered to all applicants seeking registration for undergraduate first-year B.A., B.A. Ed., B. Comm and B. Comm Ed. courses at Vista University's campuses in Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein. Secondly, the battery of tests was administered to all first-year B.A., B.A. Ed., B. Comm and B. Comm Ed. students who had registered at Vista University's campuses in Soweto and Sebokeng (that is, to all students who had attained the required composite score on the Vista Entrance Test and thereby registering).

After the subjects had been screened for age, at all four campuses, and for educational achievement and academic aptitude at the Port Elizabeth Bloemfontein campuses), and attrition factors (subjects failing to complete all the tests or incorrectly completing the tests), the final sample consisted of 430 subjects.

The distribution of the subjects according to university campus and sex is shown on Table 1.

TABLE 1: Distribution of subjects according to university campus and sex.

UNIVERSITY CAMPUS	MALE N	FEMALE N	TOTAL N
Port Elizabeth	66	71	137
Bloemfontein	87	43	130
Soweto	42	41	83
Sebokeng	48	32	80
TOTAL	243	187	430

It is clear from Table 1 that male subjects outnumber female subjects on Bloemfontein and Sebokeng campuses, while female subjects outnumber male subjects on the Port Elizabeth campus. The proportion of male to female subjects on the Soweto campus is almost equal. In total, males comprise 57 per cent of the total sample, while females comprise 43 per cent of the sample.

The mean ages for the four groups are as indicated in Table 2. The females included in this sample are approximately one year older than the male subjects. The present investigator has alluded to Heaven and Nieuwoudt's (1981) research on Black self-esteem, and notes that the mean age of the Black subjects in his sample was 24,1 years. This is approximately equivalent to the total mean age of the present sample, namely 23,9 years.

TABLE 2: Distribution of subjects according to university campus and mean age.

UNIVERSITY CAMPUS	MALE $\bar{x}$	FEMALE $\bar{x}$	TOTAL $\bar{x}$
Port Elizabeth	23,98	25,84	24,95
Bloemfontein	22,53	22,58	22,55
Soweto	22,98	23,68	23,32
Sebokeng	24,02	27,47	25,40
TOTAL	23,30	24,90	23,99

6.2 MEASURES

Of the myriad of available methods for assessing self-esteem, defensiveness, and personality variables, the following measures were selected:

1. Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI)

The adult form C of the SEI was utilized in the present study. The Coopersmith SEI is designed to measure evaluative attitudes toward the self in social, academic, family, and personal areas of experience. In relation to the Coopersmith SEI, the term self-esteem refers to the evaluation a person makes, and customarily maintains of himself; that is, overall self-esteem is an expression

of approval or disapproval, indicating the extent to which a person believes himself competent, successful, significant and worthy. Self-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness expressed in the attitudes a person holds toward the self.

The Coopersmith SEI Adult form is used with persons aged 16 and above. It consists of 25 items adapted from the School Short form. The Coopersmith SEI does not include a lie scale. The test-retest reliability coefficient was found to be .64 (Rubin, 1978) which is of sufficient magnitude in the measurement of this factor. With regard to alternate forms reliability, Battle (1977) observed that the relationship between the Coopersmith SEI and Battle's SEI (which was constructed to approximate the Coopersmith SEI) was highly significant, with correlations ranging from .71 to .80.

The test was also found to have a high construct validity (Kokenes, 1978) and concurrent validity rating (Simon and Simon, 1975).

Demo (1985) observed that the Coopersmith SEI and Rosenberg's SEI (a unidimensional measure of global self-regard) correlated significantly ($.55 \leq p \leq .001$). Coopersmith's SEI also correlated significantly with ratings by others (peer ratings and observer Q-sort), and with interviews.

The literature review has clearly illustrated the widely held belief that self-esteem is significantly associated with personal satisfaction and effective functioning. Dorr, Rummel, and Green (1976) found linear relationships between Coopersmith's SEI scores and personal and social adjustment on the California Test of Personality, that is, high scores on Coopersmith's SEI tend to be accompanied by high personality adjustment scores, substantiating the contention that high scores on Coopersmith's SEI indicate high degrees of personality adjustment.

Verma and Bagley (1979) found that high self-esteem correlated significantly with the following personality factors of Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire: intelligence, ego strength, phlegmaticism (lack of excitability), adventurousness, self-assuredness, and will power.

Finally, high self-esteem scores have been shown to correlate highly with scores on achievement and intelligence measures (Simon and Simon, 1975).

2. Battle's Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI)

Battle's SEI is a self-report scale which is intended to measure an individual's perception of self, in order to gain greater insight into the individual's subjective feelings.

Self-esteem, as measured by the *Culture-Free SEI* for Children and Adults, refers to the perception the individual possesses of his own worth. An individual's perception of self develops gradually and becomes more differentiated as he matures and interacts with significant others. Perception of self-worth, once established, tends to be fairly stable and resistant to change.

(Battle, 1981, p. 14)

While Battle (1981) recommends the use of Form AD (a 40 item scale) for individuals in high school through adulthood, the present investigator chose to use the more comprehensive SEI Form A (60 items) for children due to the following reasons: the greater concreteness of the content of the items, the inclusion of a more comprehensive lie scale (10 items as opposed to 8 in the SEI Form AD), the format of the items (use of "I" rather than "you"), a concurrent validity of .71 to .80 with Coopersmith's SEI, no validity studies are available of the SEI Form AD, Form A has greater test-retest reliability (.91) than Form AD (.81), and finally, Form AD does not include an academic self-esteem subscale while Form A does (an important aspect in the present investigation).

Form A of Battle's Culture-Free SEI contains 60 items and the following five subscales: General self-esteem items, social/peer related self-esteem items, academic/school-related self-esteem items, personal/home-related self-esteem items and lie items (items which indicate defensiveness).

Boersma et. al. (1978) found that Form A of Battle's SEI correlated at a level of .70 with perception of ability scores. While studies investigating the relationship of Battle's SEI and intelligence have generally revealed no significant correlations, Battle's (1979) findings revealed that children who are experiencing academic difficulties at school perceive their worth (Battle SEI) and ability (perception of ability) to achieve, significantly lower than do students who are apparently making satisfactory academic progress.

Finally, reference has been made to the significant relationship between Coopersmith's SEI and Battle's SEI. The present investigator has chosen to include both measures of self-esteem in the present study, in order to compare these findings with those of Black university students, a very different subject sample. Secondly, there is increasing evidence indicating that under certain specific conditions self-report measures are highly valid. In this regard, Mischel (1968) remarked that the validity of self-reports is likely to be low if the subject is asked to make inferences about global dispositions rather than providing a description of his specific reactions in response to specific situations. Battle's SEI assesses both global self-esteem as well as specific dimensions of self-esteem.

3. Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale

This scale has been included as an independent measure of academic self-esteem in which the subject is requested to provide a description of how he perceived his ability to perform in an academic setting (university). The self-concept of ability scale is an eight-item multiple choice questionnaire. These items form a Guttman scale with a reproducibility coefficient of .95.

The scale has an internal reliability of .80. For the purpose of this study, the scale was designed to measure the student's self-concept of ability in general, in a university setting. The present investigator has alluded to the significant correlation between self-esteem and self-concept of ability. Brookover et. al. (1964) found that there is a significant and positive correlation between self-concept of ability and performance in the academic role; and this relationship is substantial even when measured intelligence is controlled.

4. MMPI Lie Scale

This scale has been included as an independent measure of a subject's defensiveness. The 15 rationally derived Lie scale items deal with rather minor flaws and weaknesses to which most people are willing to admit. The Lie scale was constructed to detect a deliberate and rather unsophisticated attempt on the part of the subject to present himself in a favourable light (Meehl and Hathaway, 1946).

The present investigator was interested in subjects who produce high Lie scale scores. That is, subjects who are deliberately trying to present themselves in a very favourable way and who are not willing to admit even minor shortcomings. A major concern of the present investigation was to assess the relationship between self-esteem and defensiveness.

Rogers and Walsh (1959) report that defensive persons have lower unwitting self-evaluations than a control group, a finding they interpret to mean that self-evaluations without defenses, will, in effect, be lower than conscious self-evaluations where defenses are used. A criticism of this study is that this finding is not necessarily a consequence of their self-esteem instrument, since they do not consider other forms of measurement and there is little reason *a priori* to suspect that the groups will be equivalent. The present investigation does consider other forms of measurement, and also assesses the equivalence of different groups with regard to measures of defensiveness.

5. The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS)

The literature review has attested to the importance of social desirability responding in the psychometric interpretation of self-esteem scores. Cowen and Tongas (1959) consider social desirability a very serious validity threat to many descriptions of self-esteem measurement.

The present investigator has utilized the 33-item Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale rather than any other measures of Social Desirability due to it's elimination of pathology - relevant item content. Other social desirability scales have been constructed with items drawn from the MMPI which may be characterized by their content generally having pathological implications. When a social desirability scale constructed according to this procedure is then applied to a university student population, the meaning of high social desirability scores is not at all clear. That is, responses could be attributable to social desirability or to a genuine absence of symptoms. This problem is eliminated using the Marlowe-Crowne Scale.

Crowne and Marlowe (1960) view social desirability as behaviour motivated by a need for approval and the expectancy that approval can be attained by behaving in culturally acceptable ways.

Crowne and Marlowe (1960) report an internal consistency coefficient of .88. A test-retest correlation of .89 was obtained. Thus, the SDS displays an adequate level of reliability.

Concurrent validity studies have shown the Marlowe-Crowne Scale to be of adequate validity. The correlation between the Marlowe-Crowne SDS and the Edwards Social Desirability Scale is .35 which is significant at the .01 level.

A considerable portion of the research on social desirability has involved the correlation of Social Desirability Scales with MMPI variables. Crowne and Marlowe (1960) found the correlation between the Marlowe-Crowne SDS and the MMPI Lie Scale is .54 which is significant at the .01 level.

The present investigation has utilized the method of correlating self-esteem measures and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale as a form of evidence of estimating social desirability effects.

Crandall (1973) reported a correlation of .44 between Coopersmith's SEI and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

The following three measures were used as part of a post hoc analysis of the sample in order to assess the relationship between global and academic self-esteem and defensiveness with the personality traits of the subjects in the sample. Two of the measures, HSPQ and IIPS have been adapted and standardized for Black Matriculant students by the Institute for Psychometric Research of the HSRC. While the TATZ has been standardized on the Black population in South Africa. Due to these measures being part of a post hoc analysis, and being widely used measures of personality within South Africa, only a brief summary of these measures will be presented.

6. High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ)

The HSPQ provides a reliable and valid procedure for the assessment of 14 factorially backed personality traits of Black matriculant pupils. Test-retest reliability indices range from .23 to .67 while the validity coefficients derived from equivalence coefficients range from .50 to .81 for the 14 personality traits.

The 14 primary personality traits are briefly described as follows:

- Factor A - Reserved versus warmhearted.
- Factor B - Less Intelligent versus more intelligent.
- Factor C - Affected by feelings versus emotionally stable.
- Factor D - Phlegmatic versus excitable.
- Factor E - Submissive versus dominant.
- Factor F - Sober versus enthusiastic.
- Factor G - Expedient versus conscientious.
- Factor H - Shy versus adventurous.
- Factor I - Tough-minded versus tender-minded.
- Factor J - Zestful versus circumspectly individualistic.
- Factor O - Self-Assured versus Apprehensive.
- Factor Q2 - Socially group-dependent versus self-sufficient.
- Factor Q3 - Uncontrolled versus controlled.
- Factor Q4 - Relaxed versus Tense.

7. Intra- and Interpersonal Relations Scale (IIPS)

The IIPS provides an indication of the subject's intrapersonal relationship, that is his attitude towards himself. The present investigator utilized only two of the four fields of the IIPS. Due to the selective interests of the investigator, the fields assessing the subject's relationships with his parents were excluded.

Field 1 measures the subject's self-image. From his description of himself on 30 opposite word pairs (semantic differential) one can determine what the subject thinks of himself. Does he have a positive or negative view of himself? Is his sense of personal worth high or low? Is his view of himself realistic or unrealistic?

Field 4 measures the subjects ideal-self. From his description of himself, one can determine the type of person he would like to be. This field provides an indication of the cognitive aspect in the personality. Does the subject set realistic or unrealistic ideals for himself?

When the subject's score in Field 1 is compared with his score in Field 4, a discrepancy score can be calculated. The discrepancy score indicates the degree of satisfaction (self-acceptance) or dissatisfaction the subject is experiencing with regard to the self.

Reliability coefficients of Field 1 and Field 4 are very adequate and range from .85 to .89. No validity figures are available at present.

8. Thematic Apperception Test for Zulus (TAT-Z)

The test is based on the recognized principle of projection, namely that in the telling of a story based on picture material, the respondent reflects something of his own personality and behaviour. Due to the selective interests of the present investigator, three cards were excluded from analysis; namely: Card 3 which deals with

the father-son relationships, Card 4 which deals with the mother-son relationship, and Card 8 which deals with sexual relationships.

A brief description follows of the personality areas involved in each card used in the present study.

Card 1 - Culture Contact Card

This card determines the nature of the respondent's cultural contact as either predominantly traditionally oriented or Western oriented. This card gives an indication of the respondent's identification with his cultural group.

Card 2 - Parent/Child Relationships

The aim of this card is to determine the relationship between children and parents and the relationship amongst the siblings within the family context.

Card 5 - Authority Card

Since in the Black community primary emphasis is placed on the relationship to authority, this card determines the respondent's general attitude towards authority.

Card 6 - Attitude towards White authority

The aim of this card is to determine the attitude of the respondent towards White authority.

Card 7 - Self-concept

The aim is to determine the self-concept.

Card 9 - Group Identification

The aim is to determine identification in group situations.

Card 10 - Aggression

This card determines the extent to which underlying aggression exists towards Whites, and to what degree aggression exists among the Blacks themselves.

TAT-Z - Total Score

This global score gives an indication of the respondent's overall personality functioning, and includes a measure of reality. The measurement of reality score indicates the degree of authenticity or faking of the responses.

6.3 EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The nature of the research is correlational as an attempt will be made to index the degree of covariation that exists between two or more variables. In the present research, data will be converged from several data classes, that is, comparisons of various measurement procedures will be made by examining their intercorrelations. In this research a measure will define a variable or an aspect of a variable. Research results will then be related back by inference to theoretical statements, which will then be judged to be confirmed or unconfirmed on this basis.

The present investigator believes that the strength of this research method is that if the correct theoretical questions have been asked, and if they have been answered by an appropriate research design and procedure, far more will be accomplished than if the absence or presence of a relationship between two sets of otherwise meaningless numbers had just been reported.

Finally, the present investigator recognizes that the present research method contains weaknesses. Firstly, there are the weaknesses of the measurements, however, these weaknesses plague all

research in personality. Secondly, are the problems of inference. Correlation is not cause, that is, the fact that two observations occur together consistently does not mean that one of the observed events causes the other.

6.4 EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

In order to test the research hypotheses, all students who applied for enrollment for undergraduate studies at the Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein campuses of Vista University, completed the following battery of tests as part of the university entrance tests: Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory, MMPI Lie Scale, Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale, Battle's Culture-Fair Self-Esteem Inventory, and Brookover's self-concept of ability scale.

The battery of tests were administered immediately subsequent to the students having completed the University Entrance Test. Each measure included verbatim instructions, thus no further verbalization was required, which is in accordance with Orne's (1962) demand characteristics which stress the impact that an investigator's verbalizations might have on his subjects. As the battery of tests were administered immediately subsequent to the completion of the university entrance test, no introductory administration verbalizations were necessary.

The tests were administered by White male university lecturers who are registered "C-level" test administrators, and who have had extensive experience in the group administration of tests.

The present investigator ensured that adequate lighting and seating arrangements were provided in the test location.

In order to control for a possible fatigue factor, a standardized ten minute break was allowed between each of the tests. The tests were completed during the same day.

The experimental procedure was modified for the Soweto and Sebokeng campuses in order to introduce a temporal order variable. All full-time students who had successfully completed the Vista Entrance Test on these two campuses and who were enrolled in undergraduate courses, completed the battery of tests under the same standardized conditions of the Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein campuses. The battery of tests were administered in the same order on all four campuses. The battery of tests administered on the Soweto and Sebokeng campuses were introduced with the following verbal instructions: "The tests you are going to do to-day are part of a general research project."

Thus, the experimental procedure amongst the campuses contained one major difference (see Figure 3). On the Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein campuses, the battery of tests were administered as part of the University Entrance Test, while on the Soweto and Sebokeng campuses, the battery of tests were administered only with those students who had been successful on the entrance examination, and who had subsequently enrolled for undergraduate studies on a first-year level at Vista University.

The following variables were controlled for in the total sample: age (students who were older than 34 years were excluded from the sample); educational achievement and academic aptitude (students who failed to attain the subminimum score on the Vista Entrance Test were excluded from the sample) and student status (only full-time students were included in the sample).

The present investigator modified two of the measures used in the research. In order to control for possible acquiescent responding, the 15 items of the MMPI lie scale were included in Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory. Thus, every even question was an item from the MMPI lie scale up to question 30. In order to ensure consistency, a further 10 items measuring defensiveness, adapted from the Clinical Analysis Questionnaire, comprised of every even item from item 32 to 50. These items did not form part of the investigation, and were excluded from the statistical analysis of data.

Secondly, on questions 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Brookover's self-concept of ability scale, the word "school" was substituted by the word "university".

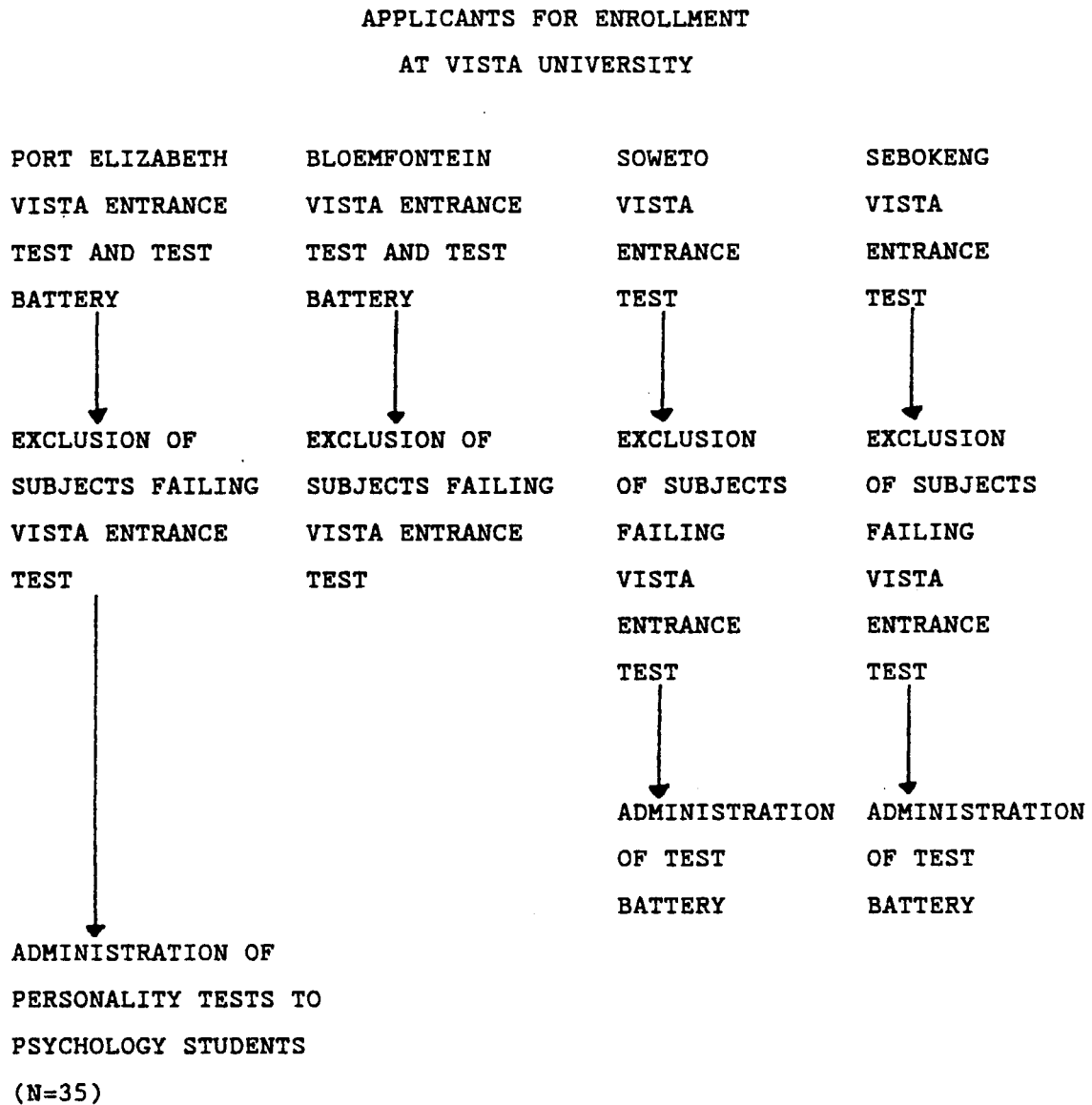
Initially, the present investigator included the three personality tests standardized on Black subjects in South Africa in order to test research hypotheses on the relationship between self-esteem and personality traits amongst students attending the Port Elizabeth campus. Due to attrition amongst the sample created by student boycotts of lectures in Port Elizabeth, the investigator was left with a sample of 35 subjects of a total sample of 137. As this method of sample selection did not adhere strictly to experimental standards, and as the sample size could not be considered representative enough, a post hoc analysis was completed in order to generate hypotheses on the relationship between self-esteem and personality traits which could be subjected to more stringent testing in future research.

The High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ), the Intra- and Interpersonal Relations Scale (IIPS) and the TAT-Z all contain standardized verbatim instructions which were strictly adhered to.

The test battery was scored by a Clinical Psychologist, while the TAT-Z was scored by a Clinical Psychologist who had received advanced training in the scoring and interpretation of this test. All scoring was done "blind" - without the scorers knowing which protocols they were scoring.

The following diagram provides a concise summary of the experimental procedure adhered to in the present investigation.

Figure 3: Summary explanation of the Experimental Procedure



6.5 ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data was analyzed through the use of two-tailed tests and a significance level of $P \leq 0,05$ was maintained throughout the statistical analysis of data.

After consultation with the Department of Research Psychology at the University of Port Elizabeth, it was recommended that one sample and two-sample T-tests be employed to test the hypotheses formulated to assess the comparability of the combined Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein groups and the combined Soweto and Sebokeng groups on the measures of self-esteem and defensiveness. Levene's variance-ratio test (F-test) was employed in order to statistically analyse the relative dispersion of scores in the two groups. That is, whether the groups are comparable and the data can be pooled or whether the groups are statistically different and the data must be analysed separately. This test is robust and makes the assumption that the underlying population distribution is normal.

Secondly, the present investigator has employed descriptive statistics in the form of measures of central tendency and dispersion, in order to summarize certain aspects of the results.

Thirdly, in order to converge data from several data classes, to examine the convergence or equivalence among measures of self-esteem and defensiveness, the present investigator employed a multiple linear regression. The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient (r) was used to assess the strength of the relationship between the various measurement procedures which had used interval scales. This statistical procedure enabled the investigator to make a decision regarding the most "representative" measure of self-esteem and defensiveness.

Finally, the present investigator formulated null-hypotheses regarding the relationship between a representative measure of self-esteem and personality traits, a representative measure of defensiveness and personality traits, and a representative measure of academic self-esteem and personality traits. This formed the post hoc statistical analysis of data. These null-hypotheses were then tested using the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient (r).

Data was subsequently prepared for and analysed by computer.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The present study represents an attempt to compare various measurement procedures of global self-esteem, the dimensions of self-esteem and defensiveness, by examining their inter-correlations. The present study also attempts to assess the relationship between self-esteem and defensiveness. By examining the convergence or equivalence among measures, the present investigator believes that researchers may be able to more easily compare findings across studies and thus construct a nomological network around the concept of self-esteem - although it is emphasized that cross-method convergence can not be equated to construct validity.

Since this is essentially an exploratory study, with insufficient data being available to support directional hypotheses, non-directional null-hypotheses were formulated for the investigation of the research hypotheses. In order to test the null-hypotheses empirically, certain experimental procedures were carried out, (see Chapter 6), and Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI), Battle's Culture-Fair Self-Esteem Inventory, MMPI Lie Scale, Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale (SDS) were used as the measures of self-esteem and defensiveness respectively.

7.2 EXPERIMENTAL FINDINGS

7.2.1 Statistical analysis of the comparability of the four campus samples

In order to test research hypotheses I to IV it was necessary to determine whether the four campus samples (Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Soweto and Sebokeng) were comparable. That is, to assess whether they came from the same population or not. Using Levene's variance-ratio test (F-test) and one-sample and two-sample t-tests the investigator was able to determine the comparability of the samples with regard to different measures of self-esteem and defensiveness.

The Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein samples were combined, as were the Soweto and Sebokeng samples due to the difference in timing of the administration of the test battery as was explained in the experimental procedure in chapter 6.

The investigator wanted to determine the comparability of these four samples, in order to assess whether the two samples (Port Elizabeth/Bloemfontein and Soweto/Sebokeng) could be combined. For this reason the mean scores of the four respondent samples on Coopersmith's SEI, Battle's SEI, the separate dimensions of self-esteem, Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and the three measures of defensiveness were determined. These results are indicated in Table 3. (The responses of males and females were combined.)

TABLE 3: Comparison of mean scores and standard deviation of self-esteem, academic self-esteem and defensiveness according to University campus.

MEASUREMENT SCALES	PORT ELIZABETH/ BLOEMFONTEIN		SOWETO/ SEBOKENG		df	t
	$\bar{x}$	s	$\bar{x}$	s		
Coopersmith SEI	16,48	4,28	16,10	4,48	428	0,87; n.s.
Battle SEI Global	36,13	6,43	35,77	6,66	428	0,56; n.s.
Battle SEI General	14,56	3,21	14,48	3,59	428	0,23; n.s.
Battle SEI Social	5,56	1,75	5,69	1,55	428	-0,79; n.s.
Battle SEI Academic	8,54	1,52	8,28	1,70	428	1,60; n.s.
Battle SEI Personal	7,52	1,96	7,33	2,04	428	0,97; n.s.
Self-Concept Ability	31,80	4,01	31,21	3,83	428	1,50; n.s.
M.M.P.I. Lie Scale	7,23	2,86	6,66	2,81	428	2,05; **
Social Desirability	21,35	4,87	21,02	5,07	428	0,68; n.s.
Battle SEI Lie Scale*	5,75	2,39	6,23	2,23	428	2,14; **

*Note: This scale is scored in a positive direction, that is the higher the score obtained, the less defensive the subject is.

** $p \leq 0,05$

From Table 3 it is clear that significant differences do not exist between the two groups with regard to global self-esteem as measured by Battle's SEI and Coopersmith's SEI. Null-hypotheses 1 and 2 are thus accepted and Research Hypothesis 1 is rejected, namely, that there will be a statistically significant difference in the global self-esteem of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

Table 3 indicates that there is no significant difference between the two groups in relation to the temporal order variable with regard to academic self-esteem as measured by Brookover's Self-concept of ability scale and Battle's academic self-esteem dimension of the SEI. Thus null-hypotheses 3 and 4 are accepted and Research Hypothesis 2 is rejected, namely, there will be a statistically significant difference in the academic self-esteem of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

Table 3 also indicates that there was no significant differences between the two groups with regard to the dimensions of self-esteem (general, social, and personal). Thus null-hypotheses 5, 6 and 7 are accepted and Research Hypothesis III is rejected, namely, that there will be a statistically significant difference in the dimensions of self-esteem of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

It is clear from Table 3 that the mean MMPI Lie Scale and the Battle SEI Lie Scale Scores differs significantly at the 0,05 level of significance between the two groups. Null-hypothesis 8 and 10 are thus rejected, namely, that there will be no statistically significant difference in the defensiveness of Black university students as measured by the MMPI Lie Scale and Battle's Lie Scale in relation to the temporal order variable. There is no significant difference between the two groups with regard to Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale (Null-hypothesis 9). Due to the fact that the two groups differed significantly on two out of the three measures of defensiveness, the null-hypotheses 8 and 10 were rejected indicating that the defensiveness of Black university students will be comparable in relation to the temporal order variable, therefore, Research Hypothesis IV is accepted, namely, that there will be a statistically significant difference in the defensiveness of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable..

The statistically significant difference between the two groups with regard to the MMPI Lie Scale and Battle's Lie Scale is illustrated in the frequency polygons drawn in Figures 4 and 5. In reading Figure 5, it is important to note that Battle's Lie Scale is scored in a positive direction, that is, the higher the score, the less defensive is the subject. For comparative purposes, the frequencies on the y-scale have been depicted as percentages.

In summary, it is clear from Table 3 that the two groups differ significantly only on two scales of defensiveness. For this reason it was decided to combine the two groups thus regarding them as a single unit for further analysis. The fact that the two groups did not differ on the self-esteem scales (the main measuring instruments), strengthened the view that the two groups should be combined.

The following section provides a detailed descriptive statistical analysis of the results in order to gain a more substantive understanding of the scores obtained by the total sample on the various measures. Therefore, no null or research hypotheses were formulated for this section of the results.

FIGURE 4: FREQUENCY POLYGONS: MMPI LIE SCALE

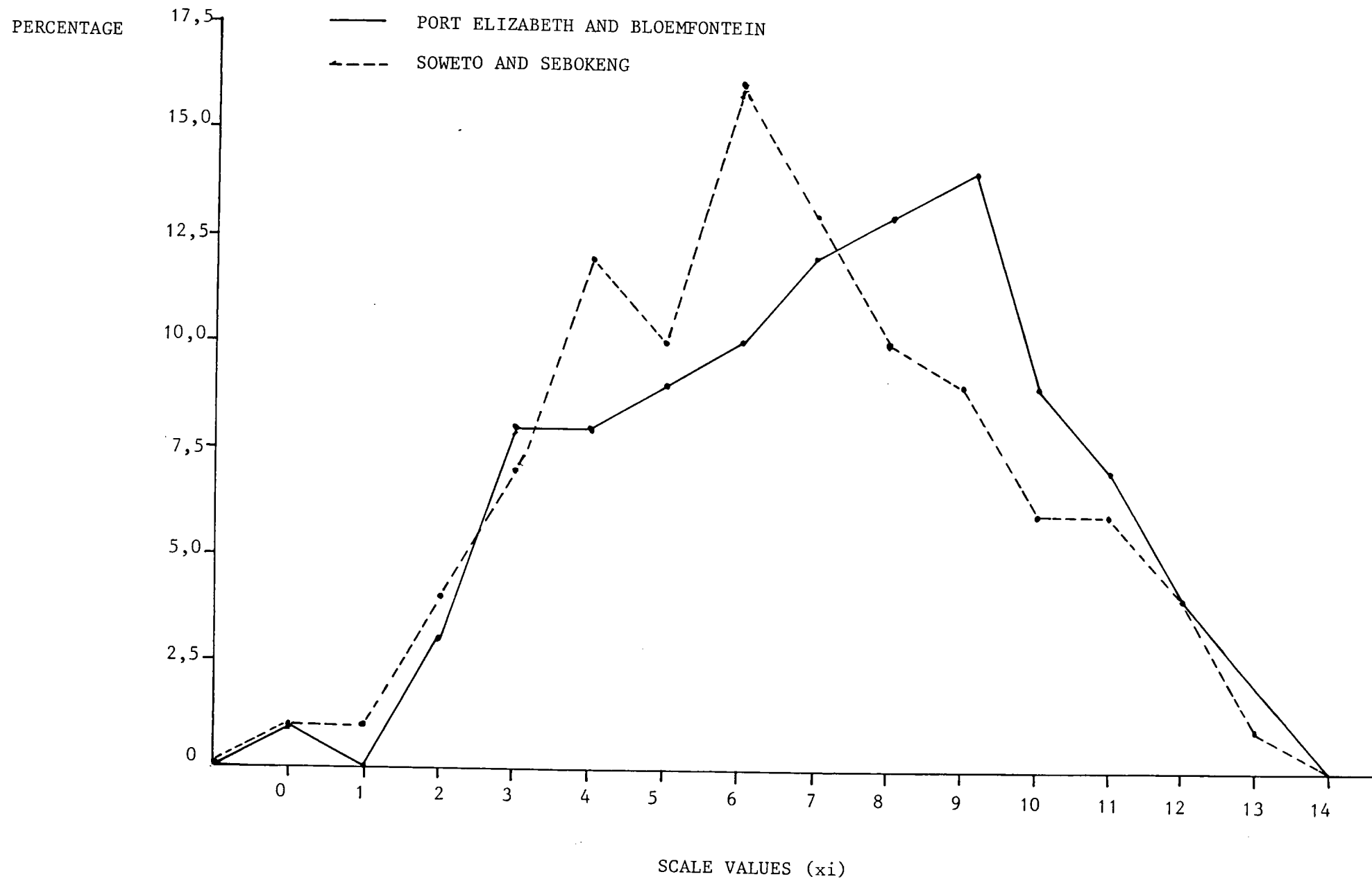
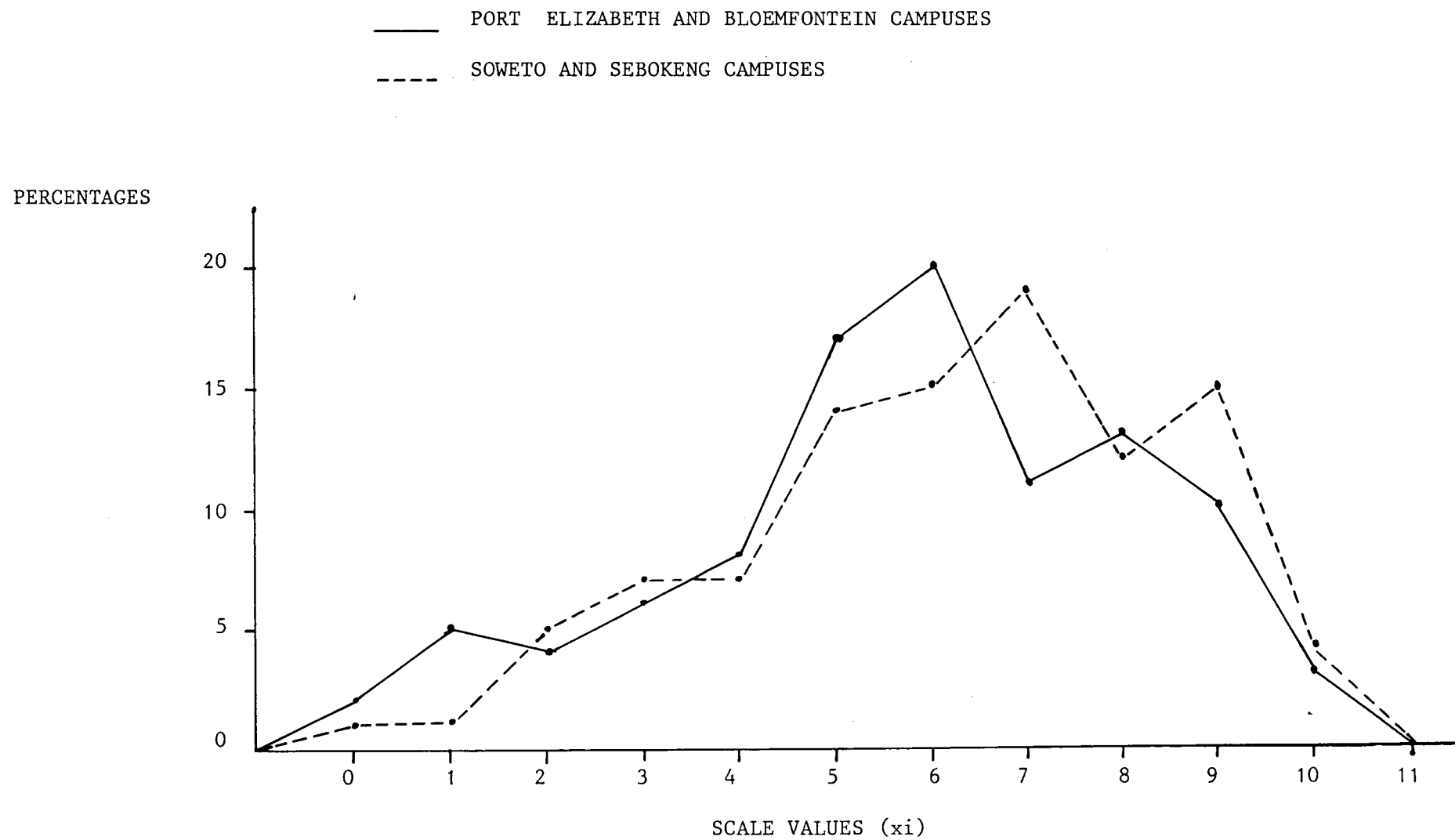


FIGURE 5: FREQUENCY POLYGONS: BATTLE SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY LIE SCALE



7.2.2 Comparison of the campuses on global self-esteem, as measured by Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory

Table 4 compares the mean scores obtained on the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory of the subjects according to campus and sex, while figures 6 and 7 illustrate the distribution of scores obtained amongst the total sample on this scale. It is clear from Table 4 that a great deal of similarity in the mean scores exists amongst the samples and sexes. In order to calculate the percentage of self-esteem, the mean is multiplied by 4 (Coopersmith, 1984). Thus the mean percentage of self-esteem of the total sample is 65,08 (16,27 x 4) which Kimball (1972) calculated as falling on the 40th percentile. However, one should interpret this finding cautiously as Kimball standardized his percentile equivalents amongst 15 year old children.

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of scores of the subjects obtained on Coopersmith's SEI. It clearly reveals that the distribution is nonsymmetrical and can be described as being negatively skewed. That is, the distribution is one in which a relatively high number of subjects obtained scores which fall in the upper scale values.

The degree of skewness exhibited by the distribution of scale values cannot be determined precisely from visual observation of the frequency polygon in Figure 6. Figure 7 illustrates more precisely the negative skewness of the distribution. It is clear from Figure 7 that (quartile 2 - quartile 1) is greater than (quartile 3 - quartile 2), that is, that the distribution is negatively skewed. The degree of skew inherent in the distribution may be approximately measured using the standard deviation, with

$$\text{Skew} = \frac{\text{Mean} - \text{Mode}}{\text{Standard Deviation}}$$

Therefore, the degree of skewness of the scores obtained on Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory is -0,38.

TABLE: 4

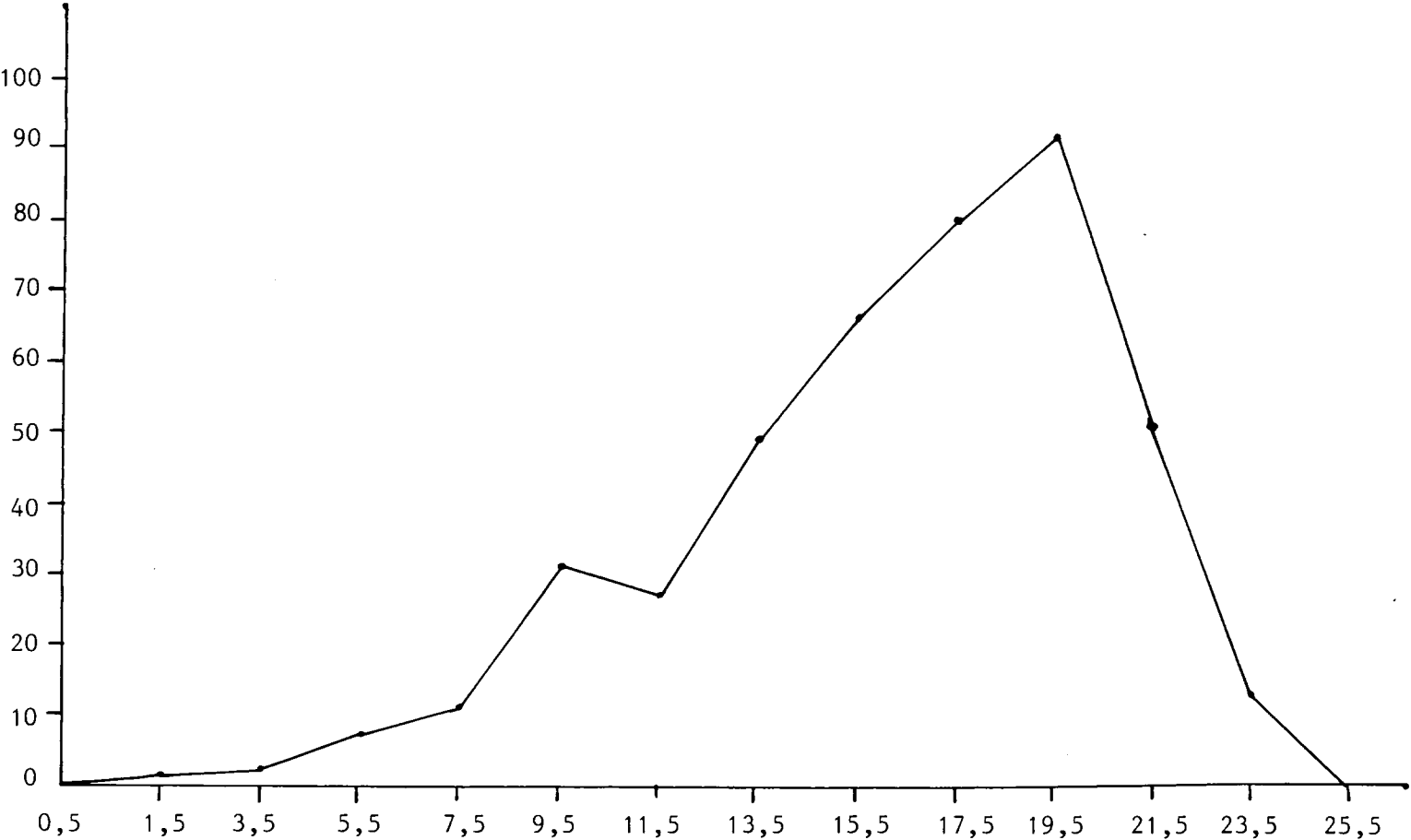
Comparison of Measures of Central Tendency:

Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory

Grouping Variable Level	Total Frequency	$\bar{X}$	S	Standard Error of Mean	Coefficient of Variation
Total Sample	430	16,27	4,23	0,20	0,26
Port Elizabeth	137	16,27	4,26	0,36	0,26
Bloemfontein	130	16,49	3,88	0,34	0,23
Soweto	83	15,33	4,86	0,53	0,31
Sebokeng	80	16,88	3,97	0,43	0,23
MALES	243	16,20	4,16	0,26	0,25
FEMALES	187	16,50	4,60	0,33	0,27
Port Elizabeth Males	66	15,62	4,10	0,50	0,26
Bloemfontein Males	87	16,78	3,96	0,42	0,23
Soweto Males	42	15,07	4,63	0,71	0,30
Sebokeng Males	48	16,93	3,94	0,56	0,23
Port Elizabeth Females	71	16,88	4,35	0,51	0,25
Bloemfontein Females	43	16,48	4,96	0,75	0,30
Soweto Females	41	15,61	5,14	0,80	0,32
Sebokeng Females	32	16,81	3,95	0,69	0,23

FIGURE 6: FREQUENCY POLYGON: COOPERSMITH SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

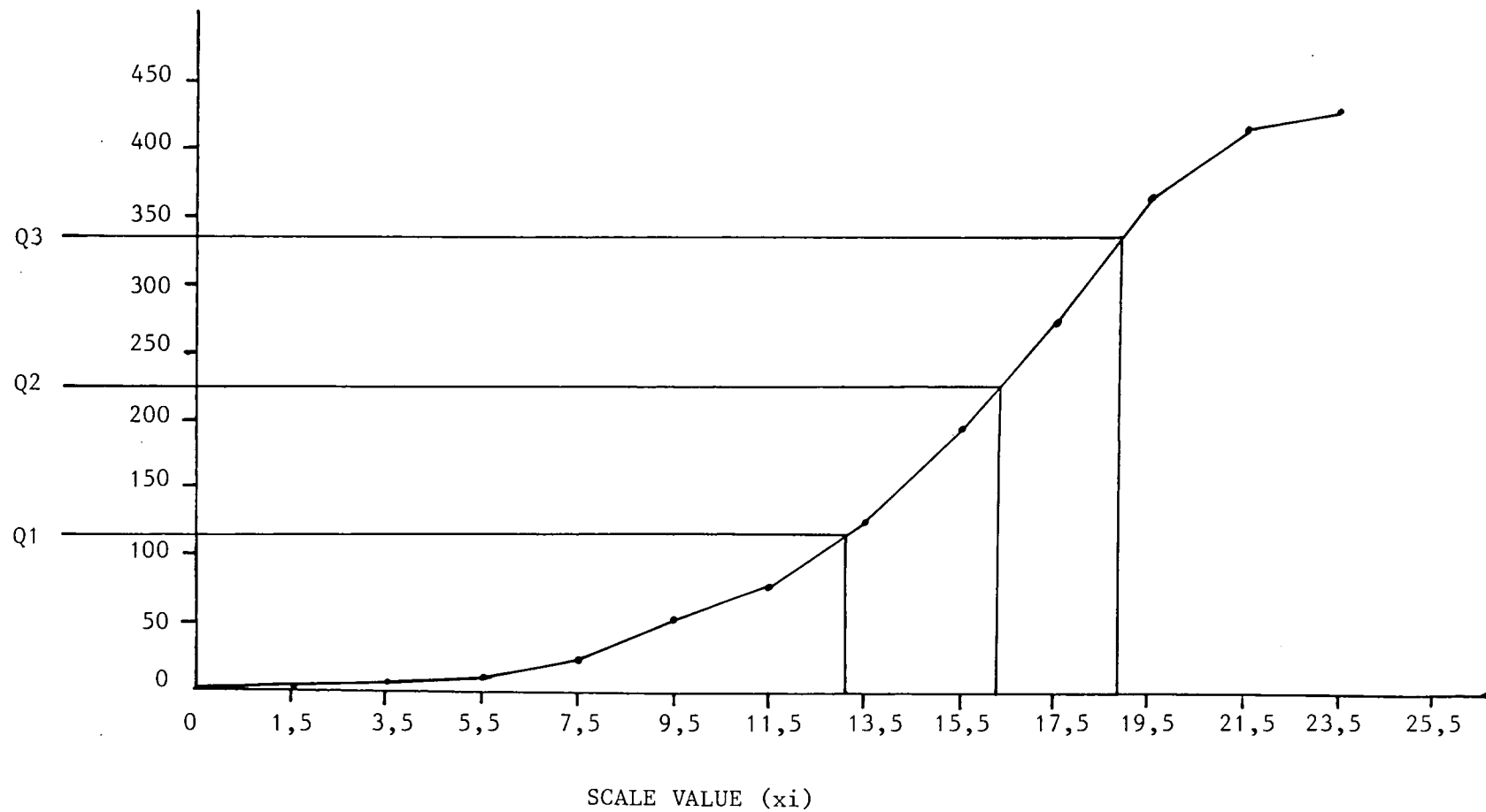
FREQUENCIES



SCALE VALUES (x_i)

FIGURE 7: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY POLYGON (OGIVE): COOPERSMITH SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

CUMULATIVE
FREQUENCY



7.2.3 Comparison of the campuses on global self-esteem as measured by Battle's Culture-Fair Self-Esteem Inventory

Table 5 compares the mean scores obtained by the subjects on Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory according to campus and sex, while figures 8 and 9 illustrate the distribution of scores obtained by the total sample on this scale.

It is clear from Table 5 that the Bloemfontein and Sebokeng male subjects and the Sebokeng female subjects obtained scores which were higher than the group mean, while the Soweto female subjects obtained scores which were lower than the group mean. It is interesting to note that this rank order of the mean scores is similar for Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory where the Bloemfontein and Sebokeng male subjects and the Sebokeng female subjects also obtained scores which were higher than the group mean, while the Soweto female subjects obtained scores which were lower than the group mean (see Table 4).

In order to calculate the mean percentage of self-esteem, the mean is multiplied by two (Battle, 1981). Thus the mean percentage of self-esteem of the total sample calculated on this measure of self-esteem is 71,98 ($35,99 \times 2$).

Battle's (1976) comparative study of the two scales also revealed that amongst his sample, subjects obtained a higher mean score on Battle's SEI than on Coopersmith's SEI (66,90 as opposed to 63,45).

The mean score of the total sample obtained on Coopersmith's SEI falls within the 40th percentile, while the mean score of the sample obtained on Battle's SEI falls within the 43rd percentile.

Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of scores obtained by the subjects on Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory. It clearly illustrates that the distribution is nonsymmetrical and can be described as being negatively skewed. As was found with the distribution of scores obtained on Coopersmith's SEI, a relatively high number of subjects obtained scores which fall in the upper scale values on Battle's SEI.

Figure 9 illustrates more precisely the negative skewness of the distribution. It is clear from Figure 9 that $(Q2 - Q1)$ is greater than $(Q3 - Q2)$, that is, that the distribution is negatively skewed. The degree of skewness of the scores obtained on Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory is $-0,78$. This finding indicates that the degree of skewness of the scores obtained on Battle's SEI is appreciably greater than the degree of skewness of the scores obtained on Coopersmith's SEI $(-0,38)$.

TABLE: 5

Comparison of Measures of Central Tendency:

Battle Culture-Fair Self-Esteem Inventory

Grouping Variable Level	Total Frequency	$\bar{X}$	S	Standard Error of Mean	Coefficient of Variation
Total Sample	430	35,99	6,51	0,31	0,18
Port Elizabeth	137	35,10	6,72	0,57	0,19
Bloemfontein	130	37,21	5,95	0,52	0,15
Soweto	83	34,33	7,33	0,80	0,21
Sebokeng	80	37,26	5,55	0,62	0,14
MALES	243	36,42	6,02	0,38	0,16
FEMALES	187	35,43	7,08	0,51	0,19
Port Elizabeth Males	66	35,03	6,12	0,75	0,17
Bloemfontein Males	87	37,52	5,78	0,61	0,15
Soweto Males	42	35,28	6,76	1,04	0,19
Sebokeng Males	48	37,35	5,18	0,74	0,13
Port Elizabeth Females	71	35,18	7,27	0,86	0,20
Bloemfontein Females	43	36,58	6,30	0,96	0,17
Soweto Females	41	33,36	7,84	1,22	0,23
Sebokeng Females	32	37,12	6,15	1,08	0,16

FIGURE 8: FREQUENCY POLYGON: BATTLE CULTURE-FAIR SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

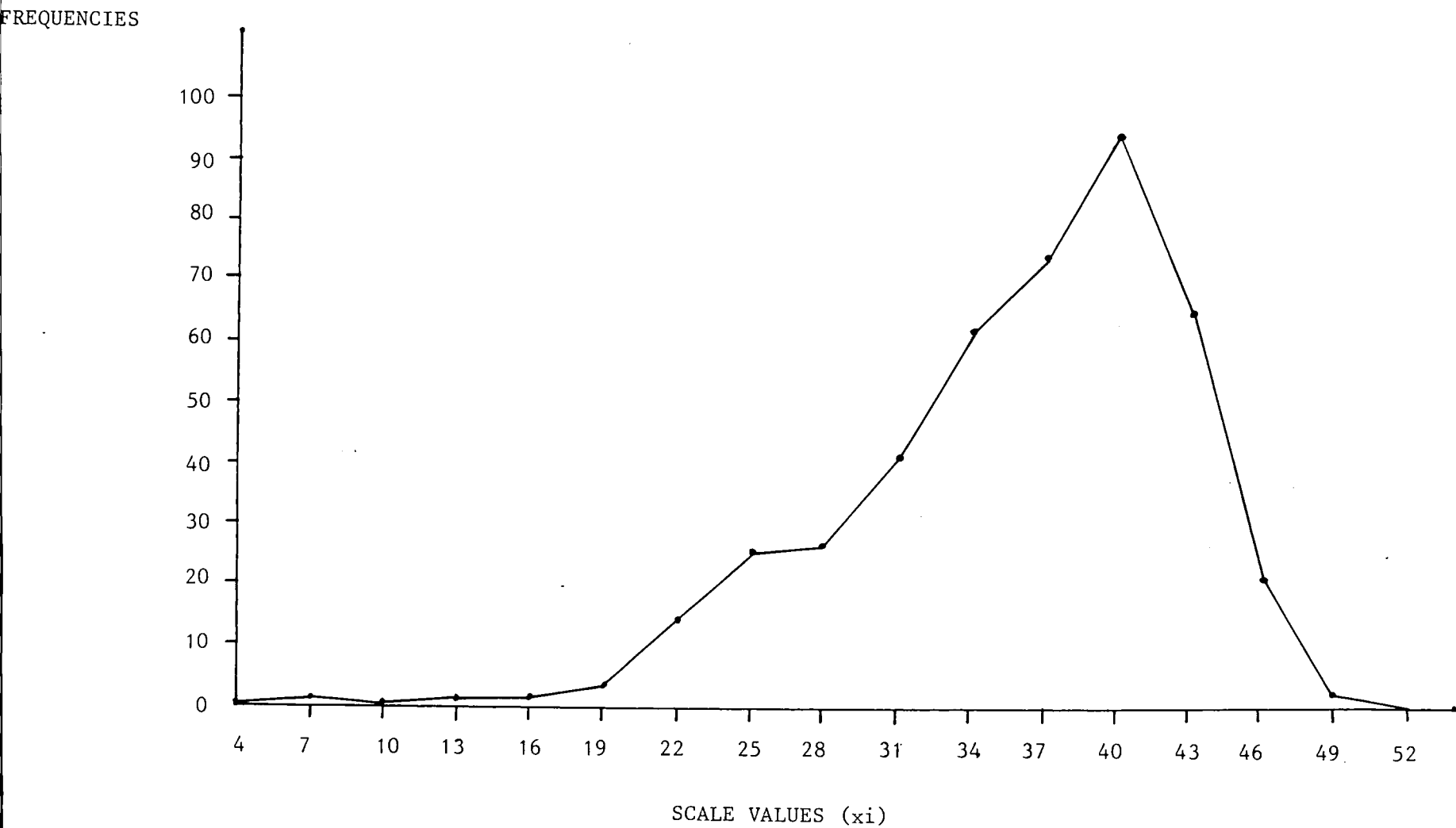
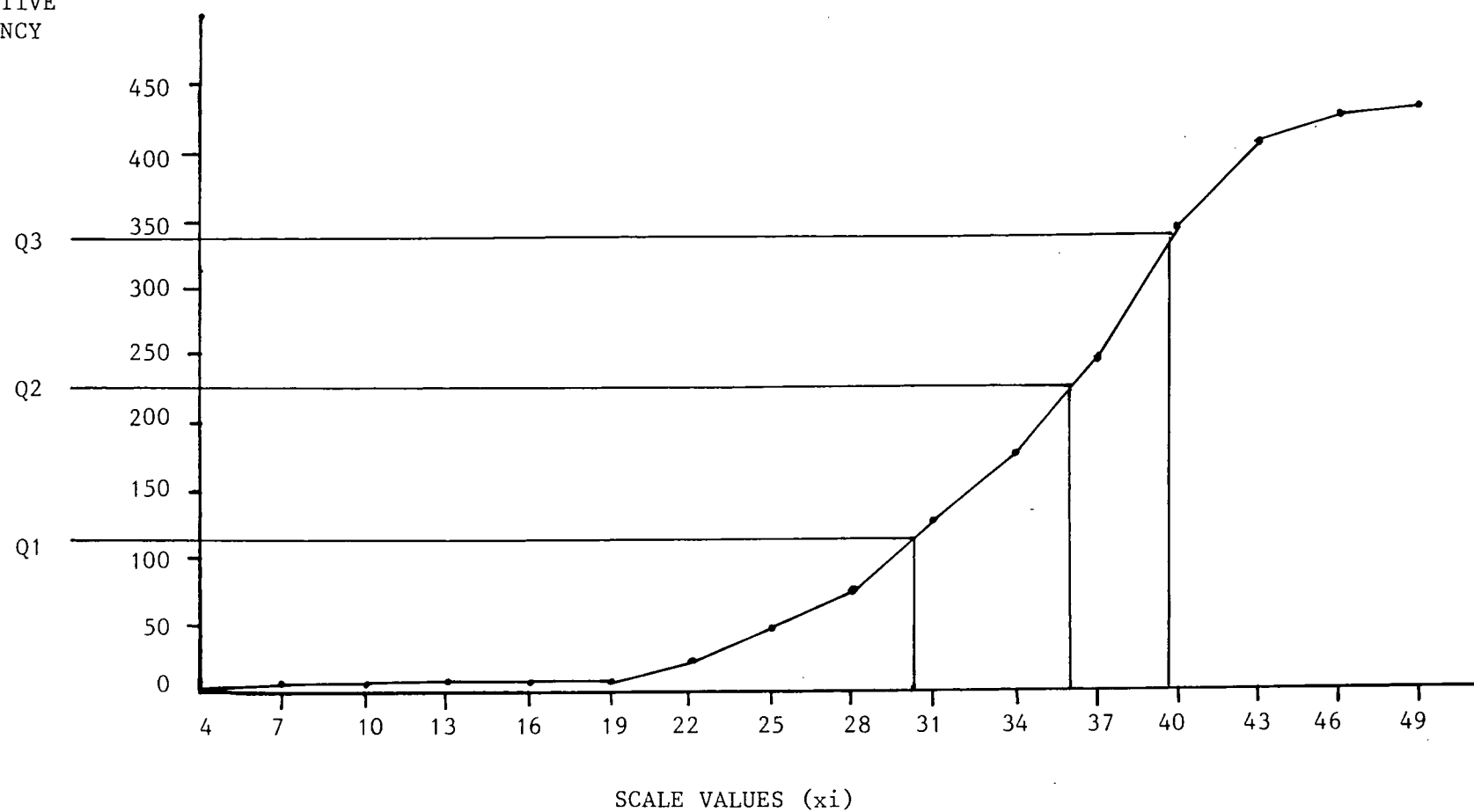


FIGURE 9: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY POLYGON (OGIVE): BATTLE CULTURE-FAIR SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

CUMULATIVE
FREQUENCY



7.2.4 Comparison of the campuses on self-concept of ability
(academic self-esteem) as measured by Brookover's
Self-Concept of Ability Scale

Table 6 compares the mean scores obtained on Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale of the subjects according to campus and sex, while figures 10 and 11 illustrate the distribution of scores obtained by the total sample on this scale. While the Soweto male group obtained a mean score lower than the group mean, in general, the mean scores display a pronounced degree of similarity and consistency between the campuses and sexes.

In order to compare the mean percentage of academic self-esteem with that of global self-esteem, the present investigator multiplied the total scores for the self-concept of ability scale by 2.5. Thus the mean percentage of academic self-esteem of the total sample is 78,92. This finding suggests that the academic self-esteem of subjects as being appreciably higher than their global self-esteem (63,45), and has important implications for education amongst Blacks in South Africa. This will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

Figure 10 illustrates the distribution of scores the subjects obtained on Brookover's self-concept of ability scale. It reveals that the distribution is approximately symmetrical and may be considered to be a normal distribution.

Figure 11 illustrates more precisely the symmetry of the distribution. The Ogive depicted in Figure 11 indicates that the distribution is very slightly skewed in a positive direction. That is, (quartile 3 - quartile 2) is minimally greater than (quartile 2 - quartile 1). The degree of skewness of the scores obtained on Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale is 0,05, indicating a minimal skew in a positive direction.

TABLE: 6

Comparison of Measures of Central Tendency:

Self-Concept of Ability Scale

Grouping Variable Level	Total Frequency	$\bar{X}$	S	Standard Error of Mean	Coefficient of Variation
Total Sample	430	31,57	3,95	0,19	0,12
Port Elizabeth	137	32,14	3,94	0,33	0,12
Bloemfontein	130	31,43	4,06	0,35	0,12
Soweto	83	30,16	3,49	0,38	0,11
Sebokeng	80	32,30	3,88	0,43	0,12
MALES	243	31,44	3,97	0,25	0,12
FEMALES	187	31,75	3,92	0,28	0,12
Port Elizabeth Males	66	31,56	3,90	0,48	0,12
Bloemfontein Males	87	31,59	4,27	0,45	0,13
Soweto Males	42	29,61	3,22	0,49	0,10
Sebokeng Males	48	32,60	3,65	0,52	0,11
Port Elizabeth Females	71	32,69	3,93	0,46	0,12
Bloemfontein Females	43	31,11	3,63	0,55	0,11
Soweto Females	41	30,73	3,71	0,58	0,12
Sebokeng Females	32	31,84	4,22	0,74	0,13

FIGURE 10: FREQUENCY POLYGON: SELF-CONCEPT OF ABILITY SCALE

FREQUENCIES

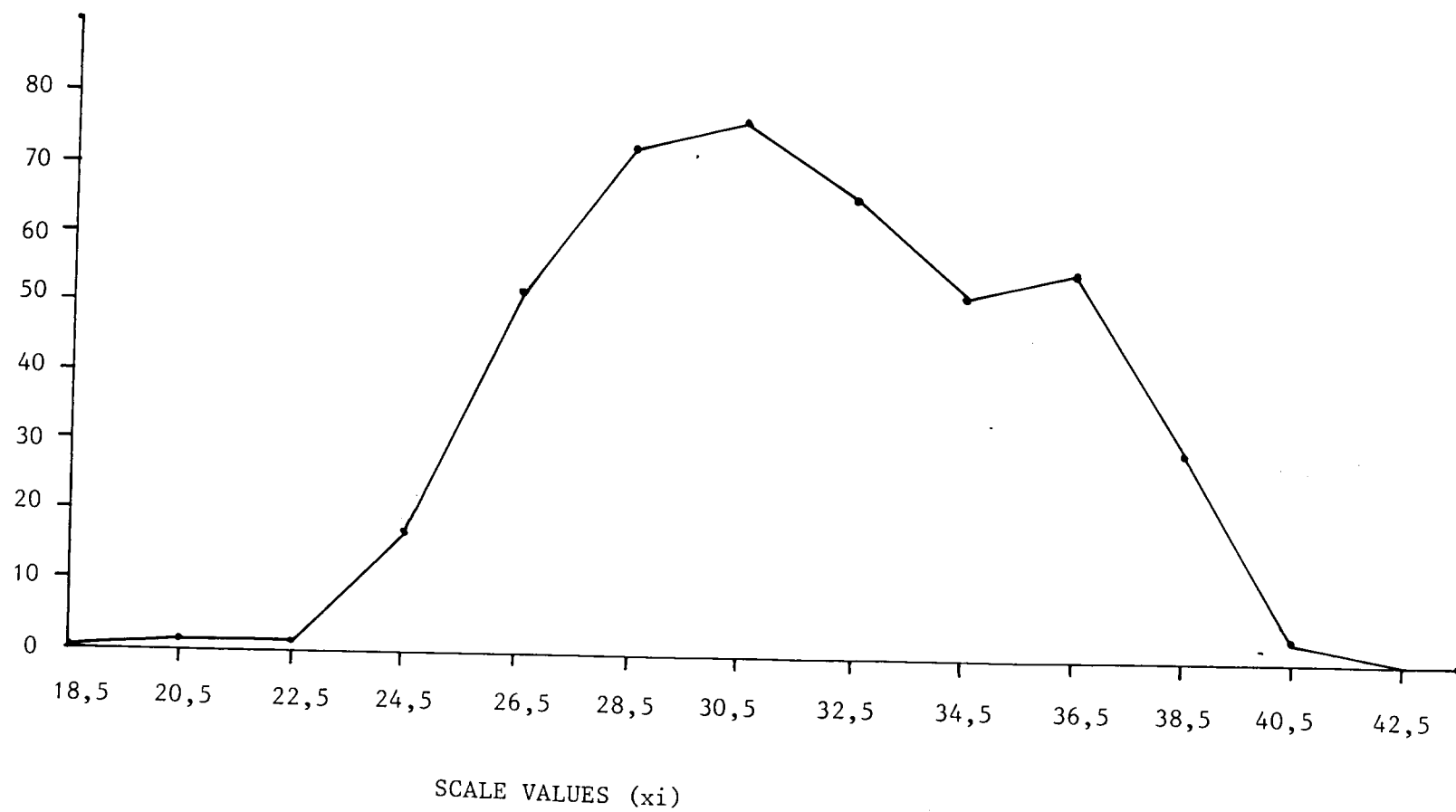
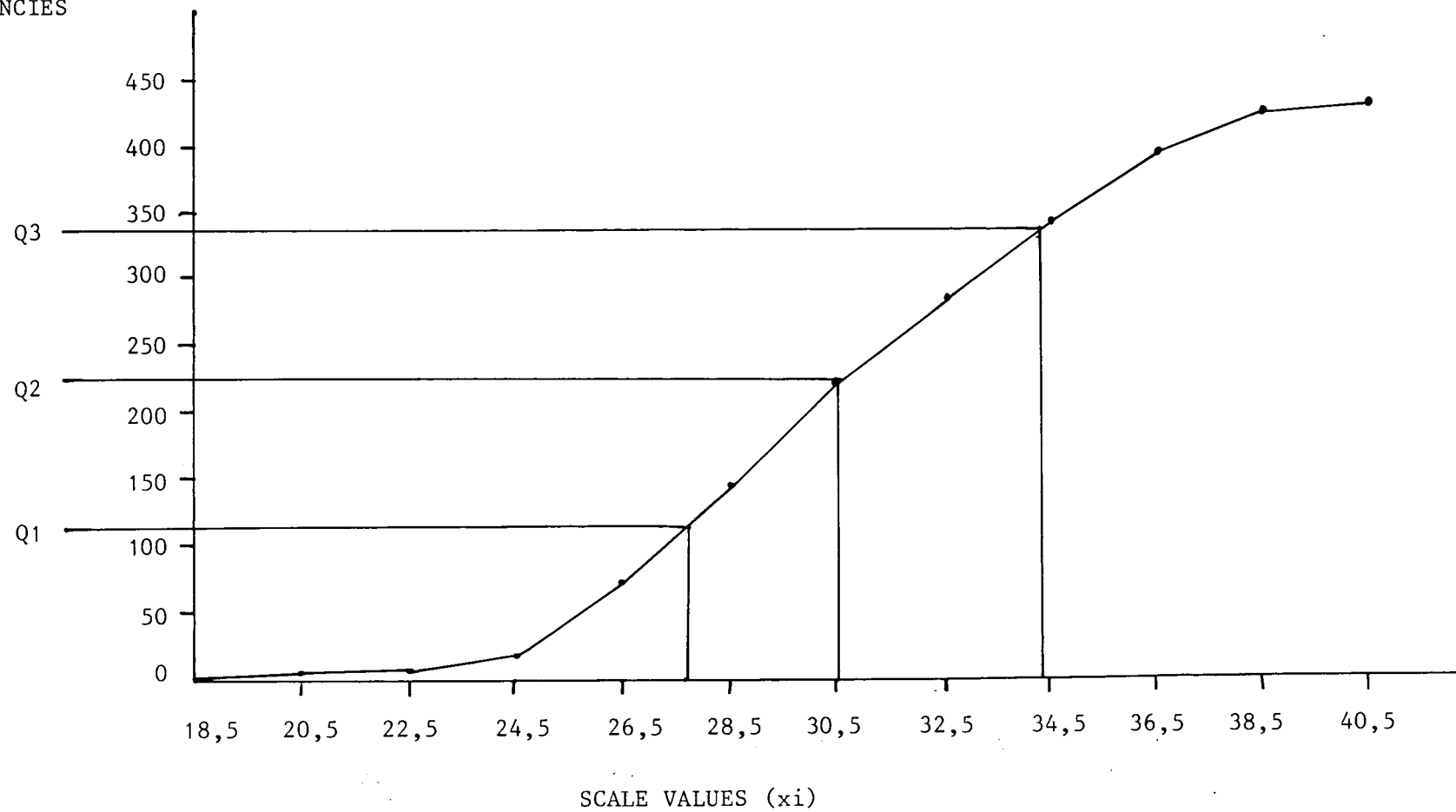


FIGURE 11: CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY POLYGON (OGIVE): SELF-CONCEPT OF ABILITY SCALE

CUMULATIVE
FREQUENCIES



7.2.5 Comparison of the campuses on defensiveness as measured by the MMPI Lie Scale

Figure 7 compares the mean scores obtained on the MMPI Lie Scale of the subjects according to the campus and sex, while figure 12 illustrates the distribution of scores obtained by the total sample on this scale.

The total sample mean score of 7,01 indicates a high score, taking into account the fact that the sample is drawn from lower middle to lower socioeconomic classes. Thus the Lie Scale score is higher than would be expected, having taken into account appropriate demographic variables, and suggests a defensive test-taking attitude.

Table 7 indicates that males are slightly more defensive than females as measured on this scale. Soweto males and females obtained a mean score which is markedly lower than that of the other groups. This indicates that the Soweto group were less defensive in their test-taking attitude than the other three groups.

Figure 12 illustrates the distribution of scores the subjects obtained on the MMPI Lie Scale. It reveals that the distribution is symmetrical and clearly approximates a normal distribution.

TABLE: 7

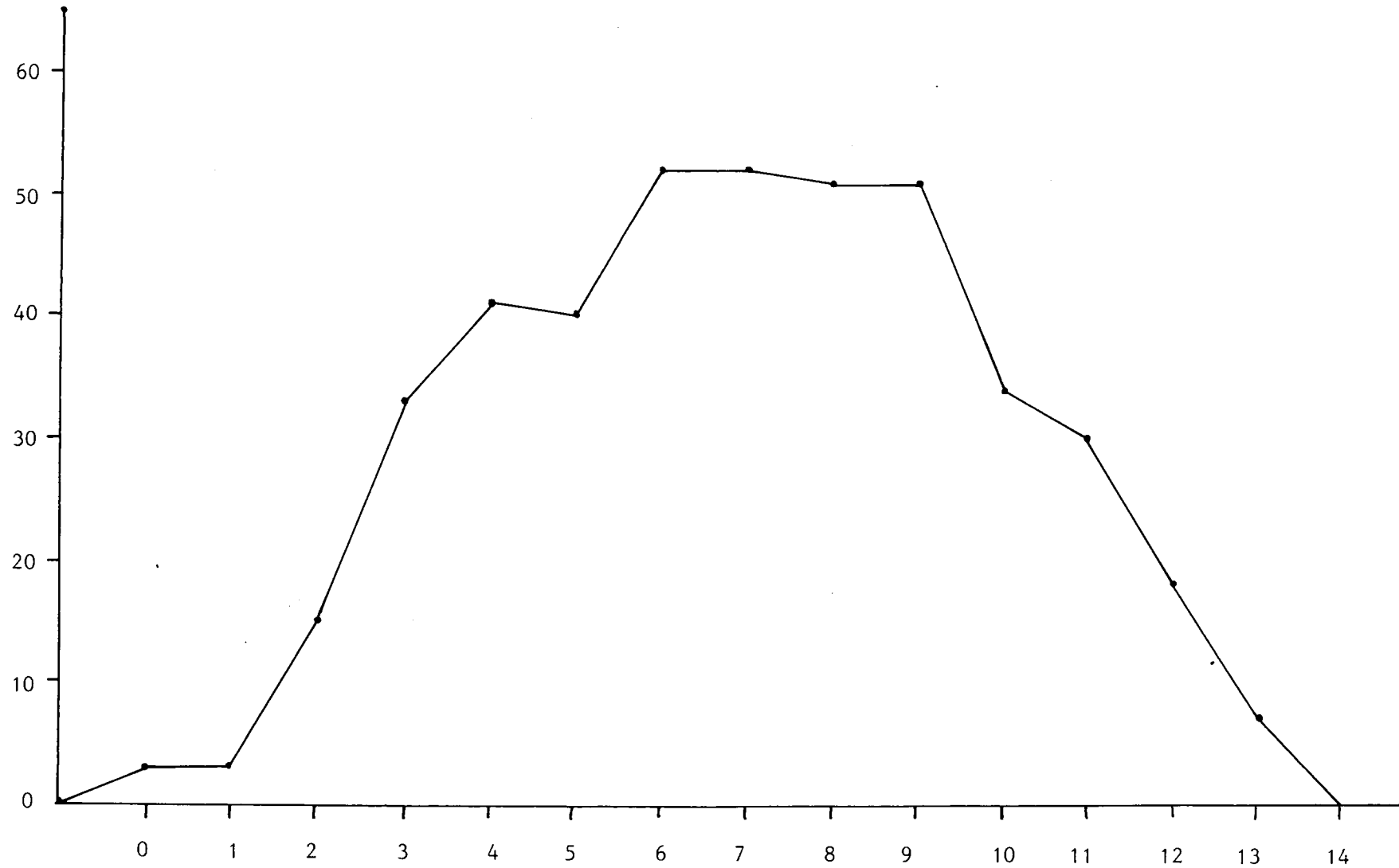
Comparison of Measures of Central Tendency:

MMPI Lie Scale

Grouping Variable Level	Total Frequency	$\bar{X}$	S	Standard Error of Mean	Coefficient of Variation
Total Sample	430	7,01	2,84	0,13	0,40
Port Elizabeth	137	7,17	3,09	0,26	0,43
Bloemfontein	130	7,29	2,59	0,22	0,35
Soweto	83	5,71	2,73	0,30	0,47
Sebokeng	80	7,63	2,53	0,28	0,33
MALES	243	7,21	2,92	0,18	0,40
FEMALES	187	6,75	2,73	0,20	0,40
Port Elizabeth Males	66	7,39	3,58	0,44	0,48
Bloemfontein Males	87	7,50	2,65	0,28	0,35
Soweto Males	42	5,71	2,35	0,36	0,41
Sebokeng Males	48	7,75	2,45	0,35	0,31
Port Elizabeth Females	71	6,97	2,56	0,30	0,36
Bloemfontein Females	43	6,86	2,44	0,37	0,35
Soweto Females	41	5,70	3,11	0,48	0,54
Sebokeng Females	32	7,46	2,68	0,47	0,35

FIGURE 12: FREQUENCY POLYGON: MMPI LIE SCALE

FREQUENCIES



SCALE INTERVALS (xi)

7.2.6 Comparison of the campuses on defensiveness as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Table 8 compares the mean scores obtained on the Marlowe-Crowne SDS by the subjects according to campus and sex, while figure 13 illustrates the distribution of scores obtained by the total sample on this scale.

The total sample mean score of 21,22 is significantly higher than the mean of 13,72 which was obtained by Crowne and Marlowe (1960) amongst a sample of 39 subjects enrolled in an undergraduate psychology course at Ohio State University (the mean age of this sample was 24,4 years). The present investigator has referred to this study due to the absence of other more specific normative data, and recognizes that this comparison is extremely tentative and is used only for illustrative purposes.

It is interesting to note that the rank orders of the mean scores for the four groups are similar for the MMPI Lie Scale and the Marlowe-Crowne SDS. Males obtained a higher Social Desirability Score than females, and the Soweto group again obtained a mean score which was significantly lower than the other three groups. This indicates that the Soweto group were less concerned with making socially desirable responses than the other three groups.

Figure 13 illustrates the distribution of scores the subjects obtained on the Marlowe-Crowne SDS. It illustrates an asymmetrical distribution which approximates a negatively skewed distribution.

TABLE: 8

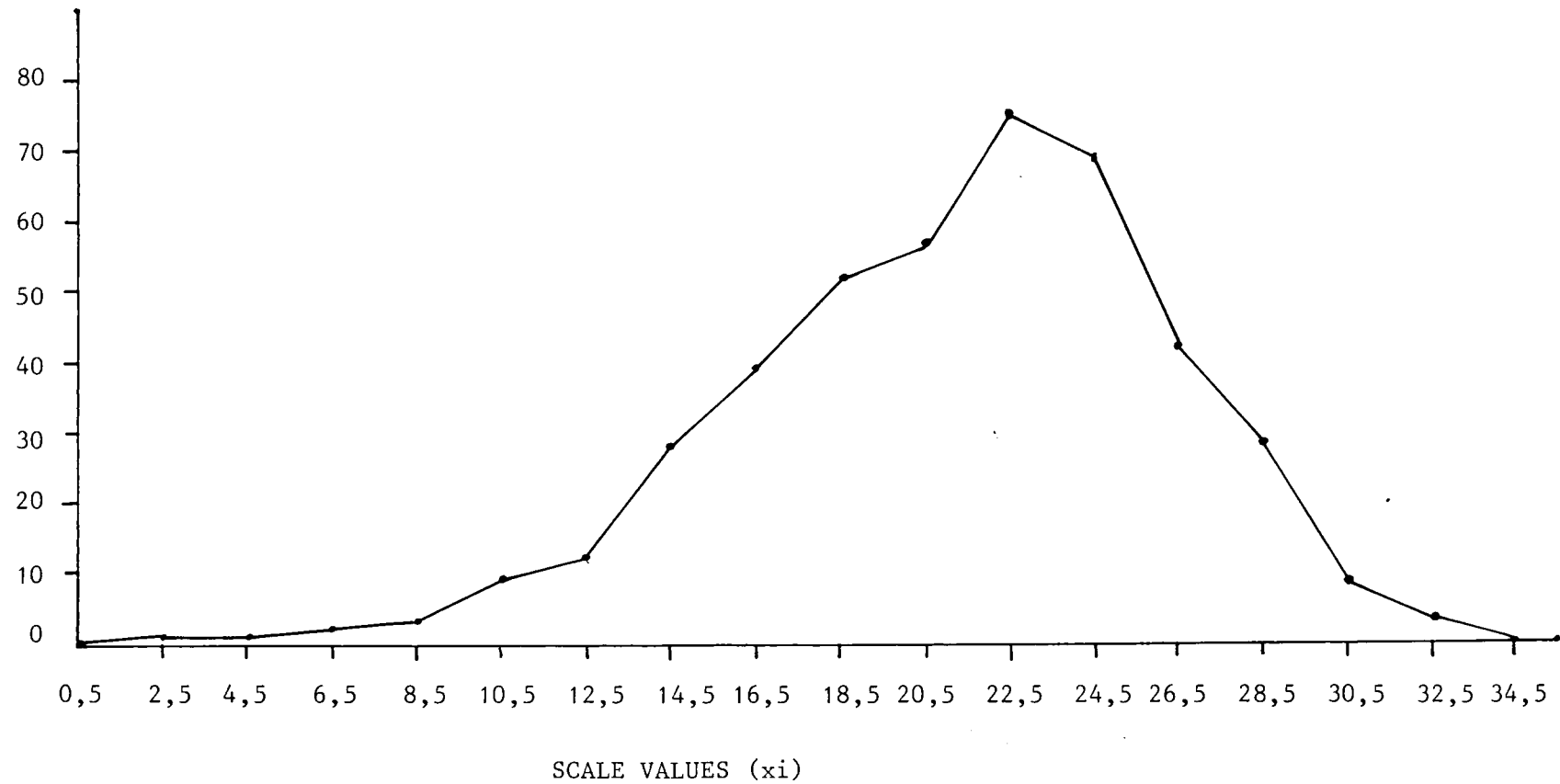
Comparison of Measures of Central Tendency:

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Grouping Variable Level	Total Frequency	$\bar{X}$	S	Standard Error of Mean	Coefficient of Variation
Total Sample	430	21,22	4,94	0,23	0,23
Port Elizabeth	137	20,13	4,94	0,23	0,23
Bloemfontein	130	22,63	4,61	0,40	0,20
Soweto	83	18,69	4,98	0,54	0,26
Sebokeng	80	23,42	3,93	0,44	0,16
MALES	243	21,57	5,00	0,32	0,23
FEMALES	187	20,77	4,84	0,35	0,23
Port Elizabeth Males	66	20,06	5,17	0,63	0,25
Bloemfontein Males	87	22,77	4,83	0,51	0,21
Soweto Males	42	19,21	4,57	0,70	0,23
Sebokeng Males	48	23,56	4,00	0,57	0,16
Port Elizabeth Females	71	20,19	4,49	0,53	0,22
Bloemfontein Females	43	22,37	4,16	0,63	0,18
Soweto Females	41	18,17	5,38	0,84	0,29
Sebokeng Females	32	23,21	3,89	0,68	0,16

FIGURE 13: FREQUENCY POLYGON MARLOWE-CROWNE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE

FREQUENCIES



7.2.7 Comparison of the campuses on defensiveness as measured by Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory Lie Scale

Table 9 compares the mean scores obtained on Battle's SEI Lie Scale by the subjects according to campus and sex, while figure 14 illustrates the distribution of scores obtained by the total sample on this scale.

The total sample mean score of 5,93 cannot be meaningfully interpreted in isolation due to Battle providing no percentile ranks or other normative data with regard to this scale.

In interpreting the results contained in Table 9, the present investigator cautions that the scale is scored in a positive direction, that is, the higher the score the less defensive the subject is. Thus Table 9 indicates that males obtained a lower mean score than females, which indicates greater defensiveness amongst males than females. Therefore, the conclusion can be made that males were consistently more defensive than females on the three measures of defensiveness.

Table 9 reveals that the Soweto group and Soweto Male and female groups obtained a lower mean score than the other three groups. Thus the Soweto group were consistently less defensive than the other three groups on the three measures of defensiveness.

Figure 14 illustrates the distribution of scores the subjects obtained on Battle's SEI Lie Scale. The distribution approximates a symmetrical or normal distribution.

TABLE: 9

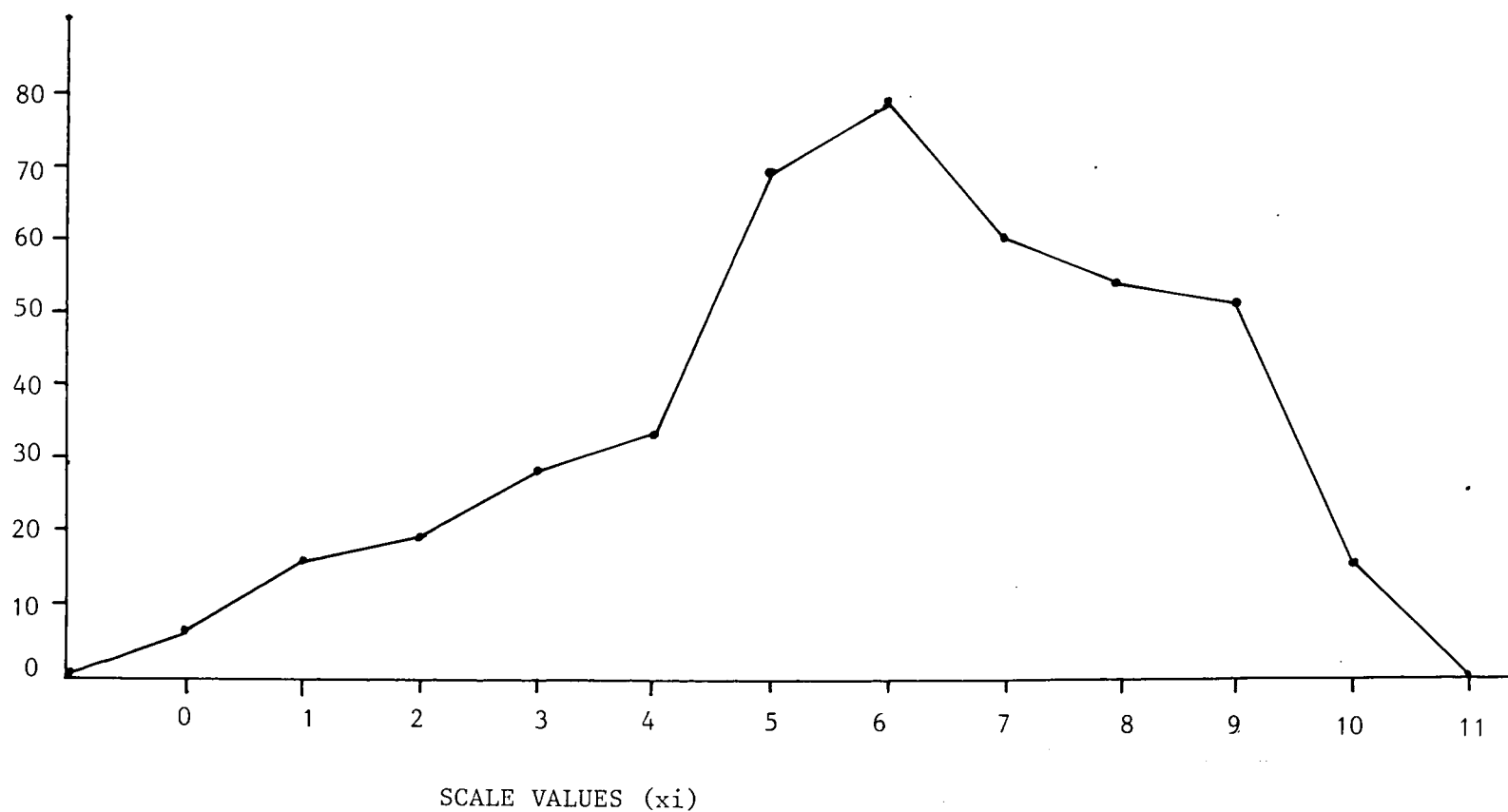
Comparison of Measures of Central Tendency:

Battle Culture Fair Self-Esteem Inventory: Lie Scale

Grouping Variable Level	Total Frequency	$\bar{X}$	S	Standard Error of Mean	Coefficient of Variation
Total Sample	430	5,93	2,33	0,11	0,39
Port Elizabeth	137	6,21	2,04	0,17	0,32
Bloemfontein	130	5,25	2,62	0,23	0,49
Soweto	83	7,25	1,63	0,17	0,22
Sebokeng	80	5,17	2,27	0,25	0,43
MALES	243	5,72	2,45	0,15	0,42
FEMALES	187	6,19	2,15	0,15	0,34
Port Elizabeth Males	66	6,33	2,10	0,25	0,33
Bloemfontein Males	87	5,19	2,65	0,28	0,51
Soweto Males	42	7,19	1,59	0,24	0,22
Sebokeng Males	48	4,58	2,32	0,33	0,50
Port Elizabeth Females	71	6,09	1,99	0,23	0,32
Bloemfontein Females	43	5,37	2,58	0,39	0,48
Soweto Females	41	7,31	1,69	0,26	0,23
Sebokeng Females	32	6,06	1,90	0,33	0,31

FIGURE 14: FREQUENCY POLYGON: BATTLE SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY LIE SCALE

FREQUENCIES



7.2.8 Comparison of various measures of self-esteem and defensiveness

In order to measure the relationship between different measures of self-esteem and defensiveness, the Pearson Product moment correlation coefficient was employed to test the null-hypotheses. Pearson's r was employed due to it being a powerful and common method of measuring the relationship between two sets of equal-interval scale values.

Examination of these correlations, while providing a preliminary assessment of convergent validity, will be regarded as suggestive, rather than definitive, but they are useful in making preliminary determinations and in structuring subsequent analyses, that is, measurement models.

Table 10 provides a summary of the correlations among different measures of the traits self-esteem and defensiveness.

7.2.8.1 Comparison of measures of global self-esteem

To determine whether Research Hypothesis V could be accepted, null-hypothesis 11, that there will be no statistically significant relationship between Coopersmith's SEI and Battle's SEI was tested. Table 10 indicates that the correlation for the total sample was 0,76, and this is significant at the 0,01 level of significance. Null-hypothesis 11 is therefore rejected, and Research Hypothesis IV is accepted; namely, there is a strong and significant relationship between Coopersmith's SEI and Battle's SEI.

7.2.8.2 Comparison of measures of global self-esteem and Dimensions of self-esteem

To determine whether Research Hypothesis VI could be accepted, null-hypotheses 12 to 21 were tested; namely, that (a) there will be no statistically significant relationship between the global self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Coopersmith's SEI and the following dimensions of self-esteem: general, social, academic, personal and

TABLE: 10

CORRELATIONS OF MEASURES OF SELF-ESTEEM AND DEFENSIVENESS

MEASURE	LEVEL OF CORRELATION
<i>Coopersmith SEI Full Scale</i>	
Battle SEI Full Scale	0,76**
Battle SEI General Scale	0,72**
Battle SEI Social Scale	0,33**
Battle SEI Academic Scale	0,51**
Battle SEI Personal Scale	0,57**
Battle SEI Lie Scale	0,39**
MMPI Lie Scale	0,42**
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale	0,53**
Brookover Self-Concept of Ability Scale	0,31**
 <i>Battle SEI Full Scale</i>	
Battle SEI General Scale	0,89**
Battle SEI Social Scale	0,61**
Battle SEI Academic Scale	0,67**
Battle SEI Personal Scale	0,68**
Battle SEI Lie Scale	0,43**
MMPI Lie Scale	0,38**
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale	0,57**
Brookover Self-Concept of Ability Scale	0,31**
 <i>Brookover Self-Concept of Ability Scale</i>	
Battle SEI General Scale	0,28**
Battle SEI Social Scale	0,16
Battle SEI Academic Scale	0,24*
Battle SEI Personal Scale	0,19
Battle SEI Lie Scale	0,23*
MMPI Lie Scale	0,18
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale	0,20*

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

self-concept of ability; and (b) there will be no statistically significant relationship between the full scale self-esteem of Black university students as measured by Battle's SEI and the following dimensions of self-esteem: general, social, academic, personal, and self-concept of ability.

Table 10 clearly indicates that there are significant correlations at the 0,01 level of significance between Coopersmith's SEI and the dimensions of self-esteem, and between Battle's SEI and dimensions of self-esteem. These correlations range from .31 to .72 for the Coopersmith SEI, and from .31 to .89 for Battle's SEI. Therefore null-hypotheses 12 to 21 are rejected and Research hypothesis VI is accepted. This hypothesis states that there will be a statistically significant relationship between measures of global self-esteem and the dimensions of self-esteem amongst Black university students.

7.2.8.3 Comparison of measures of the dimensions of self-esteem

To determine whether Research hypothesis VII could be accepted, null-hypotheses 22 to 25 that there will be no statistically significant relationship between the dimensions of self-esteem were tested. Table 10 indicates that there is a correlation of 0,24 which is significant at the 0,05 level of significance between Battle's SEI Academic Scale and Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale. Null-hypothesis 22 is therefore rejected.

Table 10 indicates that there is a correlation of 0,28 which is significant at the 0,01 level of significance between Battle's SEI General Scale and Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale. Null-hypothesis 23 is therefore rejected.

Finally, Table 10 indicates that the correlations (0,16 and 0,19 respectively) between Battle's SEI Social and Personal scales are not significant, therefore, Null-hypotheses 24 and 25 are accepted.

The present investigator has chosen to accept Research Hypothesis VII, namely, that there is a statistically significant relationship between the dimensions of self-esteem amongst Black university students.

Despite the Personal and Social dimensions not significantly correlating with the Self-Concept of Ability Scale, there is an indication that these scales have an association with the Self-Concept of Ability Scale. Secondly, is the fact that if one looks at the nature of the content of the scale items, the Self-Concept of Ability Scale relates significantly with those scales which are measuring essentially items of a similar nature (that is, general and academic self-esteem).

7.2.8.4 Comparison of measures of global self-esteem and defensiveness

Research Hypothesis VIII states that there will be a statistically significant relationship between measures of global self-esteem and defensiveness. In order to test this research hypothesis, null-hypotheses 26 to 31 were tested.

Table 10 clearly indicates that both Coopersmith and Battle's Self-Esteem inventories correlated significantly with the MMPI Lie Scale, Battle's SEI Lie Scale, and the Marlowe-Crowne SDS ($p \leq 0,01$). It is interesting to note that for both measures of self-esteem, the strongest association was with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (0,53 and 0,57 respectively).

Therefore, null-hypotheses 26 to 31 are rejected, and research hypothesis VIII is accepted.

7.2.8.5 Comparison of a Measure of Academic Self-Esteem and defensiveness

For the purposes of this investigation, Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale was theoretically defined as a dimension of self-esteem and a measure of academic self-esteem. In order to test research hypothesis IX, namely, that there will be a statistically significant relationship between a measure of academic self-esteem and defensiveness amongst Black university students, null-hypotheses 32 to 34 were tested.

Table 10 indicates that the Self-Concept of Ability Scale correlated significantly ($p \leq 0,05$) with Battle's SEI Lie Scale (0,23) and Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale (0,20), while the results indicate no significant correlation with the MMPI Lie Scale. The present investigator has chosen to accept Research hypothesis IX, namely, that there is a statistically significant relationship between a measure of academic self-esteem and defensiveness amongst Black university students. However, this association between academic self-esteem and defensiveness, in general, appears to be less marked than the association between global self-esteem and defensiveness.

7.2.8.6 Comparison of measures of defensiveness

In order to determine whether research hypothesis X could be accepted, namely, that there will be a statistically significant relationship between different measures of defensiveness amongst Black university students, null-hypotheses 35 to 37 that there will be no significant difference between these measures of defensiveness were tested.

Table 11 clearly indicates that there is a significant correlation between the different measures of defensiveness ($p \leq 0,01$), with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale having the strongest association with the other two measures of defensiveness.

TABLE 11
CORRELATIONS OF MEASURES OF DEFENSIVENESS

MEASURE	r
MMPI Lie Scale	
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale	0,60*
Battle SEI Lie Scale	0,51*
Battle SEI Lie Scale	
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale	0,57*

* $p \leq .01$

The results summarized in Table 11 indicate that Null-hypotheses 35 to 37 can be rejected, and Research Hypothesis X accepted, namely, that there is a statistically significant relationship between different measures of defensiveness amongst Black university students.

The present investigator will now briefly summarize aspects of the statistical results obtained thus far, in order to circumvent duplicating further statistical analyses. Based upon the previous statistical findings of a highly significant correlation between Coopersmith and Battle's Self-Esteem Inventories, it was decided to employ Coopersmith's SEI as the most representative measure of global self-esteem with regard to further statistical analyses carried out in the present investigation.

The results of the present study indicate that the two instruments are measuring essentially the same construct. Secondly, for comparative purposes, Coopersmith's SEI has been more widely used in previous research, than has Battle's SEI. Thus, all further statistical analyses completed in the present investigation employed only one representative measure of self-esteem, namely, Coopersmith's SEI.

With regard to defensiveness, the present investigator has decided to employ the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale as the most representative measure of defensiveness amongst Black university students. The statistical results have illustrated that the Marlowe-Crowne SDS is more strongly associated with self-esteem than other measures of defensiveness, and displays the greatest association with other measures of defensiveness. Thus, all further statistical analyses completed in the present investigation employed only one representative measure of defensiveness, namely, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Finally, the present investigator employed Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale for further statistical analysis, due to it's representativeness as a measure of the academic dimension of self-esteem.

7.3 POST-HOC STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The present investigator, as part of a post-hoc analysis, in order to suggest directions for future research, investigated the relationship between the three 'representative' measures of global self-esteem, academic self-esteem, and defensiveness on the one hand, and personality traits on the other. While the sample utilized for this post hoc analysis cannot be considered representative, due to the small sample size ($N = 35$) and the nonrandom selection of subjects, this aspect of the present research has important implications for the generation of hypotheses for future research.

In order to determine whether research hypothesis XI could be accepted, namely, that there will be a statistically significant relationship between global self-esteem and personality traits amongst Black university students, null-hypotheses 38 to 40 that there will be no significant association between self-esteem and personality traits were tested. Table 12 is a summary of a correlation matrix for these hypotheses. The present investigator included negative correlations in Table 12 as they provide important information with regard to the relationship between self-esteem and personality traits.

Table 12 clearly indicates that global self-esteem is strongly related to Factors C G and Q3 of the HSPQ ($p \leq 0,01$), and is negatively related to Factor O ($p \leq 0,05$). These findings suggest that positive self-esteem tends to be associated with emotional stability (Factor C) conscientiousness (Factor G), self-regard (Factor Q3), and a lack of apprehensiveness (Factor O).

Table 12 also indicates that global self-esteem is strongly related to the discrepancy score of the IIPS ($p \leq 0,01$). This finding suggests that positive self-esteem tends to be associated with a satisfactory intrapersonal relationship, implying a fairly small discrepancy between the real self and the ideal-self.

TABLE 12
CORRELATIONS OF GLOBAL AND ACADEMIC SELF-ESTEEM AND
SOCIAL DESIRABILITY (DEFENSIVENESS) WITH PERSONALITY TRAITS

VARIABLE	CORRELATION WITH:		
	GLOBAL SELF-ESTEEM	ACADEMIC SELF-ESTEEM	DEFENSIVE- NESS
<i>HSPQ</i>			
Factor A warm-heartedness	-0,01	-0,25*	0,12
B intelligence	-0,15	-0,00	-0,17
C emotional stability	0,34**	0,40**	0,42**
D excitability	-0,15	-0,03	-0,44**
E dominance	0,06	-0,08	0,13
F enthusiasm	-0,12	-0,00	-0,06
G conscientiousness	0,43**	0,51**	0,44**
H Social Venturesomeness	0,17	0,47**	0,31**
I Tender-mindedness	0,06	-0,17	-0,34**
J Individualism	0,09	-0,06	-0,01
O Apprehensiveness	-,21*	-0,38**	-0,39**
Q2 Self-Sufficiency	-0,07	-0,15	-0,12
Q3 Self-Regard	0,48**	0,28**	0,42**
Q4 Tenseness	-0,12	-0,16	-0,04
<i>IIPS</i>			
Real Self	0,17	0,40**	0,14
Ideal Self	-0,16	-0,18	-0,09
Discrepancy Score	0,40**	0,48**	0,32**
<i>TAT-Z</i>			
Card 1 Culture Contact	0,44**	0,23*	0,21*
2 Relationship with parents	-0,03	0,31**	0,09
5 Authority	-0,07	0,41**	-0,05
6 Attitude towards White authority	0,18	0,08	0,00
7 Self-concept	-0,02	0,00	0,10
9 Group identification	0,36**	0,21*	0,16
10 Aggression	-0,15	-0,18	0,03
TAT-Z- Total Scores	0,15	0,24*	0,11

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

Finally, Table 12 indicates that there is a significant relationship ($p \leq 0,01$) between global self-esteem and Card 1 (culture contact) and Card 9 (group identification) of the TAT-Z. These findings suggest that subjects with positive self-esteem have made a definite choice or movement towards cultural contact which is either predominantly traditional or Western oriented (Card 1). Secondly, these findings suggest that subjects with positive self-esteem recognizes the role of the group, and seek membership of the group.

In summary, the results indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between Coopersmith's SEI and 7 of the 25 personality traits tested by the null-hypotheses. Therefore, Research Hypothesis XI is accepted, and the relevant null-hypotheses are rejected.

In order to determine whether Research hypothesis XII could be accepted, namely, that there will be a statistically significant relationship between academic self-esteem (as measured by Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale) and personality traits of Black university students, null-hypotheses 41 to 43 were tested.

Table 12 indicates that academic self-esteem is significantly related to Factors C, G, H, and Q3 of the HSPQ ($p \leq 0,01$), and is negatively related to Factors A ($p \leq 0,05$) and O ($p \leq 0,01$). These findings suggest that positive academic self-esteem tends to be associated with emotional stability, conscientiousness, social venturesomeness, self-regard, and a lack of warm-heartedness and apprehensiveness.

Table 12 indicates that academic self-esteem is significantly related with the Real Self and Discrepancy Score of the IIPS. This finding suggests that positive academic self-esteem tends to be associated with a subject's real self (self-image) - what his view of himself is, and with a satisfactory intrapersonal relationship (low discrepancy score).

Finally, Table 12 indicates a significant relationship between academic self-esteem and Card 2 (parent-child relationships) and Card 5 (authority) at the 1 per cent level of significance; and

Card 1 (culture contact), card 9 (group identification), and the total TAT-Z score, at the 5 per cent level of significance.

These findings suggest that subjects with a positive academic self-esteem have made a definite choice or movement towards cultural contact which is predominantly traditional or Western oriented (Card 1). It indicates a lack of ambivalence with regard to making such a choice or decision.

Secondly, these findings suggest that subjects with a positive academic self-esteem acknowledge the importance of the family context and the parent-child relationship (Card 2).

Thirdly, these findings suggest that subjects with a positive academic self-esteem recognize and emphasize the relationship to authority, and the preservation of such a relationship within the Black community.

Fourthly, these findings suggest that subjects with a positive academic self-esteem recognize the role of the group, and the importance of belonging to a group within the Black community.

Finally, these results suggest that there is a statistically significant relationship between academic self-esteem and a global personality assessment as measured by the total TAT-Z score. This global assessment includes a reality score on each of the cards.

In summary, the results of Table 12 indicate that there is a significant relationship between Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and 13 of the 25 personality traits tested by the null-hypotheses. Therefore, Research Hypothesis XII is accepted, and the relevant null-hypotheses are rejected. These findings generally indicate that a dimension of self-esteem (academic) appears to correlate more frequently with certain personality traits than does a global measure of self-esteem.

In order to determine whether Research Hypothesis XIII could be accepted, namely that there will be a significantly relationship between defensiveness (as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne SDS) and personality traits of Black university students, null-hypotheses 44 to 46 were tested.

Table 12 indicates that defensiveness is significantly and positively related to Factors C, G, H, and Q3 ($p \leq 0,01$), and is negatively related to Factors D, I, and O ($p \leq 0,01$) of the HSPQ. These findings suggest that defensiveness is significantly associated with emotional stability, conscientiousness, adventurousness, and self-regard, and with a lack of excitability, tender-mindedness (sensitivity), and apprehension.

Table 12 shows that defensiveness is significantly associated with the discrepancy score of the IIPS. That is, defensiveness appears to be related to real self/ideal-self discrepancy and hence a subject's intrapersonal relationships.

Finally, Table 12 indicates that defensiveness is associated with Card 1 of the TAT-Z, namely, with a definite movement towards either predominantly traditional or western cultural contact.

In summary, the results contained in Table 12 indicate that there is a significantly relationship between defensiveness and 9 of the 25 personality traits tested by the null-hypotheses. Thus Research hypothesis XIII is accepted, and the relevant null-hypotheses are rejected.

In conclusion, the post hoc statistical analysis of data has revealed interesting and noteworthy results. The following personality traits appear to be significantly related to a global measure of self-esteem, a measure of academic self-esteem, as well as a measure of defensiveness: emotional stability, conscientiousness, social venturesomeness, a lack of apprehensiveness, self-regard, real self/ideal-self discrepancy, and finally, the culture contact card of the TAT-Z. These findings clearly have important implications for future research, especially with regard to the standardization of a valid measure of self-esteem amongst Black university students. These implications will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The major results obtained in this study were presented in the previous chapter. An attempt will now be made to discuss and interpret these findings.

8.1 SELF-ESTEEM, DEFENSIVENESS AND THE MEASUREMENT CONTEXT

Research hypotheses I to III state that there will be a statistically significant difference in the level of global self-esteem, the level of academic self-esteem, and the dimensions of self-esteem, of Black university students, in relation to the temporal order variable.

The mean self-esteem scores for the various groups are presented in Table 3, which indicates that there are no significant differences between the various groups, and that they are comparable.

These results indicate that there are no significant differences in global self-esteem and its various dimensions due to the temporal order variable, that is, whether the test battery was administered as part of the pre-registration entrance test battery or after students had been successful on the entrance test and had gained admission.

Research hypothesis IV states that there will be a statistically significant difference in the level of defensiveness of Black university students in relation to the temporal order variable.

The mean defensiveness scores for the various groups are presented in Table 3, which indicates that there are significant differences between the various groups, and therefore they are not comparable with regard to defensiveness. These results thus indicate that the

time of administration of the test battery within which defensiveness is measured, will result in extraneous or construct-irrelevant variation to occur.

No previous studies have investigated the empirical effects of different temporal order or contextual variables upon self-esteem and defensiveness in South Africa, thus making it difficult to draw comparisons. However, it is observed from Table 3 that subjects in the Port Elizabeth/Bloemfontein group were significantly more defensive than the subjects in the Soweto/Sebokeng group. The measurement context was clearly different for the two groups. For the Port Elizabeth/Bloemfontein group, the measures were administered as part of a university entrance test; for the Soweto/Sebokeng group, the various measures were administered during an introductory undergraduate lecture. The demand characteristics inherent in the measurement context were clearly different for the two groups, and resulted in greater defensiveness on the part of the Port Elizabeth/Bloemfontein group of subjects who were exposed to the implicitly greatest demand characteristics, that is, during a test battery to obtain university admission.

These findings seem to indicate that extraneous or construct-irrelevant variation may result from the measurement situation, that is, the social and historical (temporal order) context within which measurement takes place. Much of the literature reviewed in the present study on the measurement of self-esteem, is addressed simply to the "validation of measures", implicitly in isolation or transcendence of the specific research settings where they are used.

These findings of a differential level of defensiveness amongst Black university students as a function of the demand characteristics of the measurement context, further imply that research cannot make preliminary statements regarding the validity of measures of self-esteem as an autonomous measuring instrument. This observation assumes greater significance with the finding in the present study of a highly significant association between measures of self-esteem and measures of defensiveness amongst Black university students. These findings thus suggest that research can only validate the use of a measure of self-esteem relative to certain conceptions of what the self-esteem construct involves and relative to the particular setting of administration.

One characterization of the act of self-esteem measurement is that it consists of social behaviours which reflect specific situations. With regard to Coopersmith and Battle's self-esteem measures, this consists of verbal self-presentations. The present research findings seem to suggest that what an individual is willing or able to say about himself depends upon the circumstances within which they are acting. Blumstein (1973) describes this as a process of identity negotiation or identity bargaining in which the individual has to define the situation and construct his own reality. Self-esteem is thus viewed as an emergent figure from this fluid and reciprocal process of interaction. The nature of the task of self-evaluation may vary considerably with the setting in which it occurs and the subsequent uses to which the results will be put.

Wells and Marwell (1976) observe that the instructions given to the subjects as part of the administration of the self-esteem measures is too commonly regarded as a routine clerical detail, yet it can have far-reaching implications for the validity of the measure, particularly where self-esteem is viewed as a phenomenological process. As previously noted, there are few data to cite on the empirical effects of different concept administrations or measurement contexts. The instructions given in the administration of a self-esteem measure are not simply related to the "instructional set" of the respondent on the measure. Instead,

these instructions actually determine the dimension being measured. To tie some specified aspect of self-regard to verbal self-reports, it is essential that respondents be directed to apply the descriptive rating scales to the appropriate concept and that consideration be given to the contextual variables which may confound the valid measurement of a construct. Applying psychological tests without specifying the context could reduce the reliability and validity of test results.

In conclusion, while the differential demand characteristics (or evaluation apprehension) of the measurement contexts produced a significant difference between the groups with regard to defensiveness, no significant differences were produced with regard to global self-esteem or its dimensions. The finding of a significant association between self-esteem and defensiveness may account for this difference in the comparability of the groups with regard to self-esteem and defensiveness. That is, if the subjects level of self-esteem was already saturated with defensiveness, the different demand characteristics of the two measurement contexts would not have any effect upon self-esteem because of a ceiling effect. These results further suggest that only defensive measures and not self-esteem measures may be sensitive to contextual or temporal order variation.

8.2 LEVEL OF GLOBAL SELF-ESTEEM

Tables 4 and 5 presents the mean scores and standard deviations that the four groups obtained on Coopersmith and Battle's self-esteem inventories. Both measures indicate a great deal of consistency in mean scores amongst the groups and according to sex. Both measures of self-esteem indicate positive self-esteem amongst Black university students (Coopersmith SEI = 65,08%; Battle SEI = 71.98%). This finding is in line with the findings of other South African studies (Heaven and Nieuwoudt, 1981; Lobban, 1975). Beerlall and Fullard (1986) utilizing Coopersmith's SEI, found that the average score of 1 156 first-year Indian students was 18,64

(74,56%). Heaven and Nieuwoudt (1981) employing a semantic differential obtained a mean self-esteem score of 87,67 ($S = 14,83$), which is considerably greater than the self-esteem scores obtained in the present study. However, a great deal of variation would be due to the different measurement instruments employed.

The finding that subjects scored slightly higher on Battle's SEI than on Coopersmith's SEI, replicates Battle's (1981) finding in which he found that subjects also scored approximately 3 percent higher on Battle's SEI.

A presentation of the distribution of scores obtained on the two measures of self-esteem is found in figures 6, 7, 8, and 9. The distribution of scores obtained from the sample of Black university students is clearly negatively skewed for both self-esteem measures. That is, the distribution of scores obtained from this sample is skewed in the direction of high self-esteem. This finding replicates the findings of Coopersmith's (1967) original empirical study of the self-esteem of 1,748 adolescent children attending school in Connecticut. He found that the distribution of scores obtained from this sample was also skewed in the direction of high self-esteem. The mean self-esteem score obtained was 70,1.

Heaven and Nieuwoudt (1981) interpreted their findings of an overall positive self-esteem among Blacks as being one of the effects of the Black Consciousness Movement. Edwards (1984) similarly observed, that the finding of a high level of self-esteem among Black respondents reflected in part the results of vigorous work by Black leaders and writers to establish a sense of dignity among Black people despite their adverse political and economic circumstances. Manganyi (1981) noted that "After the renaissance of the 1970s ... a difference has come about ... (black) people have a greater self-respect ... they are more self-reliant and have an inner sort of energy" (p. 43). The present investigator has provided a detailed theoretical review of various hypotheses or explanations of how Blacks maintain adequate levels of self-esteem despite adverse circumstances. These hypotheses generally state that the use of may

defense mechanisms enable the individual to maintain a positive self-image.

The present investigator presents the following postulations regarding the finding of positive self-esteem amongst Blacks in the present study. The subjects in the present investigation did not exhibit low levels of self-esteem because their evaluations are based on comparisons with significant others, who, relative to Whites, may also achieve at lower academic levels (reference group theory). The Black subjects in the present investigation do not necessarily differ in their values and norms compared to Whites, but rather rate their own abilities relative to fellow Blacks rather than to Whites, who, because of the group areas act and segregation in education, are outside the frame of reference of the majority of Black people.

A further possible explanation of the finding of positive self-esteem in the present investigation, flows from the reference group theory. Apartheid within South Africa has ensured that Blacks have become subculturally encapsulated. Subcultural encapsulation allows Blacks to substitute their own subcultural values for the dominant values that are institutionalized in wider South African society.

A well-developed cultural support system with a strong emphasis upon the group rather than upon the individual could be instrumental in preserving the positive self-evaluations of Blacks. Blacks may adopt a "system blame" attitude in order to account for their own low achievement. Negative evaluations for Blacks may then be discounted because they blame the system (White employers, discrimination etc.) for poor performance, rather than themselves.

In conclusion, results of the present investigation point to an overall positive self-esteem among Black university students and may be one of the effects of self-consciousness movements which may have contributed to the formation of more cohesiveness among Black people, which has which has maintained or even enhanced their self-image. Secondly, subcultural encapsulation and system-blaming

may result in a rigid and inflexible self-perception which acts as a buffer against negative feedback and evaluation or which distorts or discounts such feedback.

Finally, with regard to the fact that the sample selected consisted of university students, within their own community, these subjects may perceive themselves as part of a select and elite group who despite having had to contend with possibly adverse educational circumstances, have managed to attain university status. The mere fact that they are attending university may provide them with favourable feedback from their community or family members who have not been able to progress so far themselves.

8.3 LEVEL OF ACADEMIC SELF-ESTEEM

Table 6 presents the mean scores and standard deviations that the four groups obtained on Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale. It indicates a high level of consistency in mean scores across the groups and according to the sex. This measure of academic self-esteem indicates an extremely elevated and positive level of academic self-esteem amongst Black university students who participated in this study (mean percentage of academic self-esteem = 78,92%), and is appreciably higher than the level of global self-esteem (65,08%). Figures 10 and 11 clearly present the distribution of scores obtained on the Self-Concept of Ability Scale, and indicate that the scores closely approximate a normal distribution.

Lay and Wakstein's (1985) study into race, academic achievement and self-concept of ability concluded that a larger percentage of Blacks than Whites show a higher self-concept of ability (academic self-esteem) at the same level of academic performance in high school; and that the level of academic self-esteem as measured by a Self-Concept of Ability Scale among Blacks depends less on academic achievement in high school than does the level of academic self-esteem among Whites.

Heaven et. al. (1984) found evidence of higher levels of achievement motivation amongst Blacks than Whites in South Africa, and they observed that this could be indicative of the general finding of high motivation amongst the impoverished or a reflection of selective pressures on Black students.

The present investigator views the findings in the present study of a high level of academic self-esteem among Black students as tending to support the reference group theory outlined previously. Comparing himself to other Blacks, the Black student who has obtained university status, and has therefore joined the ranks of an elite group within his community, could experience an enhanced level of academic self-esteem. Thus the subjects in the present investigation, when asked to rate their academic abilities in comparison with individuals in their school or in a segregated university, may have used friends and acquaintances as their reference group. In principle, the appropriate reference groups would be a very broad cross-section of students, rather than a idiosyncratic reference group.

Secondly, the present investigator believes that the findings of positive global and academic self-esteem is indicative of the operation of the self-esteem motive which may be especially prevalent amongst Black university students. The motivation to maintain and enhance a positive conception of oneself has been thought to be pervasive, even universal. The literature review of the present study indicates that every self theory posits some variant of this motive.

Greenwald and Ronis (1978) view the motivational force in current theories of cognitive dissonance as being much more of an ego-defensive character, with theories focusing more on cognitive changes occurring in the service of ego defense, or self-esteem maintenance, rather than in the interest of preserving psychological consistency. Cognitive dissonance theory locates the motivating mechanism in the discrepancy between a cognitive or behavioural element and the person's self-esteem. These discrepancies are motivating, because they threaten self-maintenance and self-enhancement

As aspects of the self-esteem motive, self-enhancement emphasizes growth, expansion, and increasing one's self-esteem, while self-maintenance focuses on not losing what one has. The two engender different behavioural strategies. Covington and Beery (1976) describe these two motivational orientations as "striving for success" and "fear of failure". In general, the subjects in the present investigation possess high self-esteem, and therefore appear to be motivated more by self-enhancement than by self-maintenance.

In conclusion, the present investigator has presented various theoretical possibilities for the finding of positive global and academic self-esteem amongst the Black university students who participated in this study. The present investigator emphasizes the speculative nature of these interpretations and believes that the position to adopt with regard to these specific research conclusions is that they may or may not prove helpful in understanding how educational, economic and social injustices result in this group attaining a positive level of self-esteem. These interpretations also highlight areas of potential future research into a more comprehensive understanding of self-esteem in South Africa.

8.4 LEVEL OF DEFENSIVENESS

Table 7 presents the mean scores and standard deviations that the 4 groups obtained on the MMPI Lie Scale. The role of the demand characteristics within the two measurement contexts which produced a significant difference in the level of defensiveness between the Port Elizabeth/Bloemfontein group and the Soweto/Sebokeng group has been previously alluded to. Table 7 clearly indicates that the mean defensive score of the Soweto group is significantly lower than the mean defensiveness scores of the other three groups. The overall mean score of 7,01 is indicative of a high level of defensiveness in the total sample. According to Graham (1977) such a level of defensiveness may be indicative of individuals who are over-evaluating their own worth; trying to create a favourable impression by not being honest in responding to the items: utilizing repression

and denial excessively; conventional and socially conforming; unoriginal in thinking and inflexible in problem solving; rigid and moralistic; and having poor tolerance for stress and pressure. This finding of a high level of defensiveness amongst Black university students replicates the findings of previous research. Harrison and Kass (1967) summarizing the results of previous research, observe that the Black subjects tend to consistently score higher on the MMPI Lie Scale than did the White subjects.

Figure 12 graphically illustrates the distribution of Lie Scale scores obtained by the total sample, and indicates that the scores are normally distributed.

Table 9 and Figure 14 presents the results of the scores obtained by the sample with regard to Battle's Self-Esteem Inventory: Lie Scale. These results show a high degree of consistency with the findings of the MMPI Lie Scale scores. The comparability of the results is probably due to the fact that most of the items comprising Battle's Lie Scale were drawn from the items of the MMPI Lie Scale. Thus the results obtained from Battle's Lie Scale again indicate that the Soweto group was less defensive than the other three groups, and that there is a significant difference with regard to defensiveness between the Port Elizabeth/Bloemfontein group and the Soweto/Sebokeng groups.

The present investigator believes that these findings of a high level of defensiveness amongst Black university students may be interpreted as indicative of an overevaluation of their own worth and a strong need for approval. The literature review has attested to the cultural immaturity of the upwardly mobile Black individual characterised by an "availability" to earn attention and approval, and an overemphasis on the value of status and popularity (Brandel-Syrier, 1978).

The present investigator suggests that within South Africa, the individual having entered the stage of consciousness (Black awareness) characterized by immersion (Hall, Cross, and Freedle, 1972), has contributed to soaring and unrealistically high ambitions.

The stage of immersion is characterized by a tendency to interpret everything from a Black perspective.

Therefore, the middle class Black young adult may be inclined to set very high levels of academic and global self-esteem, as forms of defensive coping. Table 8 presents the mean scores and standard deviations that the 4 groups obtained on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. While it has previously been shown that there was no significant difference between the groups with regard to the temporal order variable, Table 8 indicates that the Soweto group again obtained a social desirability score which was clearly lower than that of the other 3 groups. Figure 13 clearly presents the distribution of social desirability scale scores and illustrates a negatively skewed distribution. The overall mean score of 21,22 (Table 8) coupled with the skewed distribution indicates a tendency amongst the subjects to have a high level of social desirability. Thus, the subjects scores may be indicative of behaviour motivated by a need for approval and the expectancy that approval can be attained by behaving in culturally acceptable ways.

In conclusion, the results of the present investigation which indicate a high level of defensiveness amongst Black university students suggests one of two possibilities: (a) a conscious and deliberate faking or misrepresentation, or (b) a less conscious awareness, a more defensive self-depiction. High scores may thus indicate either conscious distortion or impression management, on the one hand, or the more subtle influences of atypically high self-regard or of a high degree of conventional socialization. Previous research on the approval motive tend to be contradictory, however, the present investigator believes that the findings tend to suggest evidence of a more unconscious defensiveness rather than a conscious effort at misrepresentation. The finding of a high level of defensiveness amongst Black university students has important implications for understanding the significance of correlations between the different measures of self-esteem and defensiveness to which this discussion now turns.

8.5 COMPARISON OF MEASURES OF GLOBAL SELF-ESTEEM

Research hypothesis V states that there will be a significant relationship between different measures of global self-esteem amongst Black university students. Table 10 indicates that there is a significant correlation of 0.76 ($p \leq 0,01$) between Coopersmith's SEI and Battle's SEI. This finding replicates Battle's (1976) comparative study which found correlations which ranged from 0.71 to 0.80 for the total sample. While this confirmatory finding of cross-method convergence between Coopersmith SEI and Battle's SEI can not be equated with the construct validity of the two scales; it does provide preliminary confirmation of the validity of these two scales as measures of experienced global self-esteem. The present investigation thus provides preliminary insights into the cross-validation of instruments measuring self-esteem and does replicate the findings of previous studies. Thus, the present investigation reduces the possibility that these statistically significant findings are actually due to chance, a major criticism of self-esteem research by Wylie (1974).

In conclusion, previous studies that have examined intercorrelations among measures have been discouraging, and led Wylie (1974) to conclude that studies of measures purporting to measure overall self-esteem leads one to believe that either there is no such measurable dimension as overall self-esteem or that some of the scales purporting to measure this construct are doing an inadequate job of it. In the light of this observation, the findings of the present study represent a significant advance on previous research findings with regard to intercorrelations among measures of self-esteem.

8.6 COMPARISON OF MEASURES OF GLOBAL SELF-ESTEEM AND THE DIMENSIONS OF SELF-ESTEEM

Research hypothesis VI states that there will be a significant relationship between measures of global self-esteem and measures of

the dimensions of self-esteem amongst Black university students. Table 10 clearly indicates that both the Coopersmith SEI and Battle SEI are significantly correlated ($p \leq 0,01$) with five dimensions of self-esteem (general, social, personal, academic, self-concept of ability). It is interesting to note that both the Coopersmith SEI and Battle's SEI correlate with Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale at exactly the same level (r), namely, 0,31.

Thus the findings of the present investigation partly answers one of the major criticisms of the measurement of self-esteem, namely that, over-reliance on traditional questionnaires used to measure global self-esteem has created the problem that other dimensions of the self-concept have been neglected. These results provide initial confirmation that a "valid" measure of global self-esteem does not neglect the dimensions of the self-concept, and reveal that they are in fact significantly correlated.

Wells and Marwell (1976) in reviewing self-concept methodologies have demonstrated that no single form of measurement is complete or without its particular biases, and consequently, to the extent that self-esteem measurement relies upon a single measurement form, it will be inadequate.

The findings of the present investigation imply that with regard to orthodox verbal self-ratings, a global measure of self-esteem does not neglect other dimensions of the self-concept. However, the present investigator concurs with the observations of Wells and Marwell (1976) and Coopersmith (1967), that orthodox verbal self-ratings represent only one measurement form and to the extent that it neglects the assessment of presented self-esteem (the behavioural dimension of self-esteem), it will be inadequate.

Finally, it is interesting to note the extremely high degree of consistency between the intercorrelations of subscales obtained by Battle (1981) and those obtained in the present investigation.

Table 10 indicates that the intercorrelations of subscales were as follows (Battle's, 1981 findings are presented in the brackets): General Scale 0,89 (0,86); Social Scale 0,61 (0,63); Academic Scale 0,67 (0,53); and Personal Scale 0,68 (0,68).

8.7 COMPARISON OF MEASURES OF THE DIMENSIONS OF SELF-ESTEEM

Research hypothesis VII states that there will be a significant relationship between the dimensions of self-esteem amongst Black university students. Table 10 indicates that there was a significant correlation ($p \leq 0,01$) between Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and Battle's SEI general scale. This finding provides further confirmation for the observation previously reached, that a measure of global self-esteem is significantly associated with measures of the dimensions of self-esteem.

Furthermore, Table 10 indicates that there was a significant correlation ($p \leq 0,05$) between Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale and Battle's academic scale, while there were insignificant correlations between Brookover's Scale and the social and personal scales of Battle's SEI. As has been previously noted, the nature of the content of the Personal and Social scale items are clearly dissimilar to the scales measuring academic self-esteem. It would thus appear as if among university students, in which successful academic progress is critical, scales assessing unrelated areas such as personal and social factors, are irrelevant with regard to the self-esteem of the individual. It also serves to demonstrate the construct validity of the academic dimension, due to its independence from other measures or dimensions, and its correlation with a relevant other measure.

The results of the present investigation suggest that a global measure of self-esteem does not neglect the dimensions of self-esteem with regard to orthodox self-report measures. Secondly, the results tend to suggest that the nature of dimensions selected to assess self-esteem should correspond with the context within

which the assessment takes place. The present investigator believes that a further refinement of the assessment of the dimensions of self-esteem can be made by relating the dimensions of self-esteem to specific content areas. For example, academic self-esteem needs to be specifically related to how a student perceives his ability in specific academic subjects, rather than how he perceives his ability generally. This observation has received empirical confirmation in the studies of Brookover (1967).

Shavelson and Bolus (1982) concluded that self-esteem is a multifaceted construct. General self-esteem can be interpreted as distinct from but correlated with academic self-esteem. Furthermore, subject-matter specific facets of self-esteem can be interpreted as distinct but correlated with another and with academic and general self-esteem.

In conclusion, the present investigator believes that further research is needed to determine whether the multifaceted structure of self-esteem partly confirmed for academic self-esteem in the present study, holds for other areas of self-esteem (for example, personal and social).

8.8 COMPARISON OF MEASURES OF GLOBAL AND ACADEMIC SELF-ESTEEM AND DEFENSIVENESS

Research hypothesis VIII states that there will be a significant relationship between measures of global self-esteem and defensiveness amongst Black university students. Table 10 indicates that both Coopersmith and Battle's SEI correlated significantly with all three measures of defensiveness ($p \leq 0,01$), and that for both measures of global self-esteem, the strongest association was with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Research hypothesis IX states that there will be a significant relationship between a measure of academic self-esteem and defensiveness amongst Black university students. Table 10 indicates

that the Self-Concept of Ability Scale correlated significantly ($p < 0,05$) with Battle's SEI Lie Scale and Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale, while the results indicate no significant relationship with the MMPI Lie Scale.

In summary, the results of the present study reveal a significant and consistent relationship between Black university students global and academic self-esteem and defensiveness.

The present investigator in reviewing the literature pertaining to the study of the self-esteem has emphasized that a major problem that consistently arises is the great difficulty which is usually experienced when an attempt is made to ascertain valid responses from subjects. The disposition to fake is emphasized by Branden (1969), who states that self-esteem is a fundamental need of man. The present investigator hypothesizes that amongst Black students on the threshold of a university career, the presentation of a positive academic self-esteem assumes even greater significance. Battle (1982) notes that individuals who fail to achieve self-esteem will strive to fake it, and will attempt to hide behind a facade and display pseudo or inauthentic self-esteem. The problem of authentic versus defensively maintained self-esteem is further complicated by the self-esteem motive which distorts perceptions and cognitions, and which results in self-deception. This need to maintain and enhance a positive conception of oneself has been alluded to in the present discussion of results.

While previous studies completed in South Africa have concluded that Black university students possess positive self-esteem (Heaven and Nieuwoudt, 1981) no attempt has been made to rule out competing explanations or hypotheses with regard to inter-individual variance in scores on self-esteem measures. The present investigator believes that the procedure of alternative response interpretations is one requirement of scientific investigation. Investigators who have discovered positive levels of self-esteem amongst Black university students in South Africa have largely ignored the role of defensiveness as an extraneous influence relevant to self-esteem

measurement. There are therefore no studies available within South Africa with which comparisons can be made with regard to self-esteem and defensiveness.

Burns (1982) in a review of comparative studies of Black and White self-esteem carried out in America and Britain found that Black pupils tended to score higher on defensiveness and conflict, indicative of low self-criticism, contradiction and confusion in self-perception.

The present investigator used the method of correlating self-esteem measures and measures of defensive response tendencies in order to estimate the relationship between defensiveness and self-esteem. Previous research in this area indicates that the correlations between social desirability and self-esteem are generally less than .40 with an average of .30. Crandall (1973) found a correlation of .44 between the Coopersmith SEI and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. The present investigation indicated a stronger relationship, obtaining a correlation of .57 between the Coopersmith SEI and Marlowe-Crowne's Social Desirability Scale.

The present investigator believes that this finding of a significant correlation between self-esteem and social desirability suggests that extreme care must be taken in the labeling of constructs, particularly as measured by self-report means. While it is recognised that substantially more research is needed to establish the conditions under which social desirability may be influencing or distorting the self-esteem ratings of Black university students, the preliminary implications of this finding suggest the possibility of defensiveness being used as a coping mechanism for the maintenance of positive self-esteem, or the operation of another variable which influences both constructs in a similar manner.

A second implication of the present research findings is the possibility that social desirability and self-esteem as measured by orthodox verbal self-report scales cannot be viewed as independent constructs, but rather as variants of the same (or higher-order) construct.

The finding of a significant correlation between measures of global and academic self-esteem and the MMPI lie scale amongst Black university students provides more specific confirmation of previous research findings. As previously noted, Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968) summarized the results of social-comparison studies which have employed the MMPI, and found that the Black subjects tended to score higher on the Lie Scale than did the White subjects.

The present investigator interprets these results as suggesting the possibility that Black university students block out threats to self-esteem and consequently overevaluate feelings of self-worth. This implies that Black university students are not immune to the expectations and values of the dominant White class particularly when they are faced with the insecurity of not attaining such standards. This may lead to the use of defensive manoeuvres against the anxiety being generated, which, in turn, may lead to reporting a higher level of self-esteem than might be expected. Confirmation of the finding of significant correlations between self-esteem and defensiveness as measured by the MMPI lie scale, is provided in the present study by a similar finding of a significant correlation between measures of self-esteem and Battle's SEI lie scale.

In summary, the findings of the present investigation reveal significant correlations between global and academic self-esteem and defensiveness. These results suggest that the Black student has adjusted to his environment in such a way that he can maintain positive feelings about himself. The marked level of defensiveness among Black students may indicate that their high self-esteem is maintained by defensive manoeuvres. However, the present investigator emphasizes that these findings may also be applicable to other racial groups.

Secondly, the findings suggest the possibility that Black students possess what Battle (1982) calls pseudo or inauthentic self-esteem, a pretense at self-value. Branden (1969) describes inauthentic self-esteem as being a non-rational, self-protective device designed to reduce anxiety and enhance a sense of security, which is maintained through the use of defense mechanisms.

The present investigator, however, emphasizes the tentativeness of such an interpretation, as the present study utilized only one modality of measurement of self-esteem, namely, orthodox verbal self-reports. There is clearly a need for the measurement of the behavioural dimension of self-esteem, employing behavioural rating scales or projective techniques, or a combination thereof.

Coopersmith (1967) observes that the identification of subjects who differ in self-esteem requires knowledge of both the person's subjective estimate of his self-esteem and its behavioural expression. If there is a great difference between the self-attitude expressed by the subject and the related behaviours, the investigator can assume that conscious or unconscious distortion has occurred, either in the self-attitudes or in the behavioural ratings. If there is concordance between self-attitude and behavioural expression, one can assume that the behaviour pattern is integrated and that the person's responses are genuine.

In conclusion, while the findings of the present investigation indicate the presence of inauthentic self-esteem with regard to orthodox verbal self-report scales, this represents only one modality of self-esteem. There is a need for further research which assesses other modalities particularly the behavioural modality of self-esteem, which will result in a more substantive investigation into the authenticity of self-esteem, particularly the self-esteem of Black university students.

8.9 COMPARISON OF MEASURES OF DEFENSIVENESS

Research hypothesis X states that there will be a significant relationship between different measures of defensiveness amongst Black university students.

Table 11 indicates that there is a significant correlation between the different measures of defensiveness ($p \leq 0,01$), with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale having the strongest association with the other two measures of defensiveness.

Crowne and Marlowe (1960) obtained a correlation of .54 ($p \leq 0,01$) between the Social Desirability Scale and the MMPI Lie Scale, while the present investigation obtained a correlation of .60 ($p \leq 0,01$). High scores on both scales are generally interpreted to indicate "defensiveness" and the attempt by the subject to cast himself in a favourable light.

While no comparative studies are available for Battle's SEI Lie Scale, the fact that the items of this scale have been drawn from the MMPI lie scale is generally confirmed by the high correlation between the two scales (.51).

8.10 POST-HOC ANALYSIS

Research hypotheses XI, XII and XIII state that there will be a significant relationship between self-esteem (XI), academic self-esteem (XII) and defensiveness (XIII,) and personality traits amongst Black university students. Due to the nonrepresentativeness of the sample, and the fact that this aspect of the investigation formed part of a post-hoc analysis of data, the discussion of the results will be necessarily brief, and will only allude to the most significant findings.

While the present investigation has emphasized the difficulties inherent in determining an individual's true perception of himself by observing his responses on a self-report inventory, research indicates that personality inventories and projective techniques can differentiate or delineate the personality characteristics of individuals who possess high and low self-esteem.

Secondly, the literature review reveals that self-esteem has been related to almost everything at one time or another.

Thirdly, personality tests may provide a descriptive profile of the personality characteristics associated with self-esteem. Furthermore, the tests utilized as part of the post-hoc analysis have been standardized on Black subjects in South Africa.

Despite these observations, the post-hoc analysis of the relationship between self-esteem and personality traits, while being explorative in nature, could generate meaningful hypotheses for further research on self-esteem among Black subjects in South Africa.

Table 12 clearly indicates that the following personality traits are significantly related to the three measures of self-esteem employed in the post-hoc analysis (namely; Coopersmith SEI, Brookover's Self-Concept of Ability Scale, and Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale): emotional stability, conscientiousness, lack of apprehension, self-regard, real self/ideal self discrepancy, culture contact (identification) and group identification. A brief discussion of each of these personality traits follows.

The significant correlation between self-esteem and emotional stability (ego strength) in this study has been confirmed in a study undertaken by Verma and Bagley (1979) amongst Black students in a British setting. Employing the same measures, they discovered a correlation of .35 ($p \leq 0,01$). The present study obtained a correlation of .34.

The present investigator postulates that the emotionally stable individual has a well-developed system of defences which enables him to maintain his self-esteem in a stable and mature manner. Emotionally stable individuals are aware of their limitations, and seem best able to handle problem-solving situations, because their reactions to incongruity are more attuned to reality.

Due to the lack of statistical confirmation in the literature review, the observation of a significant correlation between self-esteem and conscientiousness (high superego strength) will require further confirmatory evidence. The present investigator

postulates that the findings of subjects possessing a high level of group and cultural identification, and conscientiousness may be related to well-adjusted and conforming individuals.

The finding of a significant relationship between self-esteem, defensiveness and a lack of apprehension (anxiety) has been given much theoretical emphasis. Becker (1971) argued that it is a function of self-esteem to give the ego a steady buffer against anxiety, and the development of self-esteem has as a function the avoidance of anxiety. Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) made the assumption that anxiety and self-esteem are functionally related to one another. The present investigator believes that the findings of the present study suggest that future research could investigate the utilization of a measure of anxiety as a check on the validity of self-esteem measures.

The finding of a significant relationship between self-regard and self-esteem offers further preliminary evidence of the concurrent validity of Coopersmith's SEI as a measure of self-esteem amongst Black university students.

The positive and significant correlation between self-esteem and Real Self/Ideal Self Discrepancy has important implications for future research. Silber and Tippet (1965) define self-esteem as referring to feelings of satisfaction a person has about himself which reflect the relationship between the self-image (real self) and the ideal self-image. The present findings suggest that among Black university students participating in the study, experiences of realistic approximation of the self-image with the ideal self-image heighten self-esteem. The present investigator hypothesizes that the converse may also be true, that is, that a large discrepancy between the ideal self-image and the self-image could result in a lowering of self-esteem.

Finally, the post-hoc analysis reveals a significant correlation between self-esteem and culture contact (identification) and group identification. The present investigator views this result as

providing necessarily tentative but preliminary evidence of the insulation hypothesis expounded in the literature review. The Black university students who participated in the present study, appear to possess a strong allegiance to the group which may serve as a critical resource serving to sustain Black self-esteem. By selecting reference groups within the Black community for social and academic comparison, the Black university student may be able to sustain and even enhance his level of self-esteem. Baughman (1971) raises the possibility that the Black person has resisted the White's definition of him more effectively than most observers have usually estimated.

Related to the finding of a pronounced group identification which possibly serves as a buffer against negative evaluations and thereby sustains self-esteem, is Hall, Cross and Freedle's (1972) hypotheses regarding reference group transitions, previously alluded to. The present investigator postulates that the results could indicate that the subjects in this study appear to have entered the reference-group situation described by Hall et. al. (1972) as being the immersion stage. Within this stage, the individual interprets the world from a Black perspective, in which everything of value must be black. The individual's own immediate group therefore becomes his major reference framework by which he can appraise himself.

In conclusion, the post-hoc analysis provides necessarily tentative explanations regarding the personality processes by which the Black university student maintains his level of self-esteem, and suggests areas for future research.

8.11 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Employing Levene's variance ratio test in order to assess the comparability of the different samples of Black university students, the results indicate that global self-esteem and the dimensions of self-esteem remained constant despite differential testing environments and demand characteristics (temporal order variable).

This finding lends support to the theoretical viewpoint which observes that self-esteem tends to be ultraconservative and resistant to change (Lecky, 1945).

2. However, the results also indicate that the level of defensiveness amongst Black university students differed as a function of differential testing environments and the demand characteristics within the measurement context. That is, results indicate that students became more defensive as the demand characteristics of the measurement context increased. Thus, subjects who had obtained admission to the university were less defensive than those who did not know if their applications would be successful or not.

3. Measures of global self-esteem and academic self-esteem indicate that Black university students possess positive self-esteem and this finding confirms previous research conducted in South Africa and which have utilized alternative forms of measurement (Heaven and Nieuwoudt, 1981). The present study indicates that the distribution of self-esteem scores is negatively skewed in the direction of high self-esteem, while the distribution of academic self-esteem scores approximated a normal distribution.

4. The present investigator hypothesized on the role of interpersonal mediation (reference group theory), subcultural encapsulation and the self-esteem motive in the maintenance of positive self-esteem, and emphasized the speculative nature of these interpretations, recognising the process by which Black university students maintain positive self-esteem is a yet unexplored area of research in South Africa.

5. Employing different measures of defensiveness, the results indicate a high level of defensiveness amongst Black university students, indicative of an overevaluation of their own worth and a strong need for approval. These findings have been partly confirmed in previous research (Harrison and Kass, 1967). The present investigator recognizes that these findings could be a function of the measurement instrument and be applicable to other racial groups.

6. A major objective of the present investigation was to compare various measures of self-esteem and the dimensions of self-esteem by examining their intercorrelations. These results are very encouraging and lead the present investigator to conclude that

self-esteem is a measurable construct. However, the present investigator recognises that cross-method convergence can not be equated with construct validity.

7. The results of the present study also demonstrate significant correlations between measures of global self-esteem and the dimensions of self-esteem, and provide preliminary confirmation that a measure of global self-esteem does not neglect specific dimensions of self-esteem. The results also indicate significant inter-correlations amongst the dimensions of self-esteem. These results suggest that the nature of the dimensions selected to assess self-esteem should correspond with the context within which the assessment takes place, or should correspond to the context to which the assessment refers.

8. The results of the present study reveal a significant and consistent relationship between self-esteem and defensiveness amongst Black university students, and tend to confirm the findings of previous studies (Crandall, 1973; Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968). These findings raise the possibility that Black students possess inauthentic self-esteem or a pretence at self-value as assessed with orthodox verbal self-report measures.

The present investigator believes however, that this observation may not be unique only to Black university students, but may be applicable to all racial groups. That is, with regard to orthodox verbal self-report measures, all subjects may display a tendency towards distortion and a pretence at self-value.

9. Significant intercorrelations were obtained amongst the different measures of defensiveness which partly confirms previous research findings (Crowne and Marlowe, 1960).

10. Finally, the post-hoc analysis of data revealed noteworthy trends which provide potentially fruitful guidelines for ascertaining the concomitant personality characteristics of self-esteem and alternative measures of self-esteem.

8.12 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. The present study investigated only one modality of the measurement of self-esteem, namely, orthodox verbal self-report measures. There is a need for further research which assesses other dimensions of the measurement of self-esteem, most importantly the behavioural dimension. Thus, while the present study assessed experienced self-esteem, there is a need for the measurement of presented self-esteem, which involves a variety of planned and detailed behavioural routines that are consistent with various role requirements and situational demands.
2. With regard to the attainment and maintenance of positive self-esteem amongst Black university students, future in depth research is required to ascertain the processes by which the individual attains and maintains such positive self-esteem. Future research should give heed to investigating exactly which reference groups individuals utilize in order to reflect their self-appraisals.
3. Future research needs to compare self-esteem across and within racial groups utilizing both orthodox self-report measures as well as other measures of self-esteem, particularly presented self-esteem.
4. Greater clarity needs to be gained regarding the complex relationship between orthodox measures of self-esteem and defensiveness. Further research is needed to assess whether the construct of self-esteem can be clearly delineated from defensiveness, or whether self-esteem as measured on self-report scales is not just a variant of the construct defensiveness.
5. With regard to ethnic attitude research, future studies could deal with the relationship between socio-cultural factors, personality and self-esteem. That is, there is a need for the greater control of macrosocial factors in the investigation of the level of self-esteem amongst Blacks.

6. Future self-esteem research within South Africa needs to depend upon consensus and accumulation of empirical data. The measurement of self-esteem necessarily needs to be limited to a relatively small number of instruments, rather than the continued proliferation of transient and untested operationalizations (Wells and Marwell, 1976). Such a set of standard (representative) operationalizations might be developed to correspond to major schools of theoretical thought about the key components of the self-esteem. This would serve to focus both conceptual and empirical efforts in the area.

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