THE EFFECT OF ETHNICITY ON PERSONAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

by

LYDIA ANNE KOWALSKI

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Certified by_____
Thesis Supervisor

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on May 11, 1973 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of City Planning.

"The Effect of Ethnicity on Personal and Community Development" is a study of the problems of identity experienced by white European immigrants and their descendents during the process of assimilation; the effect this has on their involvement with the community; and the implications this might have on the planning process within these communities. My data was from library research, interviews with ethnics living in ethnic communities; interviews with personnel in mental health clinics, general medical clinics, schools, libraries, and day care centers working in ethnic communities; and my experiences as a participant observer in "Summerthing", Boston City Hall Ethnic Christmas Exhibit and the ethnic curriculum development project in Lowell, Massachusetts.

Using the library research data, I developed an outline of the process of identity formation. This included the relationships between the child and parents, child and peers, and child and groups during the socialization process and the establishment of the concept of the "generalized other" by the person in his later stages of identity development. This model is further complicated in the bicultural situation, where the ethnic receives images from a whole other society and culture and must form a conflicting image of self and concept of the "generalized other." If the pressure is strong enough, the ethnic may decide to separate himself from his background and in doing so, cuts off the cultural continuity necessary for the development of a strong self concept.

My interviews pointed out certain concepts concerning ethnicity which were important to the ethnic. These included ethnicity's relationship to a "feeling of warmth, sharing and closeness", "pride in what you are", "knowledge of your background to better understand self and others", and "concept of identity." Case studies by Vita Sommers and Elizabeth Hartwell illustrate the cultural identity problems, differences and needs of the ethnics which could influence their participation in society and their response to various social services.

Because the community provides the basic framework upon which the network of social interaction is laid and from which one receives the images of self, it is here that a major responsibility for the provision of programs which will aid the community residents in understanding their own culture and interacting with the native culture, lies. These services might include day care centers, where the personnel has special training to deal with the cultural expressions of the area; counselling services which provide special programs for those undergoing specific cultural problems (i.e. mixed marriages, or young adult cultural conflicts); educational programs designed to develop cultural understanding and the students' own sense of cultural identity; and ethnic heritage centers which seek to build a positive cultural identity within the ethnic community. All of these are aimed at fostering a greater understanding and interaction between the culture of the community and the cultural needs of its residents and the matching of services to these needs.

Thesis Supervisor: William A. Southworth
Title: Lecturer

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INTRODUCTION

Understanding man's culture is basic to the understanding of man. Culture is one of the ways that man expresses himself. It reflects his innermost feelings and thoughts through the style of his actions. Whether formally, through his manner of artistic expression in music, dance, art or drama, or informally in his daily tasks, it reveals man's unique perspective of himself and others. It is this uniqueness which helps to identify one culture from another.

Within the framework of each culture, man learns the ways in which he must act to be understood by others of his culture; actions which mark him as belonging with that particular group. Each culture has its own norms and sanctions. Through his recognition and compliance with these norms, he realizes an identity with others based on like actions and expressions. By observing the actions of others within his culture, and learning from their reactions toward him, he obtains a sense of his own self image through his group.

When these norms come in contact with other cultural practices, they become more distinct as comparisons are drawn and differences defined. If a person finds himself in a different context, he must be able to establish his place within that system. This self-place will be determined largely by how the person sees himself within his old environment, and how his culture is perceived by the new culture.

Internationally, this exposing and mixing of cultures is done on a gradual and formal scale. Through travel and tighter international communications, many barriers have slowly dissolved. People have a greater opportunity to experience the culture of others -- if not the more subtle nuances of everyday lifestyles, then at least the more obvious and tangible produce of the art, food and festivals. Cultural distinctions remain strong, however, and are preserved by the retention of national boundaries and geographic separations.

Within the United States, however, this process of cultural contact has been greatly accelerated. Because this country was populated by waves of immigrants, many peoples of many distinct cultures came and settled together to form one nation. In the span of a few hundred years, men from all over the world have gathered in a common space to practice their uncommon attitudes and tastes. Reflecting on this, if one's culture is an important factor in the development of one's sense of self, then this rapid change of culture will certainly have an effect on the identity of the people experiencing this process.

In this thesis, I wish to investigate the role of culture in the development of identity; how biculturalism, in this case the white European subcultures within the "native" United States' culture[1], affects an ethnic's self image and his subsequent role in the community; and what implications this information might have for the planning of community facilities and programs. Ethnicity plays a vital role in community cohesiveness, programs and personal fulfillment; but it has long been ignored by physical and social planners alike. An area of study which is so basic

to human behavior should hardly be neglected by those dealing with human services.

To examine the issues above, I will explore the historical development of ethnic groups and the reasons why ethnic communities have remained as communities in a land where the "melting pot" ideal was long held to be the only logical outcome of such extensive immigration; what kind of an influence this cultural separation has on a person's identity development and the subsequent problems biculturalism poses for the ethnic; and what types of programs can be influenced or developed which would most effectively address these problems.

This study will include library research on the immigration process and psychological theories of identity development; interviews with persons of ethnic backgrounds concerning the role ethnicity has played in their lives; observations as a participant observer in various projects within ethnic communities; and the development of a policy framework dealing with the effects of biculturalism on community planning.

The power of a person's culture -- or ethnicity -- touches many areas--political and economic as well as social. Within this thesis, however, I wish to focus only on the social problems of ethnicity as related to identity and its effect on the community. This, in itself, has been hardly explored and provides rich avenues for investigation and much material for application to community planning models.

In taking this approach, I hope to explore the influences of ethnicity on social relationships, community involvement and planning issues as related to the community member's sense of ethnic self. These issues raise the following questions, most of which deal with community involvement and

planning. How does ethnicity affect a person in his social environment? How does this perception of self effect a community's functioning? What problems arise when different cultures exist in close proximity, but on psychologically unequal social terms? How can these problems best be solved? What is the role of the community in planning and implementing the types of programs needed? Should planning solutions be aimed at changing the community to "fit in" with "modern American" culture or is there a value in retaining vestiges of old cultures and ways of life? If the latter is the case, how can this be done without producing a stagnant, tradition burdened community? How are meaningful programs designed and what areas should they affect? Do the types of solutions suggested actually get at the root of the problem, or are they another cosmetic solution to camouflage a festering problem?

By combining the knowledge of past research with the insight of present experience, I hope to be able to obtain a greater understanding of these problems and be able to suggest some possible solutions. This is not a presentation of infallible guidelines for solving the problems of ethnics or working with ethnic communities, but rather is a model for understanding the stresses of biculturalism and the possible ways in which ethnicity might be involved positively in the planning of community programs. Each community is as different as the varied personalities within it and must be studied within its own individual cultural and societal context. This is but an overview of the general problem of and a discussion of possible methods of approaching it. Beyond this, and most importantly, I hope that this study will arouse the concern and interest of planners and community workers, and result in their acknowledgement and use of the

concept of ethnicity as a vital factor in community planning. Physical design has long been the panacea for social ills; it is time for human understanding to reach deeper into the complex social issues behind them and deal with these more illusive but basic problems as they are experienced by man.

CHAPTER ONE: THE BUILDING OF THE MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY

Because of outmoded feudal systems and village customs, European land was scarce and drove many peasants and craftsman to seek a place where opportunities were greater and work more rewarding. Tales of America's abundance encouraged many of these people to travel to her foreign shores and seek new homesites where conditions would allow the children to escape from the constant poverty in which they were entrenched.

In addition religious discrimination, the rise of Protestant sects and resultant fear of papism caused many to seek a land where religious practices would not be oppressed. Political upheavals left many fearing for their safety; while the unending struggle for subsistence in dying economies destroyed any hope of better conditions for the present or future. Escape from social injustices wrought by fearful gentry of the old social order and the new power aspiring middle class provided yet another reason to leave family ties and long established roots and immigrate to America.

For the most part, access to America for European immigrants was unrestricted. Fears of papist plots and monarchist threats to the new republic were largely overridden by the large demand for unskilled cheap labor. In addition, espoused philosophies of freedom for all men of any race, color and creed made it difficult in the early stages of the mass migration to this country to present a legitimate argument for not letting in any specific groups or nationalities. Later, the fears generated by

World War I and World War II did result in quotas for various nationalities which lessened somewhat the numbers of immigrants. Nevertheless, many still came and continued to replenish ethnic communities, restore home ties and rekindle ethnic spirit.

While immigrant groups continued to arrive, social philosophers and planners attempted to predict the resultant society formed by such a conglomeration of peoples. In the late 1800's, the "smelting pot" theory was in vogue but was later changed to the better known "melting pot" theory, named after the title of Israel Zangwill's play.[2] The idea behind this theory was that all immigrant groups would melt into one distinctively American homogeneous culture. As early as 1915, Horace Kallen challenged this theory with his own concept of cultural pluralism.[3] It was not until the 1940's however, that evidence of the continuing strength of the ethnic communities brought sociologists to accept the validity of cultural pluralism.

Later theories, just as strongly advocated -- and equally unsupported -- suggest assimilation of national origins but segregation into the three major religions or sects in this country: Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism.[4] Milton Gordon believes that assimilation occurs in two steps:[5] cultural assimilation or acculturation in which the immigrant takes on the style and manners of the native culture; and structural assimilation in which the immigrant includes members of other groups in his most intimate relationships. In addition, Gordon maintains that ethnic traits are closely linked with social class and subsequently result in a population he describes as "ethclass". In the end, he believes that assimilation is

possible on the basis that "once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously or subsequent to acculturation, all other types of assimilation will eventually follow."[6]

Other sociologists see immigrant communities as linked to ethnic interest groups.[7] They maintain that common origins, cultures and backgrounds formerly linked the immigrants together but that these ties are now being replaced by political, social and economic ties within the same communities. This change varies tremendously, however, with the degree of differences in intimate social behavior (i.e., role of wife, family, and method of childrearing) and the times and circumstances under which different groups immigrated. In his article "Why Can't They Be Like Us"[8] Andrew Greeley accepts the basic assumptions of this theory but challenges the idea that national origin ties will die out. He feels that certain basic unconscious differences indigent to each culture will remain, if not permanently, then for generations to come, and will provide a source of attachment and recognition by members of each group.

I have included these theories to show the range of views on assimilation. Regardless of the position taken, however, ethnic enclaves are still present, and will persist for a long time to come until the actual theory of assimilation works itself out -- if it does. Meanwhile, the reasons that these communities were formed, persisted and the qualities which make them desirable, if not necessary to their residents, must be examined. This examination, perhaps, may give some insight into the direction these communities may take in the assimilation process and the role they play within present day society.

A major factor in the development of these communities was the way in which the immigrants came to this country. Contrary to the proposed American philosophy of individualism, the immigrants, for the most part, arrived in groups. The assurance of support in traveling to a foreign land where there were strange customs, language and social structure encouraged neighbors to join together. Family ties created groups in themselves as extended family relations joined the basic family unit. Furthermore, religious and political groups banded together to escape persecution and establish settlements where their beliefs could be accepted and nourished.

Once in America, prevailing conditions further encouraged group settlement. Jobs were available only in certain areas and dictated where the new immigrants would settle. Contract labor also insured that immigrants would usually stay with certain companies and work in specific areas. Previously established ethnic communities provided a familiar and welcome haven for these immigrants and discouraged groups from going on further alone. This constant influx of immigrants in turn served to regenerate interest in the homeland, preserve customs and language and strengthen the immigrants' identity with their former country.

Ironically, the move that might have served to sever links with the old culture, in many instances fostered, if not developed, an awareness of one's previous national identity. At the same time, those with a strong national awareness or those from developing countries just forming their identity, attempted to give expression to their feelings of pride by establishing "little nations" which they hoped would become prototypes of

the Mother Country. The United States prohibited the legal recognition of these "little nations" but she was unable to suppress the spirit behind them. Thus, some ethnic communities grew with the idea of preserving their attachment to their nationality and customs.

Once these communities were established, conditions within the communities served to promote the separation of the ethnic groups from the native culture. Language differences were perhaps the strongest barriers. New immigrants were unable to communicate with other groups and tended to associate only with those of a similar cultural background. As the settlements became larger and were fed by streams of additional immigrants, institutions were established catering to the needs of these isolated communities. Thus, schools, churches and businesses adopted the language of the ethnic community. This served to further the identity and exclusiveness of the community as an ethnic entity.

Religious factors further isolated the community. Most of the immigrants were from Catholic cultures quite alien to the native Protestant communities. Since religious factors strongly influenced the formation of communities, the ethnic groups gathered around the Catholic church as a unifying force.

The personal backgrounds and skills of the immigrants again complicated the assimilation process. Education was not available or affordable in the home country to most of these immigrants. Lack of education, combined with a language problem and lack of job skills, kept the immigrant from participating very much in the mainstream of the native community. In some instances, where immigrant farmers hoped to utilize their skills, land and climate conditions and the scale of farming were so different that

they were unable to adjust and they found it necessary to turn to other occupations. Hence, the inherent differences in culture created strong boundaries which prevented the immigrant from functioning within the native community.

Cultural differences would not have prevailed as strongly as they had, however, if there had not been a strong desire on the part of the ethnic community to retain its traditions and identity as a distinct cultural group. The importance of the old ways of life became evident in the degree of community support for established ethnic organizations. Institutional completeness within ethnic communities rounded out the support system by providing a means for stronger community ties. Thus, the religious separation between Catholics and Protestants further subdivided into ethnic churches and schools. Services and classes were held in the language of the community and all of the old traditions, customs and festivals were celebrated and enthusiastically supported.

In some instances, ethnic services even surpassed that of the mother country. Businesses prospered and ethnic publications flourished. Ironically, the first Lithuanian newspaper ever to be printed in Lithuanian was published in the United States.

The establishment of these services further extended the scope of ethnic interests. Celebrations demanded traditional foods, clothing and articles. Stores catered to these particular needs and developed extensive trading relationships with the mother country. The heightened sense of belonging and ethnic attachment created a demand for ethnically identified personal services such as medical care, social agencies and funeral homes.

An International Institute worker stated that attempts by the native community to break down these barriers by providing classes in "assimilation" centers and welfare agencies actually helped to bring the ethnic communities closer together. As the members of a similar group needed similar instruction, the same people met and socialized through these centers. Although basic skills were provided to overcome some of the handicaps, the primary relationships of each person remained within the neighborhood immigration centers.

In addition to the boundaries imposed by community based needs and differences, personal lifestyle preferences figured strongly in the isolation of the immigrant from the native community. As the basic unit of socialization, the family served as the strongest tie to the old culture. The extended family system usually required that one's personal social relationships and time for leisure activity be kept within the family circle. The extended family also provided security and strength to cope with the problems of alienation experienced by the immigrant. Strong religious practices further strengthened this bond by enforcing strict discipline and close family involvement within the Church. Church services, religious traditions and holydays played a major role in family and community activity patterns. Any deviation from this role often resulted in exclusion from this basic social institution and isolation from the ethnic community itself.

The most obvious expressions of ethnicity were the ones which were modified first in the assimilation process. They were nonetheless difficult to lose because they represented an attachment to a familiar

and beloved style of life. Clothing and food differences branded the ethnic as one separate from other communities, but were tastes that he had acquired as part of his self image.

More subtle influences, such as child rearing practices, particularly in discipline and education, and the adult roles in marriage, especially regarding sex roles, provided strong reasons for the prolongation of the ethnic community. The concepts behind these roles and methods of action are inculcated at an early age and involve strong personal feelings and desires. Thus, they are not easily, if at all, altered by outside influences and provide a deeply rooted basis for not mingling with people of different ideas.

Basically, all of these habits, customs and feelings bear out Andrew Greeley's hypothesis that "ethnic groups continue...because they are a manifestation of man's deep seated inclination to seek out those in whose veins he thinks flows the same blood as flows in his own."[9] It is a double edged sword: The ethnic community is isolated from the native community because its mores are different and are not provided for by the dominant society; and the efforts to overcome these differences are hindered by deep seated values and emotional attachments to things which have been basic to the ethnic's entire life experience up until the point of his immigration.

All of these barriers combined have a self sealing effect on the ethnic community. Because the differences are recognized by both communities, two different social systems are formed. These different systems in turn reinforce social barriers, make communities inaccessible

to each other, and make social integration more difficult. As other outlets of social interaction are closed off to the immigrant, he becomes dependent upon the ethnic community to provide for his social needs and outlets. The native community then perceives the ethnic community as a distinctive and unique social system and assumes a patronizing attitude of curiosity and tolerance, but not one of understanding and communication -- towards the ethnic "sub Society."

Economically, the establishment of a separate business system has the same effect. Ethnic business ties and repeated demand for and supply of ethnic goods reinforce the insulated market system. As businesses are located within the ethnic community and cater specifically to ethnic clientele and needs, any integration or outreach into the native community is difficult. Because of this, the market becomes dependent upon the cohesiveness of the ethnic community to maintain its support and in turn, supports more heavily ethnic separation and strength.

In instances where the native community does have an impact on the ethnic business community, it is usually in the role of tourist and not as a stable and supportive clientele. This role not only further defines the separation of the two communities but in some instances also promotes hostility because of the sub dominant economic position of the ethnic community or the parental attitude of the native community towards the smaller, "different" ethnic community.

The emergence of tight social and economic systems within the ethnic community cannot help but have a profound effect on the inhabitants of that community. As the boundaries grow stronger between the native and ethnic

communities, the ethnic has less chance of integrating himself with the two. Distinctions become sharper, and the recognition of these differences further defines the ethnic's role within the community. His identification with the characteristics of his community results in his recognition of self as "belonging to" and "of" the community. The desire to belong and his acceptance of this role reinforces his practice of ethnic manners, traditions and lifestyles. Ethnic social systems become increasingly important to him and may become the only channels of interaction. Because of this, business affairs are conducted only within the ethnic community, since personal ties and connections are there.

All of these forces combine, then, to isolate the ethnic from having extensive contact with the native community. Most of his range of experience comes from within his small ethnic environment. Thus, ethnic communities are established, promoted, and, in some sense, isolated from the native community. The immigrant retains portions of his original culture and continues to practice them within the framework of his newly established environment. His identity, transplanted from the Old World, is still very strongly linked with the old world culture and supported within the ethnic community system. In addition by retaining much of his former culture, he not only lessens the shock of assimilation for himself but aids others who are to come.

The establishment of the ethnic community provided a relatively smooth link between the old and new culture for the immigrant. Those who accepted this process and availed themselves of the stability of the

ethnic community faced relatively few problems caused by cultural change. On the other hand, those who did not have this opportunity -- or the children of immigrants raised in isolated ethnic communities and faced with stronger pressures toward assimilation -- were not as fortunate. Cultural change was, and is for those in this situation today, a problem of adjustment and creates a need to find one's place and identity in a new society. The new culture reflects different images of self to the immigrant who is used to a different type of cultural expression and forces him to re-evaluate his own self identity. It has a profound effect on how a person sees himself in relation to others, and the subsequent role which he assumes. Ultimately, this affects the entire community as relationships are altered and people assume new functions within an old or new society.

In order to better understand these problems and find solutions for them, it is necessary to explore the ways in which ethnicity affects a person's identity. How is identity formed? What role does a person's culture play in its formation? What aspects of identity are most influenced by ethnicity? What problems arise from a change of culture or existence in a bicultural situation? How does this affect a person's ability to act in social situations?

These are questions which must be answered in order to better understand the ethnic's situation and problems. As long as ethnic communities persist, people within will be faced with questions of adaptation and identity. Society, with all of its controls and guidelines, must be prepared to grapple with these problems with insight and understanding. But most of all, the ethnic must find out who he is in relation to the culture from which he has come and the culture of the country in which he's living.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

In deciding on the construction and format of this thesis, I chose to do both library and field research to gain a better perspective of the present ideas and feelings of ethnics towards their ethnicity, and of others towards the problems of the ethnics, and to gain background in the basic theories involved. The opportunity was available for me to work in an ethnic community, and past jobs had also involved ethnic projects. Both situations provided me with opportunities to gather information.

Most of the library research done was in the area of psychology relating to identity formation theory, ethnic identity formation, ethnicity, and case studies on the problems of biculturalism. I felt it was necessary to gain a firm background in this area in order to be able to ascertain whether ethnicity actually posed a problem for the ethnic. Most studies I found took positions on whether ethnicity should be encouraged or not and stated characteristics of ethnic communities, but few actually delved into the psychological supports for its existence and the problems for people living in a bicultural situation.

To accomplish this goal, I chose books on basic psychology ranging from general discussions of identity as one of many aspects of human development, to studies on the particular aspects and problems of identity formation. Once I felt I had a grasp of much of this literature, I investigated the relationship of ethnicity or biculturalism to identity

formation, assimilation theories, ethnic neighborhood studies and the influence of ethnicity on a community.

I also included books on immigration history to gain a historical perspective on the development of ethnic communities, and on the social structure of communities to discover the relationship of and differences between those communities with ethnic influences as compared to other native communities.

In order to gain a more detailed insight into the problems of ethnic identity, I researched specific articles and case studies published in journals of psychology and psychiatry. With the help of ERIC*, I also obtained copies of printed reports and talks pertinent to my area of research. These were unpublished articles and contained information on current research being done.

My second data source was from interviews. I wanted to gain a personal sense of what ethnicity meant to an ethnic and how strong ethnic influences are today in ethnic communities. To do this, I interviewed twenty people living within ethnic communities who were from one to five generations removed from their original cultures. They ranged from twenty to seventy years of age.** No interviews were done at an earlier age because the problems of identity formation in progress during this time would have interfered with realistic perceptions of their relationship to authority and the past. Most of my contacts were made through people at work with the exception of six interviews set up through a hospital office

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*Educational Research Information Center

**See Chapter 6 for the specific breakdown of ages and immigrant generations.

where many ethnics were employed. The people contacted through the hospital were interviewed in a private room in the hospital; the others took place in their homes. I found no differences in the responses due to the environment or method of contact. All of the interviewees were interested and willing to discuss the suggested topics freely.

I included both specific and open ended questions in my interviews. Questions concerning the ethnic's participation in ethnic culture through his membership in ethnic organizations, churches, participation in ethnic festivals, etc., were stated directly; attitudinal questions relating to a person's feelings towards his ethnicity or his participation in ethnic events were open ended to allow as much leeway as possible for personal expression and to discover attitudes that I may not have encountered earlier. All of the interviews were conducted informally. I felt that I needed to obtain their trust in order to get at their real personal feelings; pressure or formality in this instance would have created tension and a reluctance to reveal intimate feelings and information. Questions related to the past, present, and future ethnic involvement of the person and his perceptions of others in his community so that I could gain a sense of what the interviewee felt was important personally, and how he saw himself within the context of the ethnic community. I also wished to see if the attitudes toward oneself and ethnicity differed from the attitudes toward ethnicity and the community.

In addition to this type of survey, I also interviewed people involved with public institutions working in ethnic neighborhoods to find out their perceptions of the influence of ethnicity on the community and its

influence (if any) on their involvement with and the design of the services of their agency. These interviews included social workers with the Family Service; doctors and employees of a day care center, two mental health clinics and a general medical clinic; and teachers and librarians involved with two schools and three libraries. Questions were specifically related to the kinds of services offered, neighborhood response, ethnic orientation and attitudes, and response of the institution to general and ethnic needs.

To supplement the library research and interviews, I included information gained from my own experiences as a participant observer in various ethnic projects. These included three different types of situations and were all in different subject and geographic areas. The first involved my experiences as an "ethnic program developer" in Lowell, Massachusetts. I was responsible for conducting an ethnic survey of the city and developing an ethnic curriculum for the school system. This latter project is the one which I draw upon for information within this thesis. It not only includes my ideas on ethnic curriculum development, but also my experiences in teaching two high school classes on ethnic history in Lowell and running the oral history project included in this course.

Previously, I had also worked on two Boston projects which I found useful for this research. I spent one summer teaching ethnic music and drama workshops for "Summerthing." Within the course of the summer, I conducted workshops in seven different ethnic neighborhoods and had an opportunity to work on a very close and personal level with the children in these areas.

My final area of fieldwork included coordinating the Ethnic Christmas exhibit for Boston City Hall in the winter of 1971. This was a more formal administrative job and involved contacting ethnic groups in Boston to do displays, and aiding them in the design, format and scheduling of their exhibits.

All of these work experiences provided me with a different perspective and insight as to the design, problems, benefits and administration of different ethnic programs. This proved helpful in putting together ideas for possible ethnic programs and activities cited in the planning chapter of this thesis. Because of the general nature of that section, however, I chose not to go into detail with regard to any of these experiences, but to use them for general personal reference.

Aside from the work completed previously, I encountered problems in performing all of these tasks. Very little has been written on ethnic identity development or on problems of biculturalism. Most of the studies relating to ethnicity were descriptive studies of life in ethnic communities rather than analysis of what ethnicity actually was and how it affected ethnics' relationship with the outside native culture. With the exception of Elizabeth Hartwell's thesis, I was unable to find any in-depth studies analyzing ethnic attitudes and differences. Some generally described obvious ethnic characteristics, but these were unsupported by any data or consistent research methods.

I encountered many problems getting interviewees who were willing to discuss their ethnicity. Because the subject dealt with very personal feelings and relationships, many people were unwilling to discuss this

topic with a stranger. For the most part, I made contacts through people who knew me well and were willing to introduce me to neighbors or family. My interviews through the hospital were arranged because the director was personally interested in my work. I felt this would be a good opportunity to get a cross section of the ethnic population. Also the backing of a respected institution would provide me with an authorization with which the interviewees would feel more comfortable. Because the interviews took place during working hours on hospital time, I was unable to interview more than six people there.

Some of the observations that I wished to make while teaching were impossible to do because of the age of the students and the teacher/student relationship that I had to maintain. Most of the teenagers attempted to establish their own identity by completely rejecting any acknowledgement of parental or background influence on their development. This was consistent with psychological theories of development for this age[10], but made any attempts at relating to their backgrounds difficult if not irrelevent to them.

Interviews with professionals for the planning survey were easy to schedule but revealed little information. Most of the institutions were eager to set up services and programs and did little in the way of analyzing the community for specific needs in any area.

Data from the library research was used to formulate the sections on identity and ethnic identity development and background information on the development of ethnic communities. It also helped to determine my approach to community organization and the types of services which I discussed.

My analysis of the interviews included two types of information. I used the factual material on ethnic involvement as a support for the continuing existence and strength of ethnic communities and also as a basis from which to infer the degree to which a person's identity may be influenced by ethnicity. It was my hunch that if a person was involved with many ethnic groups and traditions, he would perceive his ethnicity as a more vital and positive aspect of his self than a person who was not involved with these activities. This evidence was compared with the responses to the attitudinal questions asked. This second area of questioning was analyzed for the positive and negative attitudes of ethnics toward their ethnicity and the specific attitudes held. Since few of the interviewees responded negatively, I was unable to draw any conclusions on those attitudes. There were recurring themes about the importance of ethnicity from those responding positively, however, which I analyzed as to the degree of importance placed on them by the number of interviewees who mentioned them as an important quality. These attitudes were further compared with the earlier questions on the degree of ethnic involvement of the interviewee and to see if those responding positively had also been actively involved in ethnic activities.

The interviews with those working with institutions in ethnic areas provided little of the information needed for the planning of ethnic facilities. Since no one had done any formal studies on the culture of the communities, only a few had commented on their personal recognition of and adjustment to ethnic culture, and no conclusive responses were offered as to why this had not been done by the institutions, I was unable to obtain data useful for this section.

I found the mixing of research, interviews, and field work a good combination for getting a well rounded view of many aspects of ethnicity. Each helped to illuminate in some way the information received from one of the others. The interviews and fieldwork provided a more earthy, human insight into the impact of ethnicity on people and the community, while the research provided the basic concepts for understanding this phenomina with greater depth and observation.

CHAPTER 3: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF SELF

One of the most essential elements in the development of identity is its dependence upon interpersonal relationships. Man is a social being and his knowledge of self comes largely from those impressions of himself which he receives from others. Without others to reflect upon, he can gain little knowledge of the perceptions, cognitions and values which compose the concept of self. It is a process of constantly comparing the reactions one receives from others and placing them against the values constructed by others. The more intense the relationship, the more significant will be the contributions to one's self concept from that source.

Within the structure of society, the family is the first and strongest of all groups to influence one's idea of self. The parents are the persons who are present earliest and most consistently and upon whom the child is totally dependent. From them, the child receives his earliest and most fundamental ideas of the world around him and his role within it. Vita Sommers states that "the sense of identity that a person forms depends largely upon how his personal needs were satisfied in his early life and how he was thought of by his parents and other significant people in his family group."[11] Orville Brim, Jr. carries this one step further to explain the significance of this early development in later life: "The absence of early learning clearly will hinder later life socialization when something that should have been acquired as a basis for in later years in fact was not."[12]

Parent-child relationships are intense. Through their interaction with the child, the parents transmit their ideas of the expected behavior of the child and his fulfillment of their expectations. These feelings are transmitted to the child through physical and emotional expressions. Of these expressions the most important are the vocal and physical methods of interaction. Both of these methods not only have a powerful impact on shaping a child's feelings of and about himself, but are also carried over in the style of interaction which the child uses to relate to others in the later stages of his life. They are not only expressions of how the parent feels toward the child, but also are reinterpreted by the child as to how he thinks his parents feel about him. These feelings of the child may be either real or imaginary but either way forcefully shape his idea of himself.

In developing a concept of self, the child at first identifies himself with a particular person from whom he obtains models for his self concept. This produces an "I-me" concept in which the child only relates to himself and all images are centrifugally focused on giving to the child. At this point, the child only sees himself as a reflection of others and does not have a fully developed sense of self. At the same time, however, the child has a limited view of others and the extent of society's influences and controls upon him.

In the second stage of the socialization process, the child is introduced to the new world of social relationships through peers and neighbors. This is the first developmental stage in which the child is exposed to other images of self and also other perceptions of his family. It is at this time, Harry Stack Sullivan states, that "the limitations and peculiarities

of the home as a socializing influence begin to be open to remedy. The juvenile era has to remedy a good many of the cultural idiosynchrasies, eccentricities of value, and so on, that have been picked up in the childhood socialization."[13] The child sees his parents with new eyes. They are no longer singular models for identification; an expanded world of models and methods of interaction become open to him. He receives new impressions of his self through peer images, privileges and expectations, which may change his actions in the family unit and consequently, their actions towards him. His cues of self image are based on his feeling of acceptance by his peers, the roles he is allowed to assume, the verbal response he receives and the physical cues he recognizes. All of these perceptions on the part of the child may again be real or imaginary. He may <u>think</u> that people see him in such a way and behave in a corresponding manner, when in reality, they do not at all see him in this manner.

Also, at this stage, the child is introduced to two other aspects of socialization: social subordination and social accommodation.[14] The first is his introduction to new authority figures outside of the home; the latter is the possibility of new roles open to him through increased contact with new societal figures. Both of these form a balance of forces: on the one hand, new freedom to explore models of action and receive increased feedback and information on self from others; and on the other, an increase in restrictions in many areas by multiple authority figures.

As the child matures, he becomes exposed to the more complicated concept of groups. This is the last stage in the socialization process

and involves the recognition of attitudes of groups and their influence on the concept of self. The neighborhood constitutes an informal group during early childhood, while he is still within the defined role in the family; later, however, this changes to more formal groups with undefined roles within organizations.

At this point, the person must deal with both the images of self projected by individuals and the images of self projected by a formal group. Life becomes more involved with community influences and the knowledge of the community in terms of groups rather than through individuals. Self becomes further defined by the organizations to which a person may belong. These may advance or retard his image of self depending on how he views the organization. At the same time, his membership may alter his image of the organization, thus changing his earlier attitudes.

Psychological studies dealing with membership and reference groups show that an individual changes his attitudes most towards a group to which he did not aspire when he becomes involved with that group due to some kind of external pressure.[15] This involves a change not only on the individual's part in his perception of the organization, but also a readjustment of his own image of self in terms of the new organization image.

Self is further defined by the rules and attitudes of group membership. Expected behavior provides a framework into which the individual must fit his image of self in order to belong. The roles or positions he is allowed to hold gives him further clues as to others' image of him. Finally, verbal and physical interaction more precisely define the

attitudes of others toward his self. Again, these may all be accurately or fictiously conceived by the individual but nonetheless alter and define his behavior and image of self.

This involvement with and recognition of groups complicates the previous relationships established with peers and family. Groups not only alter the image of self of the individual, but also have an effect on his relationship with and value of peers and family as well. Depending on the value of the ideas and images of self reflected by the group, the person will come to see his interaction with parents and peers as more or less positive. Similarly, family and peers will also influence the degree to which a person accepts the group image of his self and also the types of groups to which he will aspire or gain membership.

Besides initiating more complex issues in the construction of a self image, the awareness of and involvement with groups introduces a new concept in defining self. In early childhood, the child identifies himself solely through images of others -- that is, he "identifies himself with" others. The teenage years bring about a transition in this image as the child begins to see himself as a specific person. At this point, the child vacillates between identifying himself and being identified. His early group associations let him play both roles.[16] This finally results in a fully developed concept of self (still susceptible to change, however) in which the person is capable of realizing his identity and relating to others in an "I-They/They-Me" relationship as opposed to the earlier "I-me" child relationships.[17] At this point the child realizes the existence of the identity of others

as groups and their relationship with him as a separate person. This occurs usually in the late teenage years or early twenties as the person establishes full relationships with both individuals and groups.[18]

Group relationships present further complications for the individual attempting to define his role within society. If each group were to have an equal impact on the individual's identity formation and subsequent mode of action, the individual would be unable to resolve all of the conflicting models. In order to cope with these differences, the individual forms an image described by George Herbert Mead as the "generalized other."[19] This is the real or imagined image one holds of society in general. It incorporates the social attitudes, actions and expectations which one believes society holds about one's image of self and accordingly affects the behavior of that individual. With this synthesis of group attitudes, one is able to generalize the image of self projected by society and construct a behavior pattern to meet its expectations.

Although this synthesis occurs, it does not erase the identity of the individual groups. In dealing with each group separately, the individual is confronted with the images and expectations of that particular group. Furthermore, once the concept of the "generalized other" has formed, it influences all of the other relationships. The self image one receives from his "generalized other" affects the way in which a person interacts with other groups, peers and family. Conversely, it is the images a person receives from the family, peers, and groups which help to form the "generalized other."

Once all of these views and reflections have been organized by the person, and he can successfully maintain a constant self image, a person has resolved his identity. At this point, he moves out of the passive (patrens) state into the active (agens) state. This ability to initiate personal activity is essential to the complete image of self. It is the synthesis of many diversified functions and results in the person's ability to recognize himself as distinct from others.

The outline of the process of identity formation as described here involves the total synthesis of many differing groups within one society. In the case of the ethnic, however, the additional complication of dual society membership becomes a most crucial factor. It is at this point that I feel the identity formation differences wrought by constant presentation of conflicting values and personal images must be discussed. This problem greatly controls the capability of the ethnic to deal with his self image and the consequent strength of the ethnic community.

CHAPTER 4: IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE BICULTURAL SOCIETY

> "...have become aware that America is rejecting all European influences like children who reject their parental influence. Nothing must come from Europe. They are busy trying to find their own style, their own art. But they borrow and imitate as we did when we were young, only we were grateful to our influences, we loved those we learned from, we openly acknowledged our roots, our origins in literature, our ancestors. Here I feel a kind of shamefaced stealing from the European artists and a quick turnabout to deny any such influence. None give thanks or acknowledge that none of us were born spontaneously without a past."[20]
>
> The Diary of Anais Nin

It was shown in the last chapter that family, peer and group influences are responsible for providing images needed by a person to form his identity. In most instances, this input is relatively consistent in so far as cultural patterns are concerned; that is to say, the language, customs, methods of social interaction, and expectations of these groups have the same basic cultural norms. Because of the immigration patterns in the United States, however, there have evolved many different communities with very distinct and separate cultures.

Each of these communities exert powerful influences over the individual by nature of the person's residence within and interaction with the culture of that community. The images of self a person receives from the community, peers and family are entwined with their culture. In this way, they are all consistent unto themselves; the people within each community live according to the tradition of that people and this is passed on from generation to generation.

Outside of each ethnic community, however, there exists a set of totally different cultural norms established by the native society. This community also exerts pressure upon the individual to alter or shape his identity within the context of a new dominant culture. This culture presents a different image to the ethnic of his self through the eyes of an alien community. His ethnic characteristics, considered normal within the ethnic community, now are distinguishing factors. The roles he is allowed to play in the native community differ from those of his original environment. There is an additional frame of reference from which he must view his own community, peers and family. Cultural continuity is disturbed and old boundaries are challenged.

The effect of these differences is further influenced by the ethnic's perception of the native community's feelings towards his background. His real or imagined interpretation of these feelings will color his self image and his subsequent feelings of acceptance by the native community. It will also influence the image he has of his ethnic culture and the satisfaction he gains in his identificati on with it. Just as in the interaction of different groups in the early socialization process, the introduction of a new community influence provides a whole new set of forces by which the ethnic judges his own community. At the same time, the ethnic community colors his image of the native community and he must cope with his position in both cultures.

This dichotomy of images causes many conflicts in the individual attempting to resolve these issues. First of all, there is a confusion over the social role expected of him. Because of his identification with the ethnic community he has an inbred attachment to his ethnic culture.

Stresses from his relationship with the native culture, however, urge him to reject these standards and styles. He feels pressured to adopt an "American appearance," life style and standard of living. This is only a cosmetic approach, however, to solving the deeper feelings involved. Family ties are challenged as a barrier to the entrance into the native community. Depending on the strength of the desire to assimilate, family traditions and bonds may be severed and a person's entire connection with his past broken.

All of these changes result in a confusion in the smooth development of the ethnic's cultural identity. Both communities set boundaries which limit the roles he can play and the image of self he can develop. This prevents a smooth interaction between the two groups and is a source of much anxiety within the individual.

When examined along the lines of the identity model discussed in the last chapter, the problems become more defined. One's culture is transmitted very early and very intensely within the family group. Child rearing techniques are culturally patterned and instill the language, values, taboos and role assumptions of that society in the child even before his involvement with peers. Once he progresses to this stage, however, the ethnic peer group reinforces the attitudes (with some variation for personal differences) of the parents. This process is continued by the group relationships established later in the socialization process. By this time, identity with the ethnic group is firmly established and the network of groups and institutions insures the contact with other ethnics as primary relationships for those within this society. The

person's concept of his "generalized other" will reflect the general attributes of his ethnic group to the extent that he identifies with these characteristics.

Within the constructs of present day society, the ethnic usually has contact with the native society by his teenage years. At this point, his recognized attachment to his ethnic group may not be realized, since the teenager, in attempting to separate his image from his earlier models tends to block out associations with parents and background. As this self concept becomes more stable, however, the problem of ethnic identity becomes more prominent. If the person does not have a sufficiently positive image of his background to counteract the pressures of the native society, he may attempt to completely reject his background. Vita Sommers' research concludes that any negative impressions the child may have experienced regarding his perception of his parents' inferior position in society may "affect his early and later identifications with the members of the family and subcultural group and create an ongoing identity struggle."[21]

This rejection of the basic ties to one's cultural background carries over into the relationships with peers and social groups. The native community presents one image; the ethnic community another. In an attempt to deal with this problem, the person may erase any ethnic characteristics from his concept of the "generalized other" by omitting any signs of overt ethnicity. This may work on the conscious level but does not deal with one's unconsciously developed ethnic identity.

In resolving the identity problems caused by this cultural dualism, the ethnic must make certain decisions about his relationships with each culture and his own perception of his self with regard to them. For many of the early immigrants and for those deeply involved with the ethnic community, the easiest decision was to remain submerged in the ethnic culture. Dr. Kieler refers to this group as the "ethnic socialized group."[22] These people choose to retain the outward as well as inward expressions of their ethnicity. They rely on ethnic dress, speech, behavior and value systems for their identity and maintain their primary relationships within the ethnic group. Any attempts at assimilation or recognition of nativist influence causes them discomfort and conflict.

An offspring of this group are the "ethnic unsocialized."[23] These are "militant types" who reject both the ethnic and native cultures because they see them as inconsistent, passive and removed from pure ancestral ideology. In an attempt to replace this background they form their own group espousing "real ethnic values" and regard themselves as "more ethnic" than any other group. In doing this, however, they reject all reference groups and try to refashion a new culture without a real connection to any culture.

The most successful model of assimilation as described in Dr. Kieler's study is the "open unsocialized" type.[24] This group is able to transcend differences of both cultures and define human values which encompass all men. Unfortunately no one has ever been able to determine how this point is reached. It is an attribute to the persons who have achieved this

state that they can so synthesize human values with their identity that lifestyle differences become mere embellishments to the basic human character.

In many cases, the pressures to "be American" are so strong and the feelings towards ethnicity are so negative, that the ethnic chooses to renounce any attachment to the old culture and attempt immediate assimilation. In terms of identity development, this is the most difficult route to take. One must completely separate oneself from the old culture and society. Lifestyles, language, customs, in fact the whole of one's culture, is denied, bringing estrangement from family, friends and all of the most basic attachments to one's self image. Vita Sommers work in this area explains the conflicts caused by these changes:

> "The dilemna of these people might be put in this way: Should my loyalties remain with my Jewish--or Negro or Latin or Oriental--family and ancestral heritage? Or should I repudiate my family and identity with the admired and envied Christian--or white or Anglo or Occidental--standards, values and ideals? This dilemna frequently is intensified by the emotional impact of the culture contrast, particularly in terms of family tradition...It is not surprising, then, that the parent who is the exponent of the traditional way of life becomes the cathected target of the child's hatred and revolt. This, in turn invokes strong feelings of guilt which lead to intense inner suffering."[25]

To gain a sense of stability one's identity must be redefined in terms of a totally new cultural context. With the immersion of self into a foreign society, one must learn to cope with different verbal and physical cues and societal relationships. Erikson states that this sudden cultural shock "will, in too many individuals and generations, upset the

hierarchy of developmental crises and their built in correctives; and that man will lose those roots that must be planted firmly in meaningful life cycles. For man's true roots are nourished in the sequence of generations and he loses his taproots in disrupted developmental time, not in abandoned localities."[26] A sense of identity, then, is dependent upon the linkage with and understanding of one's cultural background.

For persons coming from a bicultural background, it is necessary for them to retain aspects of their original culture, or at least attain an understanding of its influence on them in order to realize a complete sense of self. This course is not without its own problems. The ethnic is faced with conflicts from both cultures and must constantly sort out and define those areas with which he most identifies or feels a need to adopt. Because of the inherent prejudices of both cultures, he may have limited access to them. These changes put pressure on the ethnic to constantly redefine his sense of self beyond the normal change rate demanded of the person living within one culture. In addition, there may not be models for him to follow of others of the same nationality in the non-ethnic field to which he aspires. He may have to cope with feelings of alienation or the problem of being exhibited as an objet d'art. To cope with these conflicting images, the ethnic must have a strongly developed and positive (agens oriented) image of self. This only comes with a developed sense of one's place in the past, present and future. Helen Lynd writes: "A sense of identity would seem...to demand bringing unconscious identifications into conscious awareness, becoming aware of the aspects of prescribed social roles with which they

do and do not identify, entering into an engagement -- positive or negative-- with the society in which they live."[27]

For the ethnic, the need to comprehend these unconscious identifications is vital. As Michael Novak says, the ethnic is one with an "historical memory, real or imaginary. One belongs to an ethnic group in part involuntarily, in part by choice. Given a grandparent or two, one chooses to shape one's consciousness by one history rather than another. Ethnic memory is not a set of events remembered, but rather a set of instincts, feelings, intimacies, expectations, patterns of emotions and behavior, a sense of reality; a set of stories for individuals-- and for the people as a whole -- to live out."[28]

One's past is vital to one's present and future. It is a source from which one obtains a greater understanding of self and of others. It is a foundation and a balance by which one can comprehend one's role and relationships with others. The cultural norms which shape these actions are for the most part governed by the community. Its influences provide the cultural framework within which groups, families and individuals function.

Within the community framework, the culture of a group is defined and regenerated. Since it is within community constructs that culture is passed on, it is here one must turn to discover how these links are formed, the effect the culture has upon the community itself, and the role the community should play in easing the identity problems caused by cultural conflict.

CHAPTER 5: BICULTURALISM, COMMUNITY AND THE ETHNIC

"'...The life history of an individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior.'"[29]

Within the structure of society, the community is the overall system governing societal organization. It maintains a distinct cultural life of its own without being assimilated by the dominant culture. It is responsible for the housing of family, peer and subgroup relationships and is the minimal structural unit of societal organization necessary for the transmission of culture from generation to generation. Without community membership, George Herbert Mead states, one cannot "be a self."[30] The community provides a framework within which man obtains his ideas of self. Specific models are provided within this unit and cultural norms are clearly defined. Robert Nisbet states; "Release man from the contexts of community and you get not freedom and rights but intolerable aloneness and subjection to demonic fears and passions... Mutilate the roots of society and tradition, and the result must inevitably be the isolation of a generation from its heritage, the isolation of individuals from their fellow men, and the creation of the sprawling, faceless masses."[31]

Community membership establishes close ties among its inhabitants. Among the lower and middle working classes who are less mobile and

anchored in their jobs and family environs, the community is an important source of deep rooted feelings and attachments. It is the home base for the family; it is a gathering place for people of like interests and culture where friendships can be formed and social needs fulfilled; it is a place where a life's work is performed, and where one can feel a sense of accomplishment in what one has achieved and what one passes on to the next generation. The community provides a circular environment where past, present and future are held in reference for one to see his place in time and establish his identity. It creates its own world where culture is kept at a relative constant and perpetuated through each generation.

In the bicultural society, these community functions become more pronounced. Because the differences in culture are so great, there is an added desire to seek out those who have similar backgrounds and experiences. It also provides important primary contact for the ethnic with his background and the influences which have helped to shape his identity.

As defined by Talcott Parsons, a "social system is a system of relationships of individuals...organized around the problems inherent in or arising from social interaction of a plurality of individual actors."[32] Without a definite cultural framework to guide community development and to provide models for community members, the social system is undefined and unstable. This results in a lack of community cohesiveness in the ethnic community; there are no systems for interaction which lend credibility to the ethnic's social image. He has no source of community

support and receives no reinforcement from community members. Community structures and organizations weaken; there are no groups to reflect social images; family groups are left without a sense of a place to belong and to which they can contribute; and the entire reference network by which a person can see his contribution to and identity with his origin, dissolves.

The theories of identity previously discussed indicate that this situation could bring about a crisis in the identity development of the ethnic. Because of this breakdown of the community ethnic structure, the cultural continuity which is instrumental in the establishment of identity is disrupted. Connections with the past and the necessary transmission of culture from one generation to the next may be broken. There is no longer a vehicle for the linear progression of the various images of self; the person no longer has a concrete foundation from which he can gain a perspective on his newly adopted image. The lack of a strong self concept results in a patrens (passive) state[35], where the person is unable to take a firm initiative and must rely on outside help to overcome the multiple forces to which he is exposed.

Who is responsible for the provision of this help and what kinds of steps must be taken to solve these problems? From the previous discussion, it is clear that the individual is dependent upon the c ommunity to provide the framework for the forms and social network from which he receives images for his concept of self. In light of this, it seems logical that the community, as the major provider of this image network for development of one's social image should be the one to aid

the ethnic in this transition between cultures. Conrad Arensberg states that the community should "...include the culture, the institutional, the learned aspect of behavior as well as that genetically determined in the 'natural' criterion in the definition of the community as a natural unit of organization in the life and way of living of man and animal."[34] The community, then has a responsibility to its inhabitants to recognize their specific cultural patterns, to utilize this knowledge in its provision of services, and to adjust its actions according to the changes taking place within the process of its cultural evolution.

In response to these needs, the community has an obligation to provide some types of services which will lessen the gap between the two cultures, provide a foundation from which the individual can progress and adjust the methods of the incoming native public services to account for the cultural differences existing within the community. Milton Gordon writes that the "institutional and subcultural ethnic society should be preserved not only for sociological and psychological health but as providing a positive and effective means of enabling such a degree of acculturation as is desirable."[35] This not only provides for a comfortable milieu of the old culture for the immigrant or those less willing to undergo radical changes, but also incorporates American elements within the ethnic social structure which lessen the degree of trauma induced by cultural change and gradually introduce new cultural concepts.

To achieve these objectives, the community must establish facilities geared to the needs of its ethnic inhabitants. The influences of culture

on the service and personal needs of the community residents and the expression of these needs within each community must be recognized. Without this interplay and understanding of the relationship of culture with the community, and culture with the community's needs and services, the links between the provisions and their contact and effectiveness within the community will be missing.

How are cultural influences discovered and translated into concrete perceptions? How can cultural influences be integrated into public services? What services would be most influenced by cultural perceptions and open to methodological adjustments? Before answering these questions, I felt it was necessary to discover personally how people felt about their ethnicity, how it affected their behavior, and what were the most meaningful areas to them in terms of their recognition of their ethnic identity. For this purpose, I conducted interviews with ethnics living within ethnic communities and compared the information received from these sources with my own perceptions of ethnic behavior during my work on various ethnic projects and case studies done by others on ethnic communities and identity. In this way, I hoped to gain a balanced sense of how ethnics consciously perceive their own ethnicity, what aspects of their ethnicity are most important to them, what needs arise from this involvement with their culture and attachment to their cultural backgrounds and what services might best provide for these needs.

CHAPTER 6: ETHNIC AWARENESS: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

After developing an explanation of the development of ethnic identity through library research, I attempted to compare my subsequent hypotheses regarding community involvement and support for ethnic expressions and the feelings of the ethnic toward his ethnicity with the actual evidences of this behavior by ethnics.

Identity is a difficult subject to approach in an interview. For most people, the recognition of a personal identity theory or "concept" is not one which is usually consciously expressed. The activities which have the most meaning in one's life and which elicit action reflecting one's concept of self, are often the ones which are most commonplace and to which one gives little thought as to their significance. For instance, how and to what extent one expresses pain, illness or anger is an activity which is not usually associated by the person expressing these feelings as being peculiar to his culture, background or family upbringing. Within one's own culture, they are not recognized as being unnatural or different. When placed in the context of another foreign culture, these differences may be unconsciously recognized, but not consciously realized as having a particular cultural significance. Often, types of behavior which are thought to be idiosyncrasies of the person who acts in such ways are actually shaped by cultural backgrounds and influences.

In order to discover the role of ethnicity in an ethnic's life and the importance which he attaches to this influence, I conducted a series of interviews with ethnics centered around the outward expression of their involvement with ethnic activities. I felt that if the ethnic were presently involved with ethnic organizations, practiced traditional ethnic customs, spoke the language or showed any other outward signs of ethnic behavior, then it could be inferred that ethnicity was an integral part of his identity. In the course of the interviews, I checked to see how strong cultural influences had been in the ethnic's childhood by measuring the amount of outward, obvious cultural behavior experienced. If his family, friends and/or community groups had involved him with ethnic activities in his early life, this would have had an important impact on the image he had of himself as an ethnic. Through his participation in ethnic activities he would relate to specific cultural actions, expressions and images. The degree with which he had been involved with ethnic activities would reflect the importance of his relationship with his ethnic group, the opportunities he had had for cultural understanding and contact, and the strength they still have emotionally on him. I also questioned the interviewees on the feelings they experienced towards their former ethnic involvement and their present attachment to ethnic activities. If there was a change in the attitude expressed, I wanted to know what circumstances led them to feel this way and what could be done to either induce or prevent this change of feeling. As a check on their present attitudes, I also included questions concerning their future involvement with their ethnic group

and the degree to which they would like their children to participate in the ethnic culture. This was used as a device to measure how positive they had felt towards their ethnic childhood experiences, how they felt these experiences had affected them, and what types of ethnic participation, if any, they felt was most desirable. If, after reflecting on their own past participation in ethnic events, they wished their children to participate in certain experiences and felt they would gain certain benefits from this activity, it might be inferred that they identified positively with these experiences in their own background and saw them as positive community functions.

I conducted a series of twenty interviews from a random selection of ethnics, all of whomhad experienced some form of ethnic cultural activity during their early childhood years. I tried to obtain a fairly even distribution of ages to check for possible changing attitudes of different generations by age. In addition, I tried to keep an even ratio of first, second and third generations according to immigration time to check for attitude differences due to time length removal from the original culture.[36] I was unable to obtain an even distribution of age and immigrant generations because of the difficulty of finding many people in their twenties who were first generation; people in their thirties and forties who were first or third generations; and people in their fifties or older who were <u>not</u> in the first generation. The responses of the interviewees, however, seemed to indicate that this age-generation factor did not make a difference. These distributions are shown in Table A.

Table A: Age and Immigrant Generation Interview Distribution

	Immigrant Generation		
Age	1st	2nd	3rd(or more)
20's	1	2	5
30's	1	1	
40's	1	4	
50's+	5		
	N=8	N=7	N=5

Of the twenty people who were interviewed all except one had been intensively involved with their ethnic cultures during their early childhood. More than half had spoken their ethnic language and the rest had participated in ethnic festivals, ceremonies and customs and had lived in close knit ethnic communities where the primary relationships of the family had been with those of their own culture. The one person who said he had not been greatly involved with ethnic customs, had attended a French grammar school and his parents had spoken French in the home.

After checking the areas specifically mentioned by the interviewees as being important aspects or contributions of ethnicity, I found that the answers to the questions concerning their ethnic attitudes were consistent across ethnic, age and generation lines and there seemed to be little or no influence of separate age or generation factors. Some of the points discussed could be inferred from the tone of the interview and the quality of the relationships expressed by the other interviewees, but were not specifically mentioned and therefore not included in my analysis.

Of all those interviewed, only three expressed dissatisfaction with their ethnic background. Although there are too few cases to draw any precise inferences, I noted that these were the only ones who also expressed confusion and unhappiness with their present life conditions. Two of these had poor images of their ethnic heritage. One stated he felt everyone saw people from his nationality as "awkward, thick headed and illiterate;" and the other, who was the only WASP interviewed, felt that her group was "living in the past" and that being of the "accepted culture" she had never had to look for her identity and consequently was not sure of who she was, or what made her different from others. As a result, she was constantly involved with people from other backgrounds in an attempt to recognize her differences. The third person in this group was isolated from his ethnic community because of his involvement with drugs. Although he described his ethnic group as being "cheap--they work in the mills and save their money. Cheap. Everyone knows that--" he expressed his feeling of enjoyment as a child participating in ethnic festivals and traditions, and felt that he would like to have his kids experience the same customs. Presently, however, he feels uncomfortable in his own ethnic environment because of his "newspaper notoriety." He feels that everyone is aware of his involvement with drugs and that he is a spectacle for the neighborbors when he does visit the area.

The rest of those interviewed spoke very positively of their past ethnic experiences and their present attachment to their ethnic culture. All of them felt that it had been a source of communication within the community and many said that the diversity of cultures was beautiful and

the only thing left that made one feel different. One man stated that ethnic customs "make you an individual. Everybody's a number today, you lose identity in the world in general." Many felt that belonging to (and identifying with) an ethnic community meant something special and that "there is something that happens" between the people of an ethnic community. Many had a difficult time elaborating on this. It was a significant, important and deep feeling, but was so much a part of them, that it could not be dissected into a separate emotion. Often, however, they said that their ethnic customs and backgrounds were good because they counteracted the feelings of alienation and lack of emotion created by present day society. One woman said she felt that her ethnic attachment reaffirmed her identity and that it helped her because she was in an "alienating environment and needed to reestablish ties with people and my family."

There were certain ideas, however, which recurred numerous times during the interviews, and made them stand out as key reasons why people chose to keep in touch with their backgrounds even after being removed several generations from the original culture. Table B presents a tabulation of these concepts according to the number of times stated in the interviews.

Table B: Important Attributes of Ethnicity

	Feeling of warmth, sharing and closeness	Pride in what you are	Knowledge of background for understanding	Important part of identity
Specifically states concept:	65% N=13	55% N=11	60% N=12	50% N=10

Time and again, the feelings of warmth, sharing and closeness produced by the ethnic ties with family and friends were noted as a primary reason why ethnics stay together. One man said of his ethnic community; "They are busy together, and do things together... they support each other." Because of their same styles of communicating, feeling and living, close interaction is more achievable on a community level. Another woman said that the "atmosphere" created by the group "is important". She felt that the closeness of the Greeks was unique to their community because they are "not afraid to show how they feel about each other."

The creation of a special kind of pride produced by feelings of achievement by the ethnic community, was another important consideration. It made the person feel like he/she belonged to something special and gave one a feeling of self worth. During an interview with one woman who had taught many groups of children ethnic dances, I engaged in a particularly long discussion on this subject. She felt that ethnic attachments were important because they made people feel "they belong." This kept the ethnic traditions going and consequently each group felt "proud they can show something too." She felt that some teens try to hide their ethnicity because they "are ashamed but don't want to admit it;" but if they practiced traditions and knew their ethnic history, as she did, they would "be proud of what they are." In raising her own children, she said she was proud to be able to give "something important to my children...it makes them proud of themselves." Another woman said that knowledge of his background made her son feel "he's somebody...he shows pride--that's a big thing."

People who share a culture gain a special insight into the reasons why they feel or act in certain ways. Many of those interviewed felt that involvement with one's ethnic background was important because it gave one an understanding of oneself and of others. A woman who was involved with the different cultures of her father and mother, felt that knowledge of each background was important: "it helps me to understand my mother and my grandmother. For me to understand why she does certain things I have to understand how she was brought up." In many cases, they felt that it was especially important in helping them to understand not only their own place in America but also helped them to understand the differences between themselves and their parents or grandparents.

Finally, half of the people interviewed specifically stated that ethnicity was an important part of their identity. "Know who I am... knows who he is...being what you are...and being proud of what you are..." All of these comments illustrate the importance of ethnicity to them on a very personal level. One woman perhaps best sums up the feelings of all the ethnics interviewed in her recall of a conversation with a boy learning ethnic dances for a festival: "One boy was making bad remarks about the dances. I asked why. He answered 'It makes us look like monkies.' I asked if he had ever seen any folk dances on T.V. He said yes. I said that other ethnic groups were no different than the Polish groups. The Greeks have their dances, the Irish do Irish dances, so the Polish do Polish dances. We're all people doing what is part of us."

The tones and the feelings behind these interviews indicate that in spite of any influences of assimilation on the ethnic population, ethnicity is still very much alive and an important aspect of life for many people. Aside from the earlier enumerated exceptions, all of those interviewed found their integration with their ethnic backgrounds a necessary and worthwhile part of their lives. At the same time, some also made it clear that being ethnic did not detract from being American. They are conscientious workers and support American laws and precepts. Their ethnicity is a personal manifestation of what they are within the American society. One is not so totally involved with one's ethnic heritage that it precludes any recognition of one's other obligations, duties or memberships. Being ethnic is in harmony with being American. As one woman stated: "total ethnicity...it's not the essence of America." Another man elaborated further: "you can't make excuses to be ethnic instead of being normal...but not practicing ethnicity has a crumbling effect on the country."

Throughout the interviews, the need for ethnicity as a foundation or stable point of reference was reiterated again and again. One man felt that the reason his son was doing so well in college was because "he has his roots--foundation is important--something to fall back on." He knew who he was; his ethnic group was respected by other groups and this helped to foster good relationships with others. The sampling taken here was not large enough to draw any conclusive evidence on the relationship between the nature of one's earlier experiences and the present attitudes toward ethnicity.

To gain a further perspective on the problems of those unable to form an agens directed self, I turned to some case studies done by Vita Sommers in this area. Her article, "The Impact of Dual Cultural Membership on Identity," relates identity problems experienced by those with unresolved or conflicting concepts of self brought on by their ethnic membership. All of her cases concerned people who were unable to cope with the problems of assimilation and the conflicting images received from the native community as related to their own image of their ethnic characteristics. In an overview of these situations, Dr. Sommers writes: "They all wanted to be something they were not. Almost all of them worshippped the 'American image;' they all wanted to be 'sociologically white'-- that is, white Anglo'Americans. In their attempts to shed their old, unacceptable identity and to search for a new identity, these people went through all kinds of defense maneuvers and operations."[37]

Her first study relates the problems of a Jewish boy who grew up in a multi-ethnic neighborhood and practiced many Jewish customs in addition to speaking Yiddish in the family. Within this ethnic environment, he had exhibited no difficulties. Upon entering college, however, he completely withdrew, and refused to reveal to others where he lived or who his parents were. He went so far as to change his name, and became proficient in another language. Finally, he came to the point where he could no longer function in his adopted role and had to redefine his image of self. Dr. Sommers cites Erik Erikson's reference that a new language may offer a way of replacing a self image. Her analysis concluded that

all of his actions--the adoption of a new name, language and occupation--was an attempt to shed his past without ever establishing who he was within this past. When this was resolved, he was able to form an image of self which encompassed both worlds and allowed him to take an active, positive role within them.

The next case is similar in that the person again attempted to completely reject all signs of ethnicity by becoming the image of the "All American boy." Of Mexican-American parentage, this person saw nothing worthwhile within his own society and repudiated his entire Mexican American heritage. He was excellent at sports, successful in business, moved to an "Anglo" neighborhood and stopped speaking Spanish. Others accepted him; however, he, himself, was unable to accept his role. He felt conspicuous with his business associates and out of place in his new society. This personal incongruence finally interferred with his ability to maintain his business and personal relationships successfully. Under counselling, he revised his image of his cultural group and became positively involved with his past. "His goal is now clear--to extricate his downtrodden people from misery and to raise their culture, so that he may feel himself to be a better and more worthy person. With the gradual resolution of some of his intrapsychic and ethnic conflicts, he is no longer a caricature of the All-American boy."[38]

A final case study illustrates points brought up in interviews concerning the need for cultural understanding between children and parents.

In this instance, the boy was from a Japanese immigrant family. The more he saw of American habits and customs, the more he hated everything that was Japanese. He resented his father's style of dress, poor English and his boyish manner of relating to him. All the traditions of the family were nightmarish illustrations of all the family faults. Although he despised his idea of the culture, he could not decide whether to totally reject his family and friends and enter the American culture, or to totally commit himself to the Japanese culture and escape from the pressures of America. This problem was finally resolved by guiding him through a study and analysis of Japanese culture. The subject stated: "'I was never interested in learning anything about Japan... Now I can see that my father has been a darned good father from the Japanese point of view. Too bad that our ideas have been rooted in two different premises...No understanding was possible between my father and myself because of our culture and language barrier...'"[39]

These studies represent but a small sample of the problems experienced by ethnics attempting to resolve the differences of two distinct cultures and their own roles within them. It is a difficult and confusing task to resolve the forces of two major cultures, but the successful acknowledgement of the interaction of both leads to a richer and more constructive development of both the community and the individual. "Freed from their crippling conflicts, they are no longer blinding themselves to the social reality that there can never be a complete solution of their problem. They never can slough off the signs of their origin, the ethnic characteristics which set them apart from the members of their

adopted culture with whom they have so desperately sought to identify. Nevertheless, they can now enjoy a new-found sense of belonging--a belonging with their own family and their ancestral parental heritage as well as belonging to the country and culture of their birth. Through this fusion of both cultures, they are gaining something unique and valuable for themselves and society that they could not have done previously by their torn allegiance."[40]

Combined with the interviews, the case studies might illustrate both ends of the cultural identity spectrum: those who have been able to form a positive image of their ethnic culture may be able to integrate themselves successfully into the native culture without experiencing a loss of linkage with their background or a negative image of their dual cultural role; those who have not experienced these positive elements possibly are unable to establish a positive self image because they feel they must reject their cultural heritage, and in doing so, break the ties necessary for a smooth cultural identity development.

Although the interviews were too few in number to present any accurate finding, Dr. Sommer's case studies (of which only a small number are noted here from her much larger study) provide an interesting extension of the interviewees responses. The three interviewees who had negative reactions to their ethnic ties were the only ones who did not have a clear idea of what their culture was, what it had contributed, or what positive images it had on the eyes of the native community. All of the other

interviewees had very positive images of their background cultures, had no problems integrating its views with the native culture, and saw themselves in a favorable light as far as their practice of ethnic values and traditions was concerned. One lady mentioned that she knew others described her cultural group as "thick headed" but that she is educated, knows what they actually did and is proud of her people and herself. These reactions illustrate the earlier discussion of the need to have a positive, "agens" oriented concept of self in order to realize one's full potential. Those within this group who had integrated positive images of their background into their concept of self were able to "act on things" by their own volition; those who did not, were confused, unable to see themselves or their situation in a positive manner, and were unable to comfortably act on their social situations.

Tying in the previous analysis of the community's role in this process, both the interviews and case studies involved the community influence on the relationship of the individual with his ethnicity. Most of the interviewees fondly mentioned ethnic community festivities and organizations to which they had belonged and in which they were presently members. These connected them with other community members of a similar background and fostered feelings of warmth and sharing among all members of the community. Family traditions had a public outlet for expression; people had opportunities to share experiences and expressions within a common cultural norm; and a positive image of self and community was maintained. Likewise, the solutions in the case studies encouraged renewed contact with the ethnic community and culture; an understanding of one's background on the personal as well as on the overall societal-cultural level.

The community, then, has a major task in helping the ethnic bridge the gap between his two cultures. Although the inroads of assimilation are being felt more and more, to reject acknowledgement of this past and put aside understanding of the culture of the community is detrimental to the successful functioning of that community and the well being of its residents. In response to this, Peter Munch has written: "In human society, there are forces working both ways, both toward assimilation and toward differentiation of groups. And the existence in this country of easily distinguishable ethnic groups, even after more than a hundred years' residence through three or four or five generations under tremendous social pressures, suggests that there have been positive forces working towards a differentiation of groups on the basis of ethnic origin."[41] The retention of ethnic ties and traditions and the recognition of the influence of a culture on a people's actions and desires are important to the development of both the community and the individual.

This emphasis on the need for ethnically oriented communities because of the benefits to be gained from this ethnic awareness, is not to exclude the admission that in some cases, problems arise from such developments. Ethnic organization has often been a power tool for political machines; groups have been thrust against each other in economic battle; and the ownership of turf has often symbolized fierce rivalry between ethnic groups for social, economic or political dominance. There is no guarantee that these problems and frictions will not arrive again in ethnic communities. The philosophy of this thesis,

however, is to realize the impact of these differences psychologically, and to utilize this knowledge in such a way that it produces a stabilizing, rather than a disturbing effect on the community. Within these boundaries, the study of culture should have its most worthwhile influence on the planning process. Programs could be developed which deal directly with the problems of specific communities rather than grappling with general problems without understanding the underlying issues and considerations surrounding them.

Having described some of the underlying factors surrounding the problems of ethnicity and the scope of the basic area of intervention (community), I wish in the next chapter to turn to a discussion of some of the social services where I believe ethnic involvement could have a beneficial impact. To my knowledge, there has been little study of specific issues where ethnicity has a meaningful impact. Most studies have been general acknowledgements of ethnic communities with descriptions of their general lifestyles and situations; few have delved into finding out the more detailed aspects of these cultural differences. My recommendations, then, are based mainly on the conclusions drawn from the study thusfar, my own personal experiences in ethnic projects, and extensions of more general studies of ethnicity. Moreover, they are not meant to be detailed descriptions of the organization and direction of those programs. It is the task of each community to decide what its problems are, which cultural influences are involved and what solutions are most relevent and applicable. Culture is not a product of mass production; each ethnic community has its individual way of organizing and expressing itself, and these differences must be individually realized.

CHAPTER 7 : ETHNICITY AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

In discussing the relationship of ethnicity to the community and the planning process, I would first like to present an overview of the general areas of ethnic influence which shouldinfluence planning decisions. Planning decisions have too often ignored the precious boundaries of human contact, warmth, and belonging which are stronger and more vital to a community than any of the environmental or political boundaries imposed on the community. The cultural ties which bind the people of an ethnic community together are intermeshed with the family traditions within that cultural community. One reinforces and gives expression to the other. Without this interplay between family and community, the fundamental precepts for the establishment of that community are broken. Roots are pulled out and people are left without any special attachments or personal feelings which are necessary for the active life of any community.

Community boundaries have been imposed by any number of physical forms and scales. Physical structure-images, edges and the observable elements have often been the only criteria for acknowledging the confines of a community. Underneath, however, lies a whole network of social ties and relationships which actually form the substance of the community. These may coincide with the political and environmental forms used to describe them, but these latter concepts have many times been the only considerations employed. Where the human relationships have gone beyond

those formal community lines dictated by planners, planning decisions have often disrupted and completely broken the community life and spirit within. Witness the destructive effect of urban renewal plans on the West End of Boston or the former "Little Canada" section of Lowell, Massachusetts. Both areas were once tightly organized ethnic communities. Planners' attempts to improve the physical conditions of these areas, however, resulted in the total abolishment of the communities. Relocation policies took little notice of the importance of cultural ties extending over generations, and scattered people without regard for their personal needs and attachments. Where cultural ties are strong, resettlement policies should make an effort to keep them intact. New communities were constructed without any understanding or concern for the cultural needs and preferences of the people involved. In studying the effects of this type of community disruption, Robert Nisbet writes: "man is unstable, inadequate, and insecure when he is cut off from the channels of social membership and clear belief. Changes and dislocations in the cultural environment will be followed by dislocations in personality itself."[42]

In instances where the ethnic community has been disrupted, community spaces provided in new housing projects have not been able to foster the cohesiveness formerly engendered by cultural ties. The shared life styles and cultural patterns of the ethnic community create their own sense of space and environment. This, in turn, builds up a sense of trust and responsibility among the residents necessary for the strength of the community. While some people believe this type of

environment is not the ideal mixture of diversified peoples and ideas, it must be remembered that people have a right to make their own decisions as to what is important for their well being. Herbert Gans has written: "cultural conformity is a basic and widespread process of choice making that cannot be considered undesirable for the people who make it, even if it is undesirable by the values of the planner."[43] The planner has an obligation not only to look in from without, but to understand the culture well enough to be able to look back out. To do this requires a commitment on the planner's part to spend time studying, integrating himself with and working with the community residents. This process will be discussed in later sections.

Ethnic influences should play an important role in the planning of the community services. If ethnic community residents have a sense of their ethnic identity, their ability to participate actively and responsively within their community will be heightened. It is here that the cultural dualism again adds to the problems of community identity. Programs which are designed to complement specific cultural morês will provide services more pertinent to the community's interests. If one is able to identify with the content of programs, then these programs will have a greater impact on him. The user will experience a linkage between the service and his personal needs and there will be less alienation due to poor programming caused by bureaucratic disinterest. People sharing similar goals and tied by a common culture are able to work more effectively together, and thus are able to contribute more to the support of the programs.

From the outside planner's point of view, a knowledge of the community cultural life will give him a better sense of the community as a whole. This could result in better planning for the placement of services. Often, time constraints have forced a more superficial, hurried contact with the community residents. A more in depth study of the community will result in greater contact with the community residents and more citizen input into the types of considerations necessary. Increased consultation with community residents and use of their ideas will result in the development of stronger citizen interest and more effective citizen participation. Services can be developed with an intimate understanding not only of the needs of the residents, but also the translation of these needs into personally designed services and placement in areas where the services will be more accessible and utilized.

In the following section, I have chosen four types of services and programs which I feel are vital areas in community service planning and which should be cognizant of cultural influences. Each deals with an area which should be in close contact with the community residents and aware of their cultural differences. Presently, however, little has been done to relate these services to the specific needs of the communities. Most have been patterned after general guidelines for running these services without regard to cultural differences in communities. Standardized services ignore the different cultural patterns in many areas and continue to offer services which conflict with the lifestyles and beliefs of the area. This is especially true for example, in ethnic areas where religious beliefs are strong and prohibit certain medical or counselling recommendations.

To formulate some of my conclusions, I have used the data collected in the few studies of ethnic differences and problems done by sociologists and psychiatrists such as Elizabeth Hartwell and Vita Sommers. I have interviewed people working with day care centers, family service centers, medical clinics, educational programs and mental health programs in ethnic communities. All of those interviewed stated that there were differences in attitudes within their communities that affected the resident's use of the particular services offered. None of these centers, however, have done any studies to pinpoint these differences or to make the services more fitting to the communities. In some instances, individuals involved said they tried to personally adjust their actions to the community's needs and preferences, but this was the extent of the cultural understanding exhibited. To do a thorough study of just one area in one community would be a thesis in itself. Furthermore, I have had no experience working with other day care centers or counselling services and therefore I am unable to propose any extensive policy formation. It is my hope, however,that the few considerations presented here will initiate further interest and involvement in meeting these needs and result in programs designed to the cultural context in which they are placed.

DAY CARE

As discussed in earlier sections of this thesis, cultural norms are strongly instilled in children by the family from birth on. Within many ethnic areas, there are strict and unspoken rules concerning the types and amount of discipline, emotion and behavior permitted and

differences in the areas of educational emphasis. Such differences should be taken into account when planning for any kinds of services dealing with children. A constant conflict in goals, techniques and approaches, may present severe difficulties for the child attempting to modify his behavior to a specific model. If, on the one hand, a child is expected by the family and community to play a specific role and he comes in contact with another authority figure who demands an opposite response, his relationship with his family or the other figure is threatened before he is old enough to be able to handle these conflicts.

For this reason, I believe that the culture of an area should be considered before any child care program is developed for that area. Because of higher costs of living and greater pressures for women to enter the working force, day care centers have become a high priority in community service planning. Within ethnic communities, however, the strength of ethnic role expectations should be taken into account before such services are planned. In her thesis on ethnic differences and expectations, Elizabeth Hartwell surveyed a number of ethnics from Irish and Italian communities and discovered a large differential in the attitudes affecting possible use of day care by the two groups. She found that the Irish group was reluctant to seek any help for care of children outside of the nuclear family and that the Italian group much more readily asked for aid. Her findings are presented below:[44]

Help in Child Care and Ethnic Group

	Irish	Italian
Mentions Would Seek Help	19%	52%
Does Not Mention Help	81%	48%
	100%	100%
	N=32	N=29

Behind these findings is a reluctance of the women in these communities to leave their children. Both cultures expect the woman to stay at home with the children, especially during their early years. The strength of these attitudes should certainly play a significant role in deciding whether a day care center is needed in the area and what kinds of approaches should be taken to introduce these services to the neighborhood.

The methods used to care for day care children from ethnic communities must also take into account the child rearing patterns as well as the overall characteristics of that culture. Children from cultures which demand strong sex-typing may experience severe difficulties dealing with their community if they exhibit behavior which is contrary to that expected within their community. One woman interviewed mentioned that her culture encouraged children to complain and to constantly verbally express their pain or insecurities so that the Mother could fulfill her role as one who soothes and nourishes. Anyone taking care of children and not understanding this cultural expression could cause considerable trauma by punishing the complaining child for something that is encouraged and rewarded by his culture.

Methods of discipline or authority figure status is another area of cultural concern. Lateral or linear family relationships have an effect on the type and intensity of discipline used on children. Further studies by Elizabeth Hartwell compare the more linearly oriented Irish families with the laterally oriented Italian families. They conclude that the linearly oriented families place more emphasis on the family head as a strict authority figure, and demand consistent unquestioning obedience.[45]

Laterally oriented families however, had less consistent disciplinary methods and gave the child more leeway. Herbert Gans noted in his perceptions of Italian families, that they were less consistent and more haphazard in their disciplinary methods, mixing threats, punishment and affection in their interplay with the child.

My own experiences in working with children of different ethnic communities clearly indicate a need to be aware of the changing attitudes caused by cultural differences. Within the Chinese community, discipline was strict, authority respected, and moderation of behavior instilled in children at an early age. My work in drama classes was severly inhibited as children used to sitting quietly in chairs could not comprehend large physical movements and expression. The simple -- and usually welcome -- act of taking off their shoes to say hello with their toes was met with concern, apprehension, and in some cases, fear.

In contrast, the Italian children were raucous, and emotionally exuberant. Quiet games were nearly impossible to continue for more than a few minutes; whereas noise, ridiculous pantomimes, wild games and races were greeted with delight. Here, there was a total absence of discipline, and a looseness that would have shocked the children in Chinatown.

Midway between these two extremes was the Irish community. The children were noticeably more conscious of discipline, authority and responsibility than the Italian children, but were not as inhibited as the Chinese children. They were very conscious of formal structure in games and were more organization-leader oriented than either of the other two groups.

These types of observations can only be made by immersing oneself in the life of the community and experiencing events as a participant. There is nothing which prevents service organizations from investigating the cultural life of a community. In most cases, however, the concern to get needed services to the community as quickly as possible has cancelled out the time commitment necessary to provide services more tailored to the individual needs of the community. In addition, planning programs have failed to recognize that white ethnic communities have cultural differences which affect their needs. Since little attention has been given to identifying these differences, services continue to plan without attempting to focus on them.

The design of day care services plays an important role in the identity development of the child attending one. Images of self received from the personnel of the day care center are some of the first received during the child's early socialization. If these are contrary to the images of self received from his home, the child will have difficulty forming his self image. Through the misinterpretation of culturally defined action, the personnel may respond to the child in a way which is contrary to his culture. This may cause him considerable confusion in defining the accepted way of acting.

To cope with these problems, day care centers should concern themselves more with the culture of the community. Surveys of need preferences should be conducted to decide the preferences of parents with regard, for example, to discipline, role playing, and educational programs. Personal attitude surveys might also be conducted to investigate parental

attitudes towards manner of expression (i.e. expression of pain, dissatisfaction, sorrow, guilt, love, friendship, happiness, etc.). Before working with the children, outside personnel should gain some sense of the community through contact with the parents, residents, organizations, etc., and be instructed in the particular cultural lifestyle (s) of the community. Where many cultures are concerned, the personnel must be aware of the different cultural forces acting on the children, so that they will be more open to individual understanding and adjustment. This applies to ethnics working with centers from the ethnic community as well, to prevent their own biases from influencing their actions too strongly. It is assumed, in this case, that most children will come from a fairly unmixed background, as those children with a mixed heritage are apt to be more assimilated and less likely to live within the confines of an ethnic community.

All of these observations indicate only a few of the areas that could deeply influence the planning and structure of day care facilities. Within ethnic communities, acknowledgement and adjustment to all of these concerns is necessary for the provision of services that will be needed and that will be designed so as not to conflict with the mores of the culture with which they are concerned.

COUNSELLING SERVICES

A second area where cultural differences could play a major role in the provision of services is in the area of counselling. John Bryde has stated: "It seems unanimous in the literature of social scientists that mental health problems usually accompany most cultural change."[46]

The problem confronting most planners in this area is how to reach the people with these problems and under what auspices. Again, looking at Elizabeth Hartwell's work, ethnic influences may prevent an ethnic group from seeking any outside help. Within the Irish community, subjects reflected a reluctance in seeking any outside help, and within both the Irish and Italian communities any help sought was usually within the family.

Denial of Asking Advice and Ethnic Group[47]

	Irish	Italian
Says Not Asking Help	31%	6%
Does Not Say Not Asking	69%	94%
	100%	100%
	N=32	N=29

For public agencies, this problem is compounded by the influence of the church within these communities. Interviews with social workers and psychiatrists with public institutions revealed that there were difficulties in gaining contact with and the trust of the people. Most problems are brought to the parish priest and there is a reluctance of the residents to utilize public facilities. In these instances, it may be helpful to establish some linkage with the religious facilities in the area either by working under church auspices or by incorporating religious personnel within the institution. Classes explaining illness and counselling problems and their treatment might also be included under Church direction to educate and encourage use of the facilities available to them.

Cross cultural relationships are the source of many unforeseen problems within an ethnic community. Immigrants may encounter many family problems as one marital partner or the other encounters identity problems

or finds his rate of assimilation so different that personal relationships become difficult. Children may rebel against parental authority and the different cultural actions and attitudes of the parents. This could cause added confusion for both the parents and children if their images of self were to become shaken or unsolveable. Beyond this, the higher proportion of mixed ethnic marriages as assimilation influences become stronger may create a need for more marital counselling services if unidentified cultural differences become conflicts and are unresolved. The intensity with which differing ideas of male and female roles are developed create many problems as these deep rooted roles and instincts become challenged in a new cultural environment. This study does not intend to pass judgement on the pros and cons of mixed marriages; any partnership involves a process of learning and adjustment. Within mixed marriages, however, cultural differences provide an additional strain which must be met and understood.

Cultural attitudinal and emotional patterns must also be considered. A National Opinion Research Study of ethnic neighborhoods revealed widely differing methods of coping with life situations.[48] Italians evidenced high worry and highenjoyment; Jews, high worry and low enjoyment; and Irish and Germans, low worry and high enjoyment. These emotional differences will have some impact on the types of problems that could be expected in these ethnic areas and also the types of misunderstandings that could arise from any inter-group relationships.

With these differences and attitudes in mind, counselling services should be especially cognizant of the particular needs of the ethnic

communities. Outreach programs under religious auspices, if necessary, should be promoted in order to make greater contact with the community residents. Explanations of these centers and services should also be made available to break down fears or reservations of the residents in need of these programs.

The culture of the community should be more thoroughly understood so that counselling solutions will not violate community norms for behavior. This will also help the centers know which types of problems may be most prevalent and plan for their services accordingly. Discussions with the community residents may help to promote further understanding between the center and the residents as well as a greater self-awareness of the community itself.

With regard to specific services, counselling centers may help to alleviate bi-cultural identity problems by working with other organziations (i.e. schools, churches, social clubs) to set up programs on cultural awareness. Specific programs could be designed for teenagers and young adults when this crisis becomes more focused. Dialogue sessions with older residents of both the ethnic and native culture may help those younger to attain a more balanced perspective of their role within both cultures. Pre-marital counselling focusing on the cultural differences between the different ethnic cultures involved may also promote a heightened awareness and understanding of differences before couples engage in a living situation where the friction from these differences becomes more intense and less easy to cope with.

In all, much more study is needed in this area to provide more accurate information of the way of introducing counselling centers into ethnic areas, the types of counselling needed, the problems which will be encountered and suitable methods of coping with these problems which will not conflict with the expected roles and mores of the area.

EDUCATION

One of the most vital institutions within any community is the school. It not only deals with the intellectual growth of the children, but must also grapple with their emotional problems and differences and their relationships with the home and the cultural environment from which they come. To be effective, a school must have some impact on the home and the community. This link is necessary for the continuity of the education process in the home. Parents need some insight into how and why their children are changing; and children need the supportive environment provided by a home where interest is expressed by the parents. In order to do this, there must be a clear understanding of the cultural philosophy and lifestyle of the residents in the area being served, and an interplay between the actors in both the community and school.

Unfortunately, in most cases where ethnic communities have been concerned, little attention has been paid to the integration of that culture with the curriculum of the school system. In his study on the "Education of the Culturally Different", Jack Forbes writes: "The ultimate test of a successful school system...is how the communities served by that system or institution have enhanced their own lives, individually and collectively because of the presence of that educational system."[49]

To accomplish this, opportunities must be provided to include the community residents in school activities as well as involving students with the community. This will serve not only to increase understanding of the culture of the area, but to break down age barriers between the old and young. "'The educational process itself as well as the entire socio-economic spectrum depends on the effectiveness of social interaction.'"[50]

Throughout this thesis, the importance of the understanding of one's past and roots in the formation of a self image, has been emphasized. What better place is there to promote cultural understanding, not only on a personal but also on an intercultural level, than in the school? The inclusion of an ethnic curriculum in any schoolsystem working in a bi- or multi-cultural area would help to instill one with a pride of background and respect for other's differences. This type of curriculum could include such subjects as the psychology of cultures, a balanced presentation of both historical achievements and problems of the cultures involved, and an introduction to the many different artistic expressions of the different cultures. A cultural awareness curriculum could be developed encompassing the different cultures within the school. This could include study of the changes in cultural expressions over time, and the social, economic and geographic, etc., pressures which influenced these changes; art displays and exhibits showing old and new cultural art forms; films on cultural expressions and differences; and students' own work exploring their own background. These student projects might involve research on their family history, the creation of an artistic

presentation expressing their present concept of their culture either through photography, sculpture, music, drama, etc.; or their own film documenting the ways in which their culture has influenced their immediate environment or neighborhood. In doing this, students could explore their communities and learn of the different institutions and programs which involve their own cultures and gain a better perspective of their own role in its development.

For younger children (not high school age), such cultural programs might take on a broader format. Too specific an emphasis on differences would be too difficult for them to handle. General places to which they could relate their family histories, stories of the immigrants and a general introduction to family customs which they may practice would all bring the past to life for them. In addition, each child would have a specific area to which he could relate personally and bring some of his own experiences to the class.

None of these suggestions are utopian solutions to the problems of the students or the community. Students may hesitate to go out into the community because of built up fears or previous aggressions. If personal biases and conflicts are present this may inhibit the productivity of this curriculum. All efforts should be made, however, to present the cultural groups in a positive manner and provide equal opportunities for self expression and explanation.

For this type of curriculum, ideally the teachers should be from both the ethnic and native cultures. The children need models from both since they are facing bicultural identity conflicts, and one cultural viewpoint may serve to balance the outlook of the other.

An interplay of school personnel and community residents could also help to insure the proper balance of perspective and the inclusion of the important aspects of each culture. It is important that each of the cultures be presented on an equal footing -- not only among the cultures, themselves, but also with respect to the native culture. "There is a need," Florence Kluckhohn writes,"not to classify those with different customs in the United States' society as deviant...This is especially true in a society such as ours, where beneath the surface of what has so often been called our compulsive conformity, there lies a wide range of variation. The dynamic interplay of the dominant and the variant is one of the outstanding features of American society but as yet it has been little analyzed or understood."[51] By exploring this interplay people may gain a better sense of their own identity and contribution to this society.

While working on the development of such a curriculum in Lowell, Massachusetts, I discovered the richness of material within each ethnic community which was available to each of the students. One of the most successful projects was the oral history program. Students were supplied with tape recorders and conducted interviews with the elderly on the past history of their community. The tapes were rich in personal anecdotes on the more human and interesting aspects of both the problems and humorous incidences of ethnic life. Not only did the students gain a wealth of information about their lives which would never be found in books, but many of the fears and apprehensions behind relating to the elderly were broken down. The elderly enjoyed their contact with the youth, and the youth

learned from their contact with the elderly and have gained a new source for reference and information on many topics.

As with any pilot program, there were problems involved. I found it difficult to get the teenagers to do the interviews. They had done little work outside the school and were frightened at the thought of actually interviewing people. It was also difficult to get transportation and to schedule interview times. Many of these problems, I think, could have been alleviated, if they had first started their interviews within their family group or among friends rather than with strangers. These people were more accessible and would help the students overcome some of their fears about interviewing.

Many of the students expressed rigid hostilities toward other newer ethnic groups. I tried to work with these by arranging a pilot program with some college students working on a sociological ethnic study of these groups. I had hoped that the exposure to these groups would give them a broader perspective of their problems and contributions. Unfortunately, however, the college students refused to spend the time contacting them and the project was discarded. In spite of these problems, the students' issues were discussed openly, and other speakers were introduced who were able to initiate some changes in the students' feelings.

Programs such as these, foster understanding between the school system and the residents of ethnic communities. Friction between rival authority figures with different cultural concepts is alleviated as cultural understanding increases. Parents and children have a better understanding of the

forces which act on both of their social systems when they have an opportunity to interact and experience each other's worlds. Pride in one's identity is fostered, and an integrated sense of self is achieved when there is an understanding of the past and its relationship to the present and future. The task is enormous; but the school, because of its position as a respected institution which has the opportunity for much personal contact with the community, is perhaps the most viable institution for the promotion of cultural awareness, understanding and identity.

NEIGHBORHOOD CULTURAL HERITAGE CENTERS

> "'So long as strong cultural heritage existed, and with it a sense of membership, the modern ethic of individualism was tolerable. But when the remnants of a common world broke down, the individual was thrown into complete loneliness and the despair connected with it.'"[52]

Within the closeness of the ethnic community, an individual was able to choose the extent of his individual pattern of behavior. When the community dissolved, however,the individual was no longer able to turn to a group for support and was left in unavoidable isolation and confusion. Nowhere is this confusion and despair more noticeable than in those who have had to undergo a cultural change and break the ties which were once a vital part of their lives. Throughout this thesis, the role of the community in preserving the understanding of the old culture, providing a means for its integration with the native culture and developing a support system for the identity development of its residents has been emphasized. A community cannot function without residents; and likewise, residents function better with a community.

Where ethnic communities exist, some attempts must be made at realizing the full impact and potential of the bi-cultural influences on the area. Perhaps the best solution to this problem is the establishment of a neighborhood cultural heritage center which would focus on and give expression to the particular culture of the area. This would be especially appropriate for multi-ethnic neighborhoods where residents could have the opportunity to learn of each other's backgrounds in a neutral setting with equal opportunity for program development and expression. Such a center could be a natural clearing house for ideas and experiments. It could provide space for many different types of exhibits and collections in addition to more active programs involving community participation in cultural activities.

This type of cultural center should ideally service a multi-ethnic area so that each ethnic group can get an initiation to another's life-style. Where each ethnic community has its own, however, multi-cultural programs should be encouraged. By bringing other groups into contact within the ethnic community in a friendly cultural exchange, "turf" boundary conflicts might be reduced. In Lowell, most of the ethnic communities sponsor cultural festivities open to the public. Many of the ethnics I interviewed felt that hostilities had been broken down and positive relationships encouraged through these. Each group was proud of sponsoring its own cultural event, learned of its own cultural heritage and saw it as a time for cultural sharing with others.

Programs could be designed to focus not only on the past history and contribution of each ethnic group; but could also illustrate the

evolution of each group's contemporary philosophies and political, economic and cultural contributions. These could examine not only the overall aspects of international cultures, but also the personal cultural influences and involvement with a recognition of each group's role and contribution in the development of their neighborhood. An interplay of the old and new could provide all of the community residents involved with added insights into their own backgrounds and identity as well as to elicit more positive reactions towards others of different cultural backgrounds.

Hopefully, balanced and unbiased programming could be achieved by combining the expertise of outside planners on the technical aspects of running the center with community input on the types and content of programs presented. If the outside personnel work closely with the community residents and utilize their suggestions some of the possible friction that could arise might be avoided. This has worked for International Institutes and Settlement houses as well as for "Summerthing" and other city sponsored programs. Cultural activities and programs should be designed by the community residents to avoid any patronizing feelings on their part. This will also provide the authenticity and personal involvement necessary for the success of such programs. Guidance from an outside source administrator could provide a check against the dominance of one group over another and the improper representation of any particular display or exhibit. Of course, allowances must be made for the needs of the community for which the center is planned. If it is within one strong ethnic neighborhood, outside

administrators may not be welcome and the proper selection of community people interested in creating a balanced perspective on their ethnic culture would be necessary. In any case, no guarantee can be placed on any administrative organization that smoothly balanced programs will always be the outcome. Rivalries and frictions between different people and groups can always arise; these must be dealt with as fairly as possible with the perspective that the programs are aimed at developing cultural understanding rather than competition or friction.

During one interview, a woman stated that she felt ethnic centers would provide a good opportunity for all ethnic groups to express the pride in their backgrounds on an equal basis. Friction, she felt, was caused when one group saw many expressions of another culture around the neighborhood, but had no outlet for his own feelings or a symbol with which to identify. In working for the Ethnic Christmas Exhibit at Boston City Hall, I found this to be an important issue among the many ethnic groups doing displays. As long as each group was designing its presentation on an equal basis, no friction arose; but any unusual or overly ostentatious step was immediately greeted with suspicion and defensive feelings. Among the ethnic groups in Boston, representation became an important issue and a matter of community pride and spirit.

The overall purpose of a cultural heritage center is to provide a way for the ethnic to recognize and express his cultural image and to build a positive and supportive environment for his identity development. Without these aids for self expression, the ethnic may lose his ability to perceive his differences as a special and integral part of American society; and the society itself will lose the richness and satisfaction of its self expression and diversity which makes it a responsive environment for the needs of man.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Ethnic historic preservation -- the view of ethnicity as a purely tradition bound society -- has often been ethnicity's only defense as a practice which maintains cultural diversity and richness among men. My apprehension in undertaking this study was that it would yield little information beyond this perspective. Without belittling this point, I have found much that goes beyond the question of the need for varied cultural expression. I have explored the deeper significance of these external signs and discovered a cultural relevance and meaning which survives the temporary outward expression.

Ethnicity is not a fading attachment to old world life. It is a live and constantly changing narration of man's feelings, relationships and needs. Ethnicity is important because it is a personal expression of the ancestry and experiences of a people which play an important role in their identity formations. Unchanging traditions do exist; but they are only a small part of man's overall lifestyle. The other aspects of man's lifestyle change over time. Even then, they retain their distinction from other cultures and mark men as belonging to a specific group. These subtle differences are the ones which have the greatest impact on man. They affect his most personal behavior and cause him to seek relationships with others of a similar background.

When he does not remain within the context of his own culture, man must learn a new way of communicating and must be prepared for cultural conflicts and changes which are unknown to him. The process of

assimilation is not necessarily a natural change. It involves the redefining of one's actions, thoughts and feelings -- the redefining of one's self with relation to others with dissimilar lifestyles. Outward changes of appearance and manner do not insure acceptance by others or acceptance by oneself. The most natural everyday actions of each culture are the ones which are the most difficult to recognize as being different from other cultures and the ones which a person least wishes to adjust to.

The problems caused by the ethnic's perceived need to change his image of self to fit in with the dominant culture, and the dominant culture's persistence in not recognizing the differences which do exist are perhaps the most crucial issues surrounding ethnicity. Assimilation is a destructive force when it compels the cutting off of a person from the ties and self images which are basic to his identity.

The points discussed in this thesis lend a new perspective to the role of ethnicity within the American social structure. In this context it cannot be viewed as a frivolous whim of people to retain their attachment to the old or as a social phenomenon which should be discarded as quickly as possible. Neither does it allow for the exploitation of a people's culture for the benefit of those wishing to cash in on the tourist's dollar. These attitudes are detrimental to the ethnic's ability to see himself positively as a worthwhile, contributing member of society. A person's ethnic background should not mark him as deviant, but it should illustrate that men are all involved with different cultures and lifestyles and that differences should be respected and understood. This, in turn, will lead to a more positive sense of one's own self image.

For a philosophy to be realized, it must be practiced outwardly. Changes cannot be communicated unless there is a sign that translates attitudes into action. This is where the planning process can have its greatest impact. Because it is a vehicle for design and implementation, it is also the conveyor of attitudes and ideas. Where ethnicity is concerned, planning's recognition and and respect for man's cultural uniqueness could be a major contribution to the strengthening of an ethnic's image of self and man's relationship with the past as well as his preparation for the future. The involvement of the planning process with programs which recognize man's cultural differences in a positive manner would not only lend support to institutions which help man give expression to his identity, but would also provide for more personally designed services which would ultimately lead to programs that are more functional and beneficial for their users. This type of programming also provides for a greater understanding and expression of the unique ethnic social structure of the United States.

Social theory must not be isolated from social action. Understanding how and why men feel and act as they do is essential for the planning and providing of services for them. Within this thesis, I have tried to gain an understanding of the reasons behind ethnicity, the role of ethnicity in the process of identity formation and the identity problems involved with biculturalism, as well as proposing solutions for the problems involved. For myself, I feel I have learned much about the relationship of theory and action, especially where ethnic identity and planning is concerned.

With respect to ethnicity, my hope is that the planning process will take a deeper look into the essential cultural needs and mores of each community with which it is involved. Beyond this, however, may the planning process go beyond the structural format with which it has so long been concerned and involve a deeper philosophical understanding of man with it's role as provider for man.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. "native" culture in this thesis refers to the dominant culture of the adopted nation -- in this case, the American culture; ethnic refers to the European cultural communities (subgroups).

Chapter I

2. Andrew M. Greeley, Why Can't They Be Like Us?, Institute of Human Relations. Pamphlet Series 12, 1969, p. 6.

3. Ibid., p. 7.

4. Will Herberg's theory of the "multiple melting pot" Protestant, Catholic, Jew.

5. Milton Gordon, Assimilation In American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

6. Ibid., p. 81.

7. Herbert Gans, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

8. Greeley, op. cit.

9. Ibid., p. 21.

Chapter II

10. Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations," in Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, ed. by Paul Kecskemeti (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952).

Chapter III

11. Vita S. Sommers, "The Impact of Dual Cultural Membership on Identity", Psychiatry, 27 (4), 1964, pp. 342-343.

12. Orville G. Brim, Jr.,"Socialization Through the Life Cycle" in Socialization After Childhood, ed. by Orville G. Brim, Jr., and Stanton Wheeler (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 22.

13. Harry Stack Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1953), p. 227.

14. Ibid., pp. 228-229.

15. Don E. Delany, Jr., et al., Contributions to Modern Psychology, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).

16. Erik Erikson, Insight and Responsibility (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1964).

17. Orville Brim, Jr., op. cit., p. 13.

18. Karl Mannheim, op. cit.

19. George Mead, Mind, Self and Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Chapter IV

20. Anais Nin, The Diary of Anais Nin, Volume Three, 1939-1944, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1969), p. 120.

21. Vita Sommers, op. cit., p. 343.

22. Christie Kieler, Margaret Clark and Robert Pierce, "Biculturalism: Psychological Costs and Profits," (Unpublished research done at the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, San Francisco, November, 1970), p. 9.

23. Ibid., p. 10.

24. Ibid., p. 10.

25. Vita S. Sommers, op. cit., p. 343.

26. Erik Erikson, op. cit., p. 96.

27. Helen Merrell Lynd, "Clues to Identity," in Varieties of Modern Social Theory, ed. by Hendrick Ruitenbeck (New York: Dutton Press, 1963), p. 5.

28. Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, (New York: MacMillan Press, 1972), pp. 47-48.

Chapter V

29. Ruth Benedict, "Patterns of Culture" in The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry, Harry Stack Sullivan, (op. cit.), pp. 2-3.

30. George Mead, op. cit., p. 162.

31. Robert Nisbet, The Quest for Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 17.

32. Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, ed., Toward A General Theory of Action (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 7.

33. Erik Erikson, op. cit., p. 89.

34. Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Culture and Community (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1965), p. 20.

35. Milton Gordon, op. cit., p. 244.

36. From this point on, age differences will be referred to as age and length of residency in the U.S. by generation.

37. Vita S. Sommers, op. cit., p. 333.

38. Ibid., p. 335.

39. Ichiro (Nisei), personal history, ibid., p. 340.

40. Ibid., pp. 343-344.

41. Peter Munch, "Social Adjustments Among Wisconsin Norwegians" in "Social Forces Involved In Group Identification or Withdrawal by J. Milton Yinger, Daedelus (Spring, 1961), p. 249.

Chapter VI

42. Robert Nisbet, op. cit., p. 17.

43. Herbert J. Gans, "Culture and Choice: The Problem of Evaluating Human Behavior for Planning", (Xerox), p. 13.

44. Elizabeth Hartwell,"Cultural Assimilation, Social Mobility and Persistance of Cognitive Style" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, December, 1967), p. 81.

45. Ibid., pp. 66-67.

46. John F. Bryde as quoted in Education of the Culturally Different, Jack D. Forbes, ed. (Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1968), p. 33.

47. Elizabeth Hartwell, op. cit., p. 75.

48. National Opinion Research Center, "Neighborhood Study, 1967", in Andrew Greeley (op. cit.), p. 52.

49. Jack D. Forbes, ed., Education of the Culturally Different, (Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1968), p. 35.

50. Cushnan, "Some Affiliative Correlates of Social Class" in Jack Forbes, ibid., p. 26.

51. Florence R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations" in Personality In Nature, Society and Culture, ed. by Clyde Kluckhohn, Henry Marray, and David Schneider (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 353.

52. "The Protestant Era" (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948), pp. 245-246, in Robert A. Nisbet, op. cit., p. 13.

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