ETHNIC IDENTITY: ESTONIAN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS IN TWO DIFFERENT CONTEXTS, ESTONIA AND CANADA

by

Kadri-Ann Laar

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Education
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Kadri-Ann Laar 1996
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author’s permission.

L’auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L’auteur conserve la propriété du droit d’auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.
Ethnic Identity: Estonian mothers and daughters in two different contexts, Estonia and Canada
Kadri-Ann Laar
Doctor of Philosophy, 1996
Graduate Department of Education, University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

In the past decade ethnic identity has been recognized as an important but neglected aspect of ego identity, especially for members of a minority group. According to Phinney (1990) ethnic identity refers to an individual's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group and the attitudes and behaviours associated with that sense.

This research is an exploratory study of the possible relationships between ethnic identity, generation, environment, and personality variables among 20 mother-daughter dyads of Estonian background. Half of the pairs were born and raised in Estonia, and the other half were raised but not necessarily born in Canada. All the mothers had pursued a university education, and all the daughters were university students.

Each participant was interviewed and each completed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), a self-report index of the salience of ethnicity in her life, and the Differential Diagnostic Technique (DDT), a visual-motor
projective personality test, which yields scores of both ego strength or overall mental health, and personality structure or type.

The scores obtained from these measures were subjected to correlational analyses and analyses of variance. These scores were converted into categorical data to explore their relationships using a multivariate statistical technique called dual scaling (Nishisato, 1994).

From these analyses several interesting patterns emerged. As a group, Estonians in Canada reported higher scores in ethnic identity and more positive attitudes toward other ethnic groups than Estonians in Estonia, demonstrating a relationship between ethnic identity and environment. Estonians in Estonia seemed to attribute less importance to their ethnicity and to be less open to interaction with representatives of other ethnic groups than Estonians in Canada. Furthermore higher ethnic identity scores in the total sample clustered with lower ego strength and a general tendency toward loss of control, while more positive attitudes toward other ethnic groups were linked to greater control of hostile impulses. These findings illustrate the associations between ethnic identity and personality. In terms of ethnic identity and generation, the older generation showed higher scores in ethnic identity than the younger one. The results of this study are interpreted from a psychoanalytic perspective.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest thank you is for my fellow Estonians, the women in this study. I am grateful for their willingness to take considerable time from their busy lives to share their thoughts, and feelings with me. I am especially indebted to the mothers and daughters in Estonia, who trusted a complete stranger with their life stories, and to my three contacts in Tallinn, who brought us together.

To the members of the Estonian fraternity and sorority, in Toronto, the students and teachers of the Estonian school, my recognition for participating in the pilot study. That same recognition is extended to all the members of the Estonian folk-dance group and choir for distributing the ethnic identity measure in Estonia during the Song Festival in 1990. The return rate surpassed my greatest expectations.

I wish to acknowledge the members of my thesis committee for their always timely response to my work. To Dr. Solveiga Miezitis, my committee chair, my gratitude for her continued interest and understanding of the topic of ethnic identity, an understanding that is grounded in life experience. To Dr. Morris Eagle my thanks for his personal
input in the early stages of this project and his comprehensive writings on psychoanalytic theory.

To Dr. Otto Weininger a special thank you for introducing me to the Differential Diagnostic Technique, the personality test used in this study, and for rekindling my interest in psychoanalytic theory and practice. I am most grateful for his sensitivity in times of doubt and need. To Dr. Joel Weiss, my appreciation for teaching me qualitative methodology, and for his valuable feedback regarding my work.

I want to especially mention Dr. Mary Morris as her contribution to this thesis goes well beyond her expertise in scoring and interpreting the Differential Diagnostic Technique. She has been a constant source of encouragement and support through this entire process. I am most grateful for her wisdom and kindness. This same kindness has been extended to me by others, in particular by Linda Ennis, a fellow traveler on the "thesis journey", with whom I could always be my true self. I would also like to thank the members of the Psychoanalytic Women's Group for their interest and encouragement of my work.

I am much indebted to Muriel Fung, for her statistical assistance and expertise, specially with the dual scaling procedure, to Pam Leavere for her clerical help with the Tables, and my aunt, Hilja Jams, for her assistance with translations into the Estonian language. I am also grateful
for the financial support awarded to my research by the Ontario Graduate Students Scholarship.

To my children Ingrid, Kristi, and Erik, who shared me with the thesis for several years, my apologies and recognition for their patience and understanding. To my husband, who sometimes seemed to wonder about this whole exercise, a thank you for always standing by me.

To the thesis, my transitional object, a thank you for opening up new vistas and allowing me to move on.
To my mother before me and my children after
THE EAST-WEST BORDER

The East-West Border is always wandering,
sometimes eastward, sometimes west,
and we do not know exactly where it is just now:
in Guagamela, in the Urals, or maybe in ourselves,
so that one ear, one eye, one nostril, one hand, one foot,
one lung and one testicle or one ovary
is on the one, another on the other side. Only the heart,
only the heart is always on one side:
if we are looking northward, in the West;
if we are looking southward, in the East;
and the mouth doesn't know on behalf of which or both
it has to speak.

Jaan Kaplinski (1987)
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The East West Border</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER

### I. INTRODUCTION

| Estonia and the Estonians   | 2    |
| The Estonian Community in Toronto | 7 |
| The Researcher              | 10   |
| Reasons for Undertaking the Study | 13  |
| The Purpose of the Study    | 14   |

### II. LITERATURE REVIEW

| Empirical Studies on Ethnic Identity | 21   |
| Components of Ethnic Identity       | 21   |
| Structure of Ethnic Identity        | 24   |
| Ethnic Identity Development         | 26   |
| Ethnic Identity and Personality Variables | 33  |
| Theoretical Bases for the Study of Ethnic Identity | 35 |
| Tajfel's Social Identity Theory     | 36   |
| Lewin's Field Theory                | 36   |
| The Choice of a Psychoanalytic Approach | 37 |

### III. METHOD

| Participants                   | 67   |
| Research Instruments           | 72   |
| The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure | 74 |
| The Differential Diagnostic Technique | 82 |
| The Interview                  | 88   |
| Procedures                     | 91   |

### IV. DATA ANALYSIS

| Quantitative Data Analyses of Ethnic Identity Variables | 93   |
| Quantitative Data Analysis of Ethnic Identity and Personality Variables | 95   |
| Dual Scaling                    | 97   |
| Qualitative Data Analysis       | 102  |
V. RESULTS

Quantitative Results 106
Pilot Study Sample 106
Combined Sample 114
Main Study Sample 118
Qualitative Results 149

VI. DISCUSSION 199

Ethnic Identity and Environment 200
Intergroup Relationships and Environment 208
Ethnic Identity and Generation 213
Intergroup Relationships and Generation 215
Ethnic Identity and Personality Variables 216
Intergroup Relationships and Personality Variables 229
Ethnic Identity and Gender Differences 236
Intergroup Relationships and Gender Differences 239
Idiosyncratic Aspects of an Estonian Identity 241
Summary and Conclusions 247
Limitations of the Study 253
Directions for Future Research 254

REFERENCES 256

APPENDIXES

Appendix A 268

Aa Estonian History 269
Ab The MBIM questionnaire 281
Ac Scoring of the MEIM 282
Ad The DDT (sample figures) 283
Ae Scoring of the DDT 284
Af Interpretation of the DDT 285
Ag Interview Schedule 296
Ah Consent form 300
Ai Categorization of the DDT scores for Dual Scaling: 301
Rationale

Appendix B 304

Statistical Tables
LIST OF TABLES

Categorization of MEIM scores for Dual scaling (Pilot) 305
Categorization of MEIM scores for Dual scaling (Main) 306
Categorization of DDT scores for Dual scaling 307

Pilot study
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by environment (Tables 1-5) 308
Dual scaling for MEIM scores by environment (Table 6) 311
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by gender (Tables 7-11) 312
Dual scaling for MEIM scores by gender (Table 12) 315
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by age group (Tables 13-17) 316
Dual scaling for MEIM scores by age group (Table 18) 319

Combined sample
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by group (Tables 19-23) 320
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by environment (Tables 24-28) 323
Dual scaling for MEIM scores by environment (Table 29) 326
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by age group (Tables 30-34) 327
Dual scaling for MEIM scores by age group (Table 35) 330

Main sample
Correlation matrix of MEIM and DDT scores for total sample (Table 36) 331
Correlation matrix of MEIM and DDT scores for Estonian sample (Table 37) 332
Correlation matrix of the MEIM and DDT scores for Canadian sample (Table 38) 333
Correlation matrix of the MEIM and DDT scores for daughters (Table 39) 334
Correlation matrix of the MEIM and DDT scores for mothers (Table 40) 335
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by environment (Tables 41-45) 336
ANOVAs for DDT scores by environment (Tables 46-51) 339
ANOVAs for MEIM scores by generation (Tables 52-56) 342
ANOVAs for DDT scores by generation (Tables 57-62) 345
Dual scaling of MEIM and DDT categorical scores by environment (Table 63) 348
Dual scaling of MEIM and DDT categorical scores by generation (Table 64) 349
Dual scaling of MEIM and DDT categorical scores by Ethnic identity, Solution 1 (Table 65) 350
Dual scaling of MEIM and DDT categorical scores by Ethnic Identity, Solution 2 (Table 66) 351
Dual scaling of MEIM and DDT categorical scores by Other-group orientation, Solution 1 (Table 67) 352
Dual scaling of MEIM and DDT categorical scores by Other-group orientation, Solution 2 (Table 68) 353
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

I don't think that other people have a stereotype of Estonians as a group, like we have of Russians here. I don't think that anybody has an opinion about the inhabitants of small Estonia. Estonians are not a big enough people, and the perceptions others have are of individual Estonians perhaps, but not an evaluation or an opinion about the group. It seems to me that often people do not know who we are.

This excerpt is from an interview with a mother in Estonia; similar statements, conveying a general lack of awareness of one's ethnic group by others, were expressed by many of the interviewees, both in Estonia and in Canada. The term "invisibility" was used to identify the theme underlying this perception of not existing for others.

All of a sudden everybody else seemed to know what an Estonian was, that was an important moment, that we really were somebody, because at other times you explain and explain where Estonia is, and that it exists, and some people might think perhaps that it is a province somewhere. I often had the feeling that people didn't believe we existed, and then all of a sudden we were on Time magazine and everybody was talking about Estonians, for a while it was so strange, all of a sudden everybody knew, it was such a strange feeling for me. I felt "Oh my God, we are like some English or French or Italian people, suddenly everybody knows we exist, how did that happen!"

These statements from a mother in Canada point to the relevance of the context in understanding experience; to
make sense her narrative has to be framed in its historical context. She is referring in this passage to the worldwide press coverage of the events leading to the second Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Estonia, on August 20, 1991, immediately after the ill-fated coup in the Soviet Union. The interviews in this study were conducted in October and November of that year in Estonia, and in 1992 in Canada.

Due to the importance of the context and because Estonia was literally erased from the map of the world during its half-century of Soviet occupation, an introduction to the country, its people and its turbulent history is presented.

Estonia and the Estonians

The Ethnic Group

Estonians are one of the longest settled European peoples, who have lived in their land for approximately 5,000 years. They belong to the Baltic-Finnic group of the Finno-Ugric peoples, as do the Finns and the Hungarians, and they arrived on the territory of Estonia in the third millennium B.C. Eesti Vabariik, the Republic of Estonia, in Estonian, lies on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, and it covers an area of no more than 45,000 sq. km. The land is flat, nearly 40 percent of the country is forested with
pine, spruce and junipers, and half of it is made up of marshes. There are around 1,500 lakes, and approximately 1,500 islands.

Estonian is the official language of the Republic, a Latin alphabet is used in written Estonian, and Standard Estonian is based on the North-Estonian dialect. The Estonian language is closely related to Finnish and distantly to Hungarian. The oldest examples of written Estonian are the words, phrases and names in the 13th century chronicles. The earliest surviving Estonian text dates from the beginning of the 16th century.

**History**

The history of Estonia is troubled with conqueror after conqueror occupying the land. The first arrivals were the Danes who occupied Tallinn in 1219. The Teutonic Order of Knights came and subjugated the country shortly thereafter. They built castles and founded towns filling them with craftsmen and merchants recruited from Germany. In their social system Germans occupied the positions of noble, burgher and merchant and the rest, that is, the native Estonians, became their serfs. This system survived every political and religious change for six centuries. Estonia became Swedish territory in 1629 at the conclusion of the Swedish-Polish war. The next major change came with the
Russian invasion in 1710, during the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia. Russia was victorious and its rule continued until the collapse of tsarist power in 1917. In the resulting turmoil the Republic of Estonia was declared on February 24, 1918. In the next two years a war of independence had to be fought against Soviet Russia which attacked from the east and the Baltic-German army which attacked from the south. The war of independence was brought to a successful conclusion and in February 2, 1920 under the terms of the Tartu Peace Treaty, Soviet Russia recognized the Republic of Estonia.

**The period of independence.**

The period of independence lasted until 1940. During this time the development of farms and oil shale was initiated, the rail network was completed and the production of timber and paper products greatly increased. National independence meant apart from the increased economic prosperity, the development of an official Estonian culture. Estonian as the national language quickly became the language of research and scholarship. A network of cultural establishments was created and notable achievements were made in many fields. It was a period of unparalleled growth and change, and intense national consciousness.
The fate of independent Estonia was sealed with the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia on August 23, 1939. Under the terms of the secret protocol Estonia and the other Baltic States were given to Soviet Russia which then orchestrated a series of events. First was the establishment of Soviet bases in Estonia, next were rigged elections and the proclamation of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, and last the incorporation of the Estonian SSR into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on August 6, 1940. During the mass deportations which began on June 14, 1941 over 10,000 people were loaded onto railway boxcars for the long train ride to Siberia. The general estimate of population losses from all causes, deportations, mobilizations, massacres, and unexplained disappearances during the first year of Soviet rule amount to approximately 60,000 people for Estonia. German forces invaded in July 1941, after the collapse of the Nazi-Soviet pact. Estonia now became part of the Eastern territories of the Third Reich.

The exiles.

In August 1944, the Soviet Army once again invaded Estonia and by the end of November, 1944 the whole country was under Soviet control.
Fearing another Soviet onslaught approximately 70,000 people fled, mainly to Germany and Sweden. Tens of thousands of those who did not flee were consigned to Soviet labour camps and into the vacuum thus created were introduced a comparable number of Russians with the dual purpose of manning heavy industry and completing the program of Russification of Estonia. In March 1949 there was a further deportation of about 60,000 individuals to western Siberia. During the 1980s the proportion of Russians living in Estonia rose to 40 percent.

_Glasnost and perestroika_.

The political situation in Estonia started to change with the introduction of "glasnost" and "perestroika"; the new official policy of openness and change, championed by Gorbachev. On August 23, 1987, the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, dissidents in Tallinn, organized the first political demonstration.

_The Singing Revolution and the Declaration of Independence._

During the summer of 1988 in what became known as "The Singing Revolution", Estonians who had always expressed themselves through singing, also expressed their dissent through songs and numerous organized meetings and rallies.
This period of never before seen political activity culminated in a rally of over 300,000 participants in Tallinn in September 11, 1988. Amid the rapid disintegration and dissolution of the U.S.S.R., Estonia finally regained its independence on August 20, 1991. It took another three years, until August 31, 1994 before the last Soviet troops were withdrawn from the country giving Estonia real sovereignty over its territory and true political independence. A lengthier version of the history of Estonia is included in Appendix Aa.

The Estonian Community in Toronto

In 1944, the families of the group in Canada fled Estonia. They stayed as political refugees in other European countries like Sweden, Germany and Denmark, before immigrating to Canada in the late 1940s and early 1950s, with the majority of them settling in Toronto.

The Estonian community in Canada was described in Aun's book, The Political Refugees: A History of the Estonians in Canada. According to Aun (1985), Toronto is the de facto capital of Estonians in Canada, as it has the highest concentration of Estonians in the country, (approximately 9,600), and because it houses almost half of all Estonian organizations in Canada.

These organizations are varied in nature and include the political Estonian Central Council; religious groups
with three Lutheran churches and several other churches with different denominations; cultural groups such as choirs, theatre groups, and folk-dance groups; recreational groups including summer camps, Girl Guides, and Boy Scouts; and sports clubs such as the two gymnastics clubs Kalev and Ritmika. Among the educational institutions are the three-tiered Estonian Language Schools, comprising the kindergarten, elementary, and high school levels. Among the higher level educational organizations is Tartu Institute, which was founded to promote the study and research of Estonian history, and the Metsaulikool or Forest University, an annual summer seminar for Estonian university students and graduates, the Chair of Estonian Studies at the University of Toronto, and so forth. The Estonian academic organizations, the fraternities and sororities, (two of which were approached for the pilot study), are club-like organizations with lifetime membership that were continued in the tradition of the original organizations in Estonia, which were disbanded in 1940 by the Soviets.

There are also a large number of professional organizations and social clubs in the community. Among the financial institutions, the Estonian Credit Union Bank plays an important role and has supported many cooperative ventures.

The Estonian organizations are housed primarily in two buildings, the Estonian House in the Broadview-Danforth
area, and Tartu College, a cooperative student housing project in the Bloor-Spadina area. In terms of residential area, Estonians live scattered among non-Estonians across the Metropolitan area, and no ethnic ghettos have developed.

The community in Toronto is linked with other Estonian organizations not only in the country but also internationally. One event, Estos, the colloquial term for the Estonian World Festivals, brings Estonians together from across continents. These festivals take place in different countries every four years, and they are week-long celebrations of Estonian traditions with presentations by choirs, folk-dance groups, theatre groups, artists, gymnasts, and so on. These celebrations resemble the traditional Song Festivals celebrated in Estonia every four years.

In summary, and to paraphrase Aun, the postwar immigrants from behind the Iron Curtain, a categorization that includes this group of Estonians, were in general a highly educated group who fled their homeland due to actual or feared political persecution. These circumstances are reflected in the proliferation of politicocultural and educational organizations in the communities formed abroad.

Political considerations were also at the heart of the lack of interaction between Estonians in Estonia and Estonians in Canada during the 50 years of Soviet occupation. It is only since the open process of dissent
started in Estonia that an active interchange has begun between organizations in the homeland and those abroad. Due in part to the vastly different sociopolitical, cultural, and economic circumstances in which Estonians in Estonia and Estonians abroad have lived during the past 50 years, and the minimal interaction the two groups have had with each other, the process of reacquaintance has had its difficulties. This study attempts to shed some light on the differences and similarities in the meaning of being Estonian for these two groups.

The Researcher

The chosen topic has personal implications for the author of this study. Whence do I speak? I am an Estonian married to an Estonian, and a mother of three children who, although born in Canada, have been raised with the mother tongue of their parents, and have actively participated in ethnic organizations and activities. At the stage of data collection, my oldest daughter was only a couple of years younger than the youngest daughter in the sample, and I fit in the age range of the mothers interviewed.

My early life history resembles closely that of the group of mothers in Canada. Like them, I spent the first years of my life as a refugee in a European country (Denmark), and my family later immigrated to South America. Unlike the subjects in my study, I was not raised in a
close-knit ethnic community, and my sense of being Estonian is mainly rooted in my family life and history, a history that is closely linked to that of Estonia.

Both my parents were the first generation of Estonians to grow up in the Republic. My paternal grandfather was one of the founding fathers of the Estonian Republic, a signer of the Tartu Peace Treaty, and a member of the Estonian government in different capacities; Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and Ambassador to Moscow. His political career ended in 1926 in one of the most notorious political scandals in the Baltics (Medijainen, 1991). He was deported to Siberia in 1941, where according to recently published reports he died a year later. The same fate, deportation, fell on my maternal grandparents and uncle. My grandfather was executed in 1942 but my grandmother and uncle survived, returning to Estonia fifteen years later.

I grew up in Argentina, and except for my parents' friends, many of whom were Estonian, the history and the language remained my only ties with my ethnic background, as my friends and social life were mainstream Argentinian. I did not stay in the country I grew up in, immigrating to Canada as a young adult. At that point I became acquainted with the Estonian community in Toronto, an involvement that was reinforced by my marriage to one of its members.

In retrospect the question of ethnicity surfaced most acutely in my role as a mother, and was originally linked to
the question of language. To speak one language at home, Estonian, or two, Estonian and Spanish, with the understanding that English, the majority language, would be learnt anyway, was the shape of my question. Later, a related concern emerged, namely language shift. What implications did the inevitable decrease of language knowledge and use from one generation to another have for ethnic identity? The widespread notion in the Estonian community that language shift meant the loss of one’s Estonian identity led me to research the topic of language and ethnic identity (Laar, 1990).

The present study is a natural outgrowth of the original question of whether it is possible to be an Estonian without speaking the Estonian language. It is broader in scope, as it explores the importance and meaning of the experience of being Estonian, in two generations and two contexts. Originally I planned to study the ethnic community in Toronto, but the preparatory stages of this research corresponded with a period of momentous change in the sociopolitical circumstances of Estonia, described earlier. This coincidence opened up the possibility of conducting research also in the homeland. The sharing of this personal information is intended to provide the reader with a context for understanding the implications of this study for its author.
Since no one is without personal involvement and bias with regard to an area they are sufficiently interested in to do research, the solution seems to lie in being aware of the investment.

**Reasons for Undertaking the Study**

At the social level, ethnicity, instead of vanishing as a social factor from modern, democratic, and industrialized societies, has asserted itself as a major force, shaping and challenging sociopolitical order (Berry & Laponce, 1994). While ethnic and multicultural studies are well developed in Canada, they only include the larger ethnic groups. Because of its size, the Estonian ethnic group has not been part of these studies.

At the psychological level, ethnic identity has been recognized as an important but somewhat neglected aspect of identity formation, equal in relevance to other traditionally studied areas such as occupation, political ideology, and gender roles (Phinney, 1990). There is a lack of research at the psychological level into the implications of ethnic identity for psychological adjustment, and the possible relationships between personality dynamics and ethnic identity. This study explores the interaction of ethnic identity and personality variables.
Few studies compare people from the same ethnic group who have lived in the homeland and abroad, and none have examined two groups in circumstances similar to those of the present study, that is two groups of the same origin with little interaction in almost 50 years, due to political factors.

In summary the reasons for this research include the widely acknowledged importance of ethnicity at the social and psychological levels, the scarcity of research regarding ethnic identity at the psychological level, the lack of studies including this particular ethnic group, and the special sociohistorical circumstances surrounding Estonia and Estonians.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to contribute to the understanding of the meaning of ethnic identity, conceptualized as an individual's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group and the attitudes and behaviours associated with that sense (Phinney, 1990).

Consistent with its exploratory nature, this research sought answers to a set of questions rather than testing specific hypotheses. The main issues addressed were the links between (a) ethnic identity and social environment, (b) ethnic identity and generation, and (c) ethnic identity and personality dynamics.
A review of the empirical studies on ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990) suggests that the ethnic composition of the social environment plays an important role in the ethnic awareness of its members. The ethnic heterogeneity of the sociocultural milieu generally tends to heighten ethnic consciousness, while ethnic homogeneity has the opposite effect. Membership in a cultural minority group also contributes to individuals' increased ethnic awareness.

The social environment is an important consideration in this research: one of the two groups studied lives in Estonia, the homeland, as an ethnic majority (albeit by a small margin), while the other group, also of Estonian origin, lives as a nonvisible minority in Toronto, a highly multicultural city. There seems to be no research on presumably important factors such as the impact of the relative size and status of an ethnic group on its members. In Canada, size often seems to be one of the criteria for including or excluding an ethnic group from major studies. A small group such as the Estonian ethnic group in Toronto is traditionally the focus of single studies pursued because of the personal interest of the researcher, as is the case for this dissertation.

There is evidence that attitudes toward one's ethnicity change as a result of shifts in sociopolitical trends. For example, in the United States, after the development of the Black is Beautiful movement, Black children did not show the
same degree of preference for white dolls as previously observed, choosing instead the black ones (Banks, 1976). A similar phenomenon was documented in New Zealand among the Maori and Pakeha children after the rise of the Brown power movement of the 1960s (Vaughan, 1978). Although these examples refer to visible minorities in two different continents and at different times, a certain parallel can be drawn with the situation in Estonia: the political movement known as the Singing Revolution, which began in Estonia in 1988 and culminated in the Declaration of Independence from the Soviet Union in August 1991, could not but have an impact on how Estonians perceived themselves, in Estonia and abroad.

In terms of generational differences in ethnic identity, the majority of studies have concentrated on ethnic group identification in different generations of immigrants (Constantinou & Harvey, 1985). These studies have shown a fairly consistent decline in ethnic group identification in later generations. However some studies have suggested a cyclical process, with ethnic identification becoming more important in third- and fourth-generation immigrants. There are very few intergenerational studies of nonimmigrant groups, and only one study in the literature compares three generations of Japanese in the United States, with three in Japan (Masuda, Hasegawa & Matsumoto, 1973). Its findings, that the older group in
Japan, like its counterpart in the United States, scored higher than the younger group on a measure of Japanese identification, points to the importance of age as a factor in the importance of ethnic identity. A study in Estonia by Rakfeldt (1994) also showed that higher age predicted stronger Estonian national identity. The present study, by exploring the importance and meaning of ethnic identity in two generations (mothers and daughters) and in two different contexts (Estonia and Canada), will also touch on these questions.

The studies of links between ethnic identity and personality variables have concentrated mainly on the impact of ethnic identification on self-concept and self-esteem. A study with Anglo- and Mexican-American junior high school students found a positive relationship between high self-esteem and positive attitudes towards one's ethnic group (Grossman, Wirt, & Davids, 1985). Phinney (1992) also found a positive link between high self-esteem and strong ethnic identity. There is little research available regarding the personality correlates of ethnic identity and its implications for psychological adjustment. The links between ethnic identity and personality variables like level of ego control, personality organization, defensiveness versus vulnerability, and performance under stress are explored in this study through the use of a projective drawing test.
Of the 70 empirical studies reviewed by Phinney (1990) only one third had an identifiable conceptual or theoretical base. Tajfel's social identity theory, Lewin's field theory and Erikson's psychoanalytic theory of ego development were among the most frequently cited. Both Tajfel's and Lewin's theories can be classified as social-psychological, with their focus on the individual as a group member, and on group processes. In the present study, Erikson's seminal theory of identity development and object relations theory will provide a framework and aid in the interpretation of the results. This choice was influenced by several considerations, both conceptual and practical. At the conceptual level, because the emphasis in this study is on the psychological aspects of ethnic identity, a theory that focuses on individual development was deemed more appropriate. Also, the two measures used in the study were based on psychoanalytic theory: The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) and The Differential Diagnostic Technique (DDT).

The MEIM was chosen because it is one of the few measures of ethnic identity that addresses most of the components identified as important aspects of this construct; it is also the only measure of its kind that has been designed to allow for comparisons between different groups, instead of being devised to study a specific ethnic group.
The DDT was used because of its simplicity in administration and its objectivity in scoring. Because of its nonverbal nature it was considered a good complement for the highly verbal task of interviewing.

In keeping with the qualitative nature of the study, interviewing was the main technique of data collection, as it allows access to another person's perspective. The interview guide approach was used because important topics were identified a priori, but the technique still leaves room for other issues to emerge. The use of both the interview and the MEIM provided an approach to the complex and multidimensional construct of ethnic identity from a dual perspective. The MEIM tapped the components of ethnic identity common to all groups, while the interview allowed the idiosyncracies of this particular ethnic group to emerge.

The choice of 20 university-educated mother-daughter dyads in two groups of common origin, Estonians in Estonia and Estonians in Canada, was ideally suited to the study of the links between ethnic identity and environment and generation for the reasons already mentioned.

The choice of university students was justified because most of the studies on identity and ethnic identity have been conducted with this population and age group, thus facilitating the comparison of results. Furthermore young people who pursue postsecondary education have a greater
opportunity and tendency to reflect and to question certain issues. They also tend to be more articulate, a characteristic that facilitates the process of interviewing. The choice of women was based on the assumption that they would be more involved in the process of child rearing than men, and therefore play a greater role in the socialization process, which includes the transmission of cultural values and beliefs. The mother-daughter relationship, the most influential and intimate early relationship, was considered most relevant in terms of examining the generational effect.

The following are the main questions addressed in this study:

1. What are the similarities and differences in ethnic identity in the two contexts: Estonia and Canada?

2. What are the similarities and differences in ethnic identity between mothers and daughters?

3. What is the nature of the relationships between ethnic identity and personality variables?
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW
Empirical Studies on Ethnic Identity

When Phinney (1990) reviewed the empirical studies on ethnic identity in adolescence and adulthood published in journals since 1972, the following picture emerged: Of the 70 studies reviewed, nearly half focused on White ethnic groups, that is, Greeks, Italian Americans or French Canadians, and these studies had been conducted (in order of decreasing frequency) in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Israel, and Australia. The second-largest group of studies involved Black subjects, with a few reports of Asian Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians. For data collection, the researchers utilized questionnaires, interviews, sorting tasks, and a few projective techniques such as drawing tasks. These studies concentrated on different aspects of ethnic identity, including its components, structure, and links with the majority culture.

Components of Ethnic Identity

The components of ethnic identity investigated in the literature can be grouped in the following fashion:
1. Self-identification, self-definition, or labelling refers to the ethnic label one uses for oneself. The most common approach is to have subjects rate or identify themselves according to criteria presented to them (Aboud, 1987). Alternatively, subjects respond to statements such as "I think of myself as..." or questions such as "How do you define yourself?" (Phinney, 1989). The self-definition question is a crucial one, because the discrepancy between appearance, origin, and self-identification can exist in any group, and subjects who do not consider themselves members of the group under investigation may inadvertently be included in a study.

2. Positive and negative attitudes toward the group of belonging have been addressed in many studies. Researchers have explored feelings of pleasure, pride, and contentment with one's group, as well as the absence of positive attitudes or actual negative attitudes such as discontentment with one's ethnicity, feelings of inferiority, and a desire to hide one's ethnic background. These feelings are assessed by examining the responses to statements such as "I am proud to identify with my own group" and "I am similar to people who feel good about their cultural background," or questions such as: "How much pride do you feel toward your group?" (Ullah, 1987). More indirect ways of assessing attitudes include trying to determine whether the subject would remain as a group member
if given the choice, or having participants rate themselves and their group in relation to adjectives with positive and negative connotations (Grossman at al., 1985). Items used to tap negative feelings include agreeing or disagreeing with statements such as "I am like kids from other countries who try to hide their background" (Rosenthal & Brynevich, 1985).

3. The sense of belonging to a group, included in one fourth of these studies, has been defined as the importance attributed to one's ethnicity or a feeling of concern for one's culture; a sense of "peoplehood"; and an experience of exclusion, contrast, and separateness from other groups. This component has been tapped through statements such as "I am a person who (never, sometimes, often, very often) feels strong bonds toward (my own group)" (Driedger, 1976), or questions such as "How much difference do you feel between yourself and (members of another group):" (Ullah, 1987).

4. Ethnic behaviors (participation in cultural practices and activities) have been included in the majority of the studies. Both actual and preferred practices have been assessed, including the use of the heritage language, ingroup friendships, religious affiliation and practice, structured ethnic social groups, political ideology and activity, area of residence, and miscellaneous ethnic/cultural activities and attitudes (including those
involving food, traditional family roles, and traditional celebrations).

**Structure of Ethnic Identity**

Most researchers have conceptualized ethnic identity as a complex, multidimensional construct, and much effort has been applied in determining its structure by examining the salience, clustering, and interrelationships of different components. Researchers have frequently determined salience indirectly through the choice of the components to be studied in different groups. For White ethnic groups, language and a variety of cultural activities have been used most often as indicators of ethnic identity. In contrast, for Black Americans attitudes are the most widely used component, and both pro-Black and anti-White attitudes have been considered.

Apart from the clustering of components, several studies have tried to determine the relationships among components. One of the persistent questions is that of the relationship between what people say they are (self-identification) and what they do (ethnic behaviors). As Isajiw (1990) pointed out, the internal aspects of ethnic identity (images, ideas, attitudes, and feelings) are connected with the external aspects or observable behaviors (speaking the language, practicing ethnic traditions, participating in ethnic personal networks, organizations,
associations, and functions). However, one should not assume that the two types are always empirically dependent on each other. They can vary independently; an individual may retain a higher degree of internal aspects than of external aspects, or vice versa. This situation might help explain why Garcia (1982), in a study which measured a variety of components of ethnic identity and analyzed their intercorrelations, found a very complex set of relationships, including a surprising negative relationship between ethnic self-identification and preference for various ethnic behaviors or practices.

Another aspect of interest in the studies of ethnic identity is the ethnic group's relationship to the majority culture. Researchers have conducted three types of studies according to this criterion: the single-group focus, which concentrates on a single group and assesses the strength of members' identity independent of the majority culture (Keefe, 1986; Constantinou & Harvey, 1985); the bipolar model, in which ethnic identity is seen on a continuum from strong ethnic ties to strong mainstream ties (Ullah, 1987); and the dual focus, which includes an independent assessment of the relationship to both the ethnic group and the mainstream dominant group (Elias & Blanton, 1987).

This latter model assumes that group members can have weak or strong identification with either their own or the
mainstream culture, and that a strong ethnic identity does not imply a weak relationship to the dominant culture.

**Ethnic Identity Development**

**Changes in Ethnic Identity Related to Generational Status Among Immigrant Groups.**

Although there seems to be consensus among researchers that ethnic identity is a dynamic concept, relatively few studies have addressed its changing nature over time and in different settings.

The majority of studies on change and development concentrate on the question of ethnic identity retention in different generations of immigrant groups. Isajiw (1990), through his study of six ethnic groups in Toronto, discovered five different patterns to ethnic identity retention in the second and third generations. The patterns described an identity revolving around: (a) concrete objects as symbols, such as food and artistic articles; (b) ingroup friendships and endogamy; (c) the practice of customs and community participation; (d) the language itself; and (e) support of the group's causes or of group members with a job.

The first two patterns are the most prevalent in general, but some groups appear to rely on some forms more than others. Isajiw noted that the obligation to marry within the group has special predominance in the Jewish
group, as does a high rate of ingroup friendships. The British group also had a high ingroup friendship rate but did not seem to have strong feelings of obligation to marry within the group. For Ukrainians and possibly for Italians, language seemed to perform this function.

In general, studies of ethnic identity have shown a fairly consistent decline in ethnic group identification in later generations of immigrants, and ethnic identity was also found to be weaker among those who had immigrated at a younger age and thus lived longer in the new country. However, one study of third- and fourth-generation Japanese-American youth found no generational differences (Wooden, Leon, & Toshima, 1988), and another study of Chinese Americans suggested a growing importance of ethnic identity in the third and fourth generations (Ting-Toomey, 1981). This last study seems to confirm the Hansen hypothesis, in which the second generation removes itself from or rebels against its ethnic group, while the third generation returns to it. The research evidence on this hypothesis has been confusing, as studies of three generations of immigrants in the United States have shown both loss and retention of ethnic identity in varying degrees.

An interesting point raised by a study of three age groups each in Japan and in the United States (Masuda, et al., 1973) is the possible confounding of generation of immigration with age and cultural change. In their study,
older Japanese in Japan scored higher than younger individuals in a measure of Japanese identification, a result similar to that found among three generations of immigrants in the United States. Moreover, a study of the preservation of national identity in Estonia (Rakfeldt, 1994) found that older age predicted stronger Estonian identity.

The present research is one of the few studies that has compared the ethnic identity of two generations of people raised in their homeland with that of two generations that have lived abroad, and the only study of its kind for this particular ethnic group.

Changes in Ethnic Identity Related to Individual Development

Few studies have conceptualized ethnic identity development in terms similar to those of Erikson's theory of identity development, viewing it as a developmental process involving exploration and commitment leading to an achieved identity.

Cross and Kim have studied two minority groups, Black Americans and Asian Americans respectively, while Phinney has also included White subjects in her research.

Cross's study (1978) describes the "Negro-to-Black conversion experience" during and after the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the late fifties and sixties, respectively. Based on his studies with college students,
Cross identified five stages in the process of ethnic identity development. The first stage, "pre-encounter", is defined as an unquestioned self-view that has been presented by parents and society. During this stage, Black Americans are programmed to view and think of the world as if they were non-Black; the goal is assimilation into the majority or White culture. The next stage, "encounter", is precipitated by an event of a personal or social nature that temporarily upsets the old world view, making the person receptive and vulnerable to a new interpretation of the Black American identity. This event, leads to an almost obsessive search for Black identity. The third stage, "immersion-emersion", involves turning toward the Black culture and community, and away from the White culture. This stage is characterized by anger against Whites and racism, and the development of a positive self-identity as a Black person. In the "internalization" stage, the Black person becomes clear about the value of Black culture, community, and so forth, and can also perceive the value of other cultures.

In the last stage of "internalization-commitment", the identity becomes integrated, and this integration leads to a commitment to help the group to deal with the issue of White racism.

Kim (1981) examined the process by which Japanese Americans resolve their identity, and her study attested to
the importance of ethnicity in the identity development of individuals of visible minorities, corroborating clinical and anecdotal findings regarding the impact of the ethnic dimension on the identity formation of immigrant and racial minorities. Kim also identified five stages: "ethnic awareness", "White identification", "awakening to social-political consciousness", "redirection to Asian-American consciousness", and "incorporation". Kim compared her findings with those of Cross and reported the following similarities: the presence of definable progressive stages in ethnic identity development; a general directionality from a negative to a positive self-concept; a general orientation from White identification to one's own racial identification; a period of immersion in one's own ethnic, group experience; and the integration of racial identity with the rest of one's identity.

Among the differences, she mentioned that initial ethnic awareness is there from the very beginning in the Japanese-American identity, but appears at the later stage of immersion-emersion in the Black identity. Kim explained this difference on the basis of sociohistorical factors: Asian Americans come to the United States as immigrants, and have ties with the mother country. Their ethnic culture, as for other immigrant groups, has remained a vital part of their lives. Their strong sense of ethnic identification would explain their earlier ethnic awareness. In contrast,
the Black American experience, due to the institution of slavery that eroded much of the ethnic culture, would not include a sense of connection to another country or culture. These circumstances could explain in part the lack of ethnic awareness, and its emergence at a later stage, the encounter stage. Another difference in the experience of these two racial groups, according to Kim, is that Asian Americans are viewed as foreigners by the majority or dominant culture, even when they are American-born and raised, while Blacks although considered inferior, are rarely treated as foreigners.

These two studies illustrate the developmental approach to ethnic identity, which suggests that the quality of ethnic identity may change over time, depending on the way individuals explore and resolve issues concerning their ethnic group membership. Individuals from the same group, and even of the same age, can be at different stages in their thinking about the role their ethnic background plays in their lives. The proposed stages are not linked to chronological age; they outline a sequence of development. They also point to the importance of taking a historical perspective at the level of not only the individual, but also the group. In the present study knowledge of the historical background of the Estonian people is essential in understanding some of the findings.
Phinney and Alipuria (1990) studied the question of ethnic identity in older adolescents from four groups of Americans: Asian, Black, Mexican, and White. They assumed that the issue of ethnicity must be resolved in the development of an achieved identity, and that its importance for identity formation is comparable to that of other traditionally studied components such as occupation, political ideology, and sex roles. Questionnaires distributed to 196 urban college students assessed the search for and commitment to ethnic identity; achieved ethnic, occupational, and sex roles identity; the importance of these identity domains; self-esteem; and demographics.

The findings of this study confirmed the assumption that ethnic identity development is an important aspect of identity development in general. For each of the groups studied, ethnic identity scores correlated significantly with scores for occupational or sex role identity, or both. Ethnicity was rated as an important aspect of identity by over half the subjects in this sample. Although the exploration of ethnic identity issues was significantly greater among minority groups, the four groups did not differ in commitment to an ethnic identity. Self-esteem was related both to the search for and commitment to an ethnic identity, and to positive attitudes toward one's group. This study also suggested that minorities were more likely to have arrived at their commitment through a process of
exploration: high commitment accompanied by high search. In contrast, many Whites appeared to take their commitment for granted: high commitment accompanied by low search.

Phinney and Alipuria concluded that the differences in the processes of identity development between majority and minority subjects can be understood in terms of the different experiences of the two groups. American culture has reflected the White community's values, and therefore, White adolescents do not face the need to question their ethnicity. Minority adolescents are faced with a more complex task: they are exposed to two sometimes very dissimilar cultures, and they experience the majority culture's response to them, which is based on their appearance or other cultural characteristics. Phinney also remarked that although the process of ethnic identity development was similar across the three minority groups, the particular issues faced by each group were different.

This finding needs to be examined further on the basis of what Erikson (1975) calls "the personal coherence of the individual and the role integration in his group...his guiding images an the ideologies of his time...his life history and the historical moment" (p.20).

**Ethnic Identity and Personality Variables**

A central question in this area of research has been the impact of ethnic identification on self-concept or self-
esteem, especially in children. A few studies have explored this question beyond childhood. A study with Anglo- and Mexican-American junior high school students found a positive relationship between positive attitudes toward one's group and self-esteem (Grossman et al., 1985). Another study of Israeli high school students established a correlation between high ethnic group identification and ego identity, specially among Oriental Jews, a minority group in Israel (Tzuriel & Klein, 1977).

Phinney, Chavira, and Williamson (1992) studied the relationship between three types of acculturation attitudes and self-esteem, among high school and college students from four groups of Americans: Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White. The three types of attitudes were categorized as "integration", "assimilation", and "separation". Integration is characterized by strong identification and involvement with both the dominant society's culture and the traditional ethnic group. Assimilation is the outcome when ethnic group members choose to identify solely with the culture of the dominant society and to relinquish all ties to their ethnic culture, and separation involves exclusive emphasis of the cultural values and practices of the ethnic group, with little or no interaction with the dominant society. Self-esteem was found to correlate positively with endorsement of integration, and negatively with preference for assimilation. The results of this study attested to the
importance of identification with one's own culture and the mainstream society in terms of self-esteem.

Another aspect that has been studied in relation to ethnic identity is school achievement. In a qualitative study of Mexican-American high school students (Matute-Bianchi, 1986), five types of Mexican-American identities, depending on the students' involvement with their own culture and the mainstream culture of the high school, were described and matched with school performance.

The lack of empirical studies on ethnic identity and its personality correlates was identified by Phinney as an important gap. The Differential Diagnostic Technique, a personality test, was used in the present research to explore the links between personality and ethnic identity variables, and the possible implications of ethnic identity for psychological adjustment.

Theoretical Bases for the Study of Ethnic Identity

Of the empirical studies reviewed by Phinney (1990) only one third were based on a major conceptual or theoretical framework. Although Tajfel's social identity theory, Lewin's field theory and Erikson's psychoanalytic theory of ego development are frequently cited, the topic seems to lack a unified theoretical base. Tajfel's and Lewin's theories can be categorized as social-psychological, with their emphasis on the group and group processes.
Taifel’s Social Identity Theory

Tajfel (1982) defines social identity as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p.2). Although reference is made to the emotional significance of membership in a group, Tajfel's theory stresses the cognitive aspect of group processes. For Tajfel, social groups are cognitive constructions, common to the members of the group, that result from a perception of shared interests. Several of the studies based on his theory examined how minority individuals use various strategies to overcome the negative stereotype of their group, and maintain a positive self-image.

Lewin’s Field Theory

Lewin's (1948) system of thought emphasizes the interdependence of the individual and the group and introduces new concepts that are well suited to an experimental approach in sociology. He coined the terms "life space", "region", "space of free movement" (spatial concepts), and he used the terms "need", "aspiration level" and, "satiation" (intrapsychic concepts depicting a system of tension), and "field forces", "barriers", and "locomotion" (referring to group pressures, obstacles due to
group restraints, and the changing position of the individual vis-à-vis the group). Lewin's theory concentrates on the individual as a group member. He defines group "as a dynamic whole based on interdependence rather than on similarity" (p. 184), and considers belonging to more than one group as natural and necessary for everyone. According to him, the main criterion for belonging to a group is the interdependence of fate of the individual and the group, and the biggest problem for the individual is the status of standing nowhere and being a marginal person.

The Choice of a Psychoanalytic Approach

The present study uses Erikson's psychoanalytic ego psychology and object relations theories to interpret its findings. The considerations behind the choice of a psychoanalytic framework are conceptual, personal, and practical. Conceptually speaking, the emphasis of this research is on the implications of ethnicity for the individual, and one of the three questions addressed in this study deals with the personality correlates of ethnic identity. A theoretical approach where the main unit of study is the individual seems therefore more fitting under the circumstances than a social-psychological one.

Psychoanalytic theories, like all developmental approaches, try to explain phenomena in the present by
tracing their origins in the past. This study examines the development of ethnic identity over the life span of an individual and across generations. Among the personal considerations were the author's special interest in the psychological aspects of ethnic identity and her greater familiarity with psychoanalytic theory. The fact that the only comprehensive measure of ethnic identity found during the literature research on the topic was based on Erikson's theory of identity development, as operationalized by Marcia (1980), was the practical consideration. It seemed advisable to be consistent and use the same general theoretical perspective in the interpretation of the results, as the one the measures were based upon. The Differential Diagnostic Technique, the personality test used, is also based on psychoanalytic theory.

**Erikson's Psychosocial Theory of Identity Development**

Erikson's theory includes phenomenological, clinical psychoanalytical, and general psychoanalytic-psychological propositions without clearly differentiating between them.

Erikson conceptualized identity as a dynamic rather than static entity, influenced by the interaction between psychological (internal) and social (external) factors. He claimed that identity formation needed to be viewed within two temporal contexts: the ego identity development of the individual and the developmental stage in the history of the
community or group. Erikson (1959) referred to Freud's use of the term "identity" in a psychosocial sense. Freud used the term "inner identity" when trying to formulate his link to the Jewish people. This link was based on the values fostered by the unique history of his people. According to Erikson, the essential value Freud identified with was "the common readiness to live in opposition and a common freedom from prejudices which narrow the use of the intellect" (p.102). This value played a central role in Freud's professional life. Erikson commented:

It is this identity of something in the individual's core with an essential aspect of a group's inner coherence which is under consideration here: for the young individual must learn to be most himself where he means most to others, those others, to be sure, who have come to mean most to him. The term identity expresses such mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others. (p.102)

Erikson conceptualized identity development as occurring through crises, or turning points representing increased vulnerability, as well as potential. His theory outlines the phases of psychosocial development and how they relate to the stages of libido development, but goes beyond these early stages, spanning the whole life cycle. He identified eight stages in the development of a healthy personality, each characterized by conflict and its own developmental task which must be solved, although the solution is prepared in the previous stages and is worked
out further in subsequent ones. Each stage is described in terms of the extremes of successful and unsuccessful resolution, although the outcome is generally a balance between extremes. Erikson identified the following stages: (1) basic trust versus mistrust, (2) autonomy versus shame and doubt, (3) initiative versus guilt, (4) industry versus inferiority, (5) identity versus identity diffusion, (6) intimacy and distantiation versus self-absorption, (7) generativity versus stagnation, (8) integrity versus despair and disgust.

Erikson's theory deals with both ego aspects and social reality aspects of object relations. It visualizes the caretaking patterns of society. Each society through its representatives offers typical solutions to the developmental tasks of each phase, but the phases and their sequence are assumed to be universal. Thus a society into which an individual is born makes that person a member by influencing the resolution of tasks presented by each stage of epigenetic development. It is not until the fifth stage that Erikson (1959) refers to identity formation, which begins where the usefulness of identifications ends.

It arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications, and their absorption in a new configuration, which in turn, is dependent on the process by which a society (often through subsocieties) identifies the young individual, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is, and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted. (p.113)
Studying mothers and daughters allows for a dual perspective and a better look at one of the most influential, mutual relationships in our society.

Marcia and the Identity Statuses Paradigm

Marcia (1980) developed the paradigm of identity statuses as a methodological device for studying Erikson's theoretical. Based on Erikson's theory, Marcia considered the presence or absence of exploration and commitment as a decisive feature and thus identified four identity statuses. According to Marcia an individual who has neither engaged in exploration nor made a commitment is said to be "diffuse"; a commitment made without exploration, usually on the basis of parental values, has a "foreclosed status"; a subject involved in the process of exploration without having made a commitment is in "moratorium"; and a firm commitment following a period of exploration is indicative of an "achieved" ethnic identity. This latter concept is equivalent to the component of achieved ethnic identity in the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure.

As an approach to research on identity, ego identity statuses provide the researcher with a greater variety of styles in dealing with identity issues than Erikson's two poles, identity versus identity diffusion. Three of the statuses can be seen in positive or negative terms; identity achievement is only positive. Foreclosed status may be
assessed as either steadfast or rigid, committed or
dogmatic, cooperative or conforming; moratoriums may be seen
as sensitive or anxious, ethical or self-righteous, flexible
or indecisive; identity diffusions may be considered either
carefree or careless, charming or manipulating, independent
or schizoid; and identity achievements are considered as
strong, self-directed and highly adaptive.

Following is an outline of a number of psychoanalytic
theories that explicitly stress the interrelation of the
individual and the social and cultural milieu, and thus lend
themselves to the interpretation of the results of this
study, in which the links between environment and ethnic
identity are explored. All of these theories provide a
developmental perspective.

The Individual and the Sociocultural Milieu

Erikson and the Importance of Identification

Erikson's theory is relevant to this study because of
the way in which psychosocial and psychological theory are
linked through the mechanism of identification
(Bloom, 1990). Psychosocial theory tends to stress the role
of the external determinants that influence the individual
and concentrates less on the personality attributes which
act as variables in the process of socialization. Erikson
instead stated that the continuity of the psychosocial self
was due to the internal organizational activities of the ego
and not an external social imposition mediated by the superego. He adopted Freud's notion that the mechanism of identification served to gratify primary needs, and concluded therefore that a successful ongoing identity, the result of a selective configuration of childhood identifications, is closely linked with the gratification of the individual's needs. Erikson added that a feeling of contentment is associated with a secure sense of identity and that a sense of discomfort and personality breakdown often accompanies identity diffusion. The need for a secure sense of identity is as dynamic in the adult as in the infant of the human species. Thus there is a psychological imperative to make adaptive identifications (i.e., those which will allow for the gratification of the individual's needs), but also to protect and enhance identifications already made, and to bolster and defend their identity. Erikson (1959) coined the term "ideology" to designate a total orientation which is the synthesis of historical, existing identifications with a general mode of behavior or culture. As he states in Identity and the Life Cycle: "Thus identity or ideology are two aspects of the same process. Both provide the necessary conditions for further individual maturation and, with it, for the next higher form of identification, namely, the solidarity linking common identifications" (p. 157).
Ideology, although a sociocultural and political phenomenon, also has a psychological meaning as a generalized identification which is necessary for adult participation in a society. For Erikson's psychological level of analysis, there is a continuum between identity, ideology, and culture. He contends that a threat to ideology and culture is also a threat to identity, and an enhancement of ideology and culture is also an enhancement of identity. Therefore a change in historical circumstances, like a divorce at a personal level, or a revolution at a group level, will threaten the individual's sense of identity by removing or altering the external social conditions that provide for a sense of continuity. This crisis will trigger anxiety and will be countered by an adaptive dynamic reaction. The already held identity, or culture, or ideology will be protected by reinforcement, or a new identification will be actively sought. The adaptive outcome will be a new synthesis of identifications, appropriate to the situation and its constraints. The identification mechanism is dynamic and not simply a passive accommodation to the external circumstances. In the case of a change or threat at a group level, the degree to which the group responds will depend upon certain historical circumstances and the importance of that particular identification to the general identity.
The present research focuses on the links between ethnic identity (which could be compared to the concept of ideology), personality characteristics, and the sociocultural context. The framework provided by Erikson's theory of identity development includes all of these aspects, and thus seems well suited for exploring their interrelationships. The developmental nature of his theory, which views identity as a dynamic process throughout the life cycle, also supports application of this theory in a study that looks at generational differences. Furthermore this research was conducted in Estonia at a time of intense change, when the Singing Revolution had culminated in the second Declaration of Independence, in circumstances different from but also similar to, those of the creation of the first Republic of Estonia in 1918. At that time, Russia was collapsing as a result of internal and external political and socioeconomic pressures. Erikson (1968) was one of the first psychoanalytic theorists who attempted not only to link group identity and ego identity, but also to do it taking into account the changing historical context. In *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, he states: "Identity development has its time, or rather two kinds of time: a developmental stage in the life of the individual, and a period in history. There is, as we have outlined, a complementarity of life history and history" (p. 309).
Other representatives from different psychoanalytic schools of thought have conceptualized the relationships between the individual and the cultural milieu. This perspective is most fitting for a study that explores the possible effects of the environment on the meaning and importance the individual attributes to ethnicity. Winnicott's (1992) concept of transitional phenomena, tries to explain the links between the individual and the cultural world.

Winnicott and the Transitional Phenomena

Winnicott, a psychoanalytic thinker from the school of object relations, linked the psychological and the cultural through his concepts of "transitional phenomena", "transitional object", and "potential space".

Winnicott (1991) defined culture as experience, as an inherited tradition. Cultural experience begins with creative living, manifested first in play. The infant's first act of play occurs through the employment of what Winnicott called the transitional object, the child's first use of a symbol. Winnicott defined transitional object as the first possession, and transitional phenomena as the object and all that transpires in the intermediate area. This intermediate area or potential space is the metaphorical space between the infant and the mother, while differentiation of self and object representations is
incomplete, and while the infant is hatching from the original "dual-unity" or symbiosis with the mother. This experience is located in the potential space between the individual and the environment.

Winnicott compared the transitional object to Klein's "internal object". The transitional object is not an internal object; it is a possession. Yet it is not an external object for the child either. The child can use the transitional object when the internal object is alive and "good enough", meaning not too persecutory. But this internal object depends for its qualities on the existence, aliveness, and behavior of the external object, the real mother. The transitional object "may therefore stand for an 'external breast', but indirectly through standing for an 'internal breast'" (p.10). The transitional object is never under omnipotent control as in the case of the internal object, nor is it outside control as the real mother is.

According to Winnicott, the object itself is not transitional; it represents the child's transition from the state of being merged with the mother to a state of being in relation to her, as something outside of, and separate from the child. This is the first and most obvious meaning of the term transitional as coined by Winnicott.

Transitional objects link the infant to the mother to offset feelings of separation, at a time when the dual-unity is challenged by the growing awareness of separateness.
The function of the objects thus is to soothe, comfort, and guarantee attachment.

Transitional phenomena as noted by Eagle (1981) are also transitional in a cognitive sense. A transitional object, while not taken to be the mother, is not yet a symbolic representation of her or a true symbol. The child, while aware that the transitional object is not the mother, reacts affectively toward it as if it were the mother, and derives comfort from the object. Thus the transitional object facilitates a movement from concrete object representations to true symbol formation.

Eagle (1981) suggested a third sense in which transitional phenomena are transitional. There is no challenge as to whether the meanings experienced in the objects are the child's creations or whether they exist in the external world. The transitional objects are intermediate between the objective and the subjective, that is, that which is objectively perceived (reality testing) and that which is subjectively conceived (primary creativity). Winnicott (1991) states:

Of the transitional object it can be said that it is a matter of agreement between us and the baby that we will never ask the question: "Did you conceive of this or was it presented to you from without?" The important point is that no decision on this point is expected. The question is not to be formulated. (p.12)

According to Winnicott (1991), the transitional object gradually becomes decathected. The concrete transitional
objects lose their meaning, but this meaning spreads over
the whole cultural field, into areas such as art, religion,
and creative scientific activities. In these areas,
illusion is allowed, and the questions of objectivity versus
subjectivity, and internal versus external reality are
deferred. In this sense cultural phenomena, like
transitional objects, reflect inner and outer reality;
however, cultural phenomena are communally shared and
validated illusion.

As will become evident, ethnic identity can be
conceptualized as a transitional phenomenon. Ethnic
identity, the part of a person's sense of self as a member
of an ethnic group, is at the interface of personal identity
("me") and group identity ("not-me"); the group transitional
objects are concrete representations of shared cultural
meanings, and thus deny the separateness of the individual
and the group, as the childhood transitional objects
defended against the separateness from mother.
To these objects, both inner reality (subjective or
personal meaning) and external reality (objective or
cultural group meaning) contribute, but the question of the
source of the meaning (the individual or the culture) is not
asked; thus, the illusion is maintained. Ethnic identity is
also to be decathcted, in the sense of there being "a
gradual extension of the range of interest."
The preoccupation and absorption with one's own ethnicity is replaced by an attitude of integration, with an interest and understanding of other cultures and groups.

In broad terms, two sets of factors play a role in the degree of autonomy that is achieved by the child: the gratification received by the child and the mother's attitude toward the child's separation. Winnicott (1991) referred to the gradual disillusionment of the "good enough mother," and the consequent introjection of the "ego supportive environment." The mother must not only be available physically and emotionally, but also be instituting a gradual failure of adaptation, to allow the differentiation and separation to take place. The unavailability of the mother or the failure to let go will interfere with the establishment of a secure sense of self.

The object relational factors that influence the separation-individuation process from mother could be replayed at the level of the group, in the way one relates to one's ethnicity. In turn one cannot assume that the effect is unidirectional, a simple transference of early patterns of relating. The particular cultural group with its distinctive features will also have an effect on the individual.

The sociocultural environment could also be conceptualized as a "good enough environment," one that provides for the possibility of attachment and stimulation,
or a depriving one, in terms of either of those two essential functions.

To Winnicott culture is an inherited tradition, in the common pool of humanity, to which people can contribute and from which they can draw. He pointed out that in any cultural field, there is no possibility of being original except on the basis of tradition. The interplay between originality and tradition allows for inventiveness, which Winnicott states is another example of the interplay between separateness and union. Cultural groups would differ in the degree of separateness they allow the individual, and in the level of personal expression or creativity that is considered tolerable.

Two psychoanalytic writers, Volkan and Koenigsberg, have expanded on the concept of transitional object as first coined by Winnicott (1991).

Volkan used the term "suitable targets of externalization" and Koenigsberg referred to "shared transitional objects" to explain the links between the individual and the ethnic group, and the individual's attitudes and feelings vis-a-vis other groups.

Volkan and the Suitable Targets of Externalization

Volkan's (1988) suitable targets of externalization are more culturally determined than the transitional objects and are therefore shared by all members of the group.
The mothering person plays an active role in directing the child to perceive some things as good and some as bad. Inanimate objects such as chicken soup and the Finnish sauna, are presented to the child as suitable targets of externalization and as having magical qualities. Also people from different ethnic, cultural, social, and political backgrounds are presented in a negative or positive light, as enemies or allies. Volkan linked the concept of targets of externalization and transitional objects in the example of religion. According to Volkan, the magic of religion is connected with the illusion of transitional objects, whereas the actual type or structure of a chosen religion is connected with the more culturally related targets of externalization, which develop later.

Koenigsberg and the Shared Transitional Objects

Koenigsberg (1989) assigned the term shared transitional objects, the same meaning as Volkan's targets of externalization and gave the example of a popular love song as a shared vehicle for expressing the individual's dream of love. To Koenigsberg, the individual does not use the objects of culture as transitional objects; rather the very meaning and structure of culture, develop by virtue of their capacity to provide this psychic transitional function. The cultural object is an "extrajected equivalent of the internalized object," which provides a way of
maintaining the tie to the original love object, by attaching to an external object.

The human connection to the social world is fueled by attachment to internal objects. The objects of culture become symbols of inner objects and serve to release the energy bound in relationship to the internal objects. According to Koenigsberg, the symbiotic fantasy is not abandoned, but transferred onto new objects, which replicate the infantile experience of connectedness. He argued that when the mechanism of internalization is viewed as the primary response to separation from the mother, psychoanalysis remains the study of the inner psychic structure. In contrast, if objects in cultural reality are considered to reflect inner psychic structure, and be the extrajected equivalent of the internalized object, the entire cultural realm can be analyzed from a psychoanalytic perspective. Each culture is different, and each provides its own tested pattern of transitional solutions; thus the individual's psychological development is bound to the structure of the particular culture.

The issue of separation-individuation is at the heart of the concept of transitional objects and phenomena, and Koenigsberg referred to different cultures' unique solutions to this predicament. In the present study, the two groups, one in Estonia and the other in Canada, have experienced different degrees of separation from and loss of their
original sociocultural milieu. This study will examine the differences and similarities in the ways these groups deal with these issues.

**Stein and Culture as a Bulwark Against Loss and Separation**

In line with Koenigsberg's statement that culture is the human way of allowing for separation from the original object of attachment (i.e., the mother) by attaching to external cultural objects, Stein (1987) contended that culture speaks to our inability to mourn. Culture institutionalizes and ritualizes symbolic ties, not to loosen them as would be the case in the work of mourning, but to preserve them, and to create and sustain the illusion that no loss has taken place, or at least to diminish the pain and reality of the loss.

In the wake of separation, loss, and death, human beings seek to preserve the relationship by identifying with an internalized representation of the lost object; in addition, as in the case of the transitional object, they create externalized representations, rituals, and symbols, which are idiosyncratic or shared, that serve the same purpose in a different domain. This domain is the transitional space, where illusion and reality meet. In the Introduction, reference was made to the Estonian community in Toronto and to how its organizations, closely replicated those in the homeland, thus re-creating on a smaller scale
the lost sociocultural milieu. Later it will be argued that the ethnic community in Toronto, like a transitional object, is the externalized representation of the lost country, a place where illusion and reality meet, and a defense against separation and loss.

According to Stein (1987), as process, culture is symbolic remembering and forgetting; as structure, culture is the prescription of what shall be remembered and forgotten. The burden of preserving the dead and lost cannot be assumed by one generation alone, but becomes that of each generation. The transmission of culture-appropriate childrearing, culture-appropriate healing rites and so forth guarantees that any problems will be perpetuated through the next generation. Through projective identification, loyalty to the culture and the perpetuating of its problems is guaranteed. To solve them would be to kill at least in fantasy the inner and exteriorized representations of those significant others who are deemed necessary to life or survival itself. Tradition or culture is used to erect a bulwark against separation, loss, and death.

Stein referred to the process of migration as one that undermines the individual's fragile private and collective certainties, and consequently precipitates a quest to reaffirm old inner representations in new contexts. Physical and geographical separation rekindles and calls for the resolution of earlier issues surrounding emotional
separation, differentiation, and individuation. Geographic detachment triggers a restitutitional process of reattachment. In this case, the cultural objects that originally served as a developmental bridge between symbiosis and differentiation of self are used regressively to symbolically reach for a past that is gone, instead of mourning its loss. Stein stated:

One can on an individual basis as much as on a group basis establish what might be called a permanent diaspora or refugee identity, in which a perpetual commemoration of the lost identity becomes the basis for the current one. (p.91)

Grinberg and Grinberg are a husband-wife team of psychoanalytic thinkers who have specifically studied the issue of migration and its psychological correlates.

Grinberg and Grinberg: Migration as a Second Individuation

Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) agreed that events such as migration cause drastic changes in a person's life and can pose a threat to a sense of identity. The establishment of a sense of identity depends primarily on the internalization of object relations and their assimilation by the ego. Object relations are critical to identity formation because objects are the repositories of persecutory and depressive fantasies that, if too intense, prevent the adequate organization and stabilization of the ego. Objects are also the sources of identification mechanisms, which are necessary for identity formation and which provide points of
reference for differentiation. Grinberg referred to three components that make up a sense of identity and how they are affected by migration: Spatial integration refers to the relations among parts of the self, including the physical self. It lends a sense of cohesion, and its orientation is differentiation between self and nonself, thus providing a feeling of individuation. Temporal integration connects the different self-representations over time and establishes continuity, laying the groundwork for the feeling of sameness. Social integration has to do with relations between aspects of the self and aspects of objects. These relations are established via projective and introjective identification, which helps to create the feeling of belonging. Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) proposed that migration affects all three types of relations, but the most affected is the social-integration link. In most cases the immigrant loses most of the roles played in the community, which often include those of member of a family, a profession, and so on.

Grinberg and Grinberg (1989) concluded that only by having good relations to internal objects, by accepting one's losses, and by working through the mourning process the person can integrate the two countries, time periods and social groups in discriminating ways. Grinberg and Grinberg referred to exile as a kind of migration, which poses special predicaments. At times the exiles use as a defense
a denial of the present; the present becomes immobilized between a mythologized past, which is the only thing worthwhile, and the future represented by the illusion of being able to return home. Exiles in this category may reject everything a new country has to offer that is different from their own customs, language, work, and culture. Integration in the new environment is seen as betrayal of the cause, of those left behind and of those who died.

In the present study, one of the groups, the mothers in Canada, has experienced immigration first hand, and their ethnic community has until recently considered itself a group of political refugees, unable to return to their country of origin.

**Intergroup Relationships**

One of the issues addressed in this study through the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and the interview is the question of attitudes toward and interactions with members of ethnic groups other than one's own. Although the attitudes toward other groups are not a factor of ethnic identity as such, they may interact with it in different ways. It has also been established that ethnic groups often define themselves in opposition to other groups, specially neighboring groups. The psychological function of human groups has been explained by many psychoanalytic authors
such as Bion, but considering the size of groupings based on ethnicity, large group dynamics are most relevant.

Alford examined the dynamics of large social groups and explained them on the basis of Klein's two positions: "paranoid-schizoid" and "depressive". Because Klein's psychoanalytic theory is used in the interpretation of the Differential Diagnostic Technique, and because Alford's analysis of large group dynamics best fits the study of ethnic groups, reference will be made to Alford's conceptualizations when interpreting the findings regarding attitudes toward other ethnic groups. These attitudes, as rated by the respondents themselves, are measured by the Other-Group Orientation scale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure.

Alford and a Psychoanalytic Theory of the Large Group

Klein and the two positions: paranoid-schizoid and depressive.

Alford (1989) developed a psychoanalytic theory of the large group based on Klein's theory of object relations. For Klein, the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions represent not merely developmental stages but ways of relating to ourselves and others throughout our lives. The term position refers to a state of ego organization, its internal object relationships, its characteristic anxieties and defenses.
Weininger (1992) presents a very useful schema of Klein's theory, that includes the defenses and anxieties attendant to each position.

The paranoid-schizoid position begins at birth and predominates until the depressive position emerges at 4 to 6 months, and is characterized by an immature ego, oral activity and phantasies, splitting of the objects into good and bad, part object relationships, and persecutory anxiety. There is on the one hand, stemming from the libidinal energy attached to the "life-instinct" the phantasy of the good gratifying breast, projected and experienced as an object to provide comfort, and the phantasy of oral satisfaction with no frustration, the idealized part object. There is also, on the other hand, its counterpart: the libidinal energy attached to the "death instinct" the phantasy of the frustrating breast, which is destroyed through oral-sadistic attacks, and is feared to return these attacks and destroy the ego.

The early defense mechanisms include projection, denial, and introjection. The ego eliminates by denial the bad aspects of the object and projects libido into the breast to create a satisfactory object, and the ego splits itself into good and bad parts that are projected extensively with omnipotent control. The ego also introjects the good object and creates the ideal internal object, which protects from persecution, provides good
experiences, and becomes part of the ego. The bad part object is experienced as destructive and persecutory and is projected, or the object may be introjected in the ego's attempt to control it as the good breast is introjected to protect it. Through projective identification, the split in the ego is maintained to keep the persecutory objects from damaging the ideal objects. Through introjective identification, the split in the ego is maintained to keep ideal objects protected from bad objects and as a defense against anxiety. The phantasy of the good and the bad objects leads to the creation of both an internal good object, which is introjected by the ego and experienced as love and gratification, and an internal bad object, which is introjected in the ego and experienced as fear of retaliation and paranoid frustration.

The characteristic processes of the depressive position include diminishing of the splitting and thus whole object recognition, the integration of the good and bad aspects of the objects. Ambivalent feelings arise, with anxiety of having taken too much from the object and thereby depleting it. Sadness and guilt are experienced as pining, loss and depressive despair, and a desire for reparation. Anxiety concerns loss of the good object and contributes to reality testing and symbol formation. The prominent anxiety is loss of and injury to the object as a result of one's own destructiveness. The external and internal realities are
differentiated, and the internal image is influenced by the phantasies and experiences with the object. As the child's dependency diminishes with increased capacity, hostile ambivalence is reduced. This reduction intensifies feelings of internal goodness of objects, and the superego becomes less severe. The mother's continued reappearance and nurturing provides reassurance about the strength of the internal object, and reduces the sense of omnipotence of the infant's own sadism. The inner reality is tested through the outer reality. An increased trust in self and reparative capacities ensues. The desire and capacity for reparation maintain a sense of good internal objects along with increased trust in objects.

If the external environment, mother, is not reliable or good enough, or the intensity of the anxieties is too great, manic defenses against depressive anxiety are used. These defenses include a denial of dependence and ambivalence, a tendency to withhold and not experience any feelings of loss and guilt. The phantasy of omnipotent control, with the denigration and contempt of objects, and feelings of triumph over them, helps to deny the objects' value and thus avoid pain. An over-idealization of the internal object also helps to deny the phantasy of loss or destruction. The manic defenses disturb the working through of the depressive position, the attempts at reparation of the object, and if the object is restored, the cycle starts again.
However both anxiety and envy stand as barriers to the integrative processes of the depressive position. Klein (1937) distinguished among envy, jealousy, and greed, and of the three, she considered envy the most destructive. Jealousy seeks to exclude another from the source of the good, and the paradigm would be the Oedipal triangle; greed aims at the possession of all the goodness of the object, but the damage done to the object is incidental; envy seeks to destroy the good itself. Excessive envy interferes with the split between the good and bad objects; the building of the good object becomes impossible in that even the good becomes spoiled and devalued.

The individual is left alone in a world of persecutors with no good objects on which to fall back or around which to consolidate the ego.

**Love and hate; the morality of reparation and revenge.**

Alford (1989) based his psychoanalytic theory of the large group on Klein's fundamental categories, the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions. Alford sees the central conflict in Klein's theory as a conflict between love and hate, which are object-seeking and thus have a structured relationship to internal as well as external reality. Klein distinguished between paranoid-schizoid love, based upon anxiety and greed, and depressive love, based upon genuine concern for the object, springing from an interaction of
pity and identification. For Alford these two positions correspond to two types of morality, the guilt associated with the paranoid-schizoid position is experienced in terms of the talion principle of "an eye for an eye," the morality of revenge.

In the depressive position the morality of reparation based on caritas, a love and concern for the object for its own sake, is at play. The two positions represent not merely a developmental stage, but ways of relating throughout life. Alford (1989) stated that groups, specially large groups, operate from a paranoid-schizoid position. Splitting and idealization-devaluation are the dominant defensive strategies of most large groups. These defenses are pervasive as there is often no reality check. One of the factors in the alleviation of early paranoid-schizoid fears is the presence of loving, caring parents. In group situations, one often deals with the idea of other groups, and not the reality of its members, thus perpetuating the split. Another reason why this defense is so pervasive is because it is effective. Splitting often allows individuals to interact with something deeply feared. According to Klein, splitting in the very young child serves a useful purpose; it enables the infant to establish a relationship with the good object. Similarly splitting often protects group members from their own aggression, thus enhancing the feelings of solidarity. However a strategy
that is effective for managing anxiety and aggression becomes at the group level a socially sanctioned world-view that prevents development.

Another obstacle to the development of the depressive position, and thus, the position of reparative morality, is the intensity of depressive anxiety itself. The child who realizes that the good and bad mothers are one fears never being able to repair the damage done in phantasy, and if this fear is too intense the child will resort again to defenses such as splitting, and only the mother's continued love will prevent this regression. In group situations this latter scenario rarely occurs, as other groups seldom return love for hate.

Klein's object relations theory in general and her conceptualization of the two positions in particular, and Alford's theory of large group dynamics derived from Klein, play a crucial role in explaining the suggested links between personality variables and ethnic identity scores, and other-group orientation scores, in this study.

Volkan and the Concept of Enemies and Allies

Volkan (1988) also relies on object relations theory to explain the relationship of the individual to the large group to which that person belongs, and the relationships between large groups. He used the concept of enemies and
allies, and traced their precursors to early childhood experiences.

Volkan (1988) was influenced by Fornari's (1975) explanation of stranger anxiety as the original emergence of the other as enemy. Fornari (1975) stated:

Because the enemy first emerges in the child's stranger anxiety, without the child ever having experienced an attack on the part of the stranger, the original establishment of the other as enemy is comprehensible only in terms of externalization onto the stranger of a bad internal object. (pp. 161-162)

It does not matter who the stranger is; it matters who the stranger is not. The response to the stranger is the differentiation between mother/not-mother, and good mother and bad mother who cannot contain the child's needs.

All of these different theorists explain the connection between the individual and the environment in varying yet similar fashion, and each of the authors and concepts presented in this section finds a place in the interpretation of the findings of this study.
CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

The Ethnic Group

As mentioned earlier, the choice of this ethnic group was based on the personal interest of the author who is a member of the Estonian community in Toronto. Apart from this factor, the Estonian group is specially well suited for exploring the topic of ethnic identity, and its relationships with the environment or sociocultural milieu, and with generation. The group in Toronto, Canada, consists of first- and second- generation immigrants. In addition, its members, having come to Canada as political refugees, had as their main objective the preservation of their language and culture, and the mission of keeping the plight of Estonia in the public awareness. A strong anticommunist sentiment permeated the group. The population in the homeland is 100 times larger, more varied in its political outlook, and less easily identifiable. However, in the recent past, a collective desire to be an independent nation had clearly surfaced.
Because of the frequent overlap between national and ethnic sentiment, it was anticipated that ethnic identity issues would be relatively salient in the group in Estonia as well as in the group in Canada.

Another important aspect for the study of environmental influences on ethnic identity is the fact that these two groups have had minimal interaction for almost 50 years; thus, they developed in isolation from each other. In Toronto at the ethnic organizations' level, official interaction with groups from occupied Estonia was considered unacceptable, and there was a period when even visiting Estonia as a private citizen was labeled as politically incorrect.

One difference between the group in Canada and in Estonia is that Estonians in Estonia belonged to the majority in their homeland, although by a small margin. Despite this fact, they were not a majority in terms of power and privileges, because of their status as an occupied nation until 1991. Estonians in Estonia had also been subjected to the pressures of the policy of Russification, and its effects on ethnic identity were unknown. In summary this ethnic group presents with a cluster of unique characteristics, not previously studied, and is well suited to the exploration of the influences of the sociocultural milieu on ethnic identity, the issue of majority and minority groups, and the generational differences with and
without the effects of migration, in a group where ethnicity is assumed to be a salient issue.

The Subjects

Criteria for the Selection of Subjects

The choice of university-educated mothers and daughters from two cosmopolitan cities, was based on the following rationale.

The decision to study only one gender was made to keep the sample as homogeneous as possible, due to its small size. In addition it was assumed that women are still more involved in the socialization process than men, and therefore play a more influential role in the transmission of the group culture, and the development of an ethnic identity. The inclusion of mothers and daughters stemmed from the general understanding that a woman's identity is always poised in contraindication to and in the context of her mother's. The preference for university-educated subjects was based on the fact that most of the studies on identity have used university students as subjects, and the assumption that the college years provide time and encourage reflection on identity issues. The minimum age of 19-20 for the daughters was established, as this age marks the chronological end of adolescence and the beginning of young adulthood, a time for identity resolution, according to Erikson's theory of ego-identity development.
The choice of subjects from Tallinn and Toronto was intended to minimize the differences in terms of exposure to other groups, as both cities are the most cosmopolitan in their respective countries. Also, although much smaller than Toronto, Tallinn, with its nearly 500,000 inhabitants, is by far the largest city in Estonia. One could also argue that both Toronto and Tallinn are capital cities: as mentioned previously, Aun (1985) considered Toronto to be the de facto capital of the Estonian community in Canada, and Tallinn is the capital of Estonia.

The Sample

The sample consisted of 11 mother-daughter dyads from Tallinn, Estonia and 10 from Toronto, Canada. In Estonia the daughters' age ranged from 19 to 23 and the mothers' from 43 to 56. In Canada the daughters' ages were between 19 and 25 and the mothers' between 45 and 55. All women were from Estonian parentage, with both mothers and fathers of Estonian descent, with one exception in the Estonian group (one of the mothers had a non-Estonian father, who had died prior to her birth). All the daughters were attending university at the time of the interviews with one graduate among the Canadian sample. All the mothers had a university education. The mother tongue for all participants was Estonian, and they were Estonian by self-identification.
Estonian was the only language spoken at home in the Estonian sample, while in Canada, it was mixed with English to varying degrees. All the daughters in Estonia were born and raised in Tallinn, and the daughters in Canada were born and raised in Toronto. The Estonian mothers, with one exception, were born in Estonia, and although they were originally from different parts of the country, all of them had lived and worked in Tallinn most of their adult lives. In the Canadian sample, the mothers, with one exception, were born in Estonia, and their families had fled their homeland in 1944, emigrating to Canada in the late forties, early fifties. All of them had settled in Toronto upon their arrival or shortly thereafter.

The Estonian participants were recruited through three contacts in Estonia; a professor at a university, a researcher at a private institute, and a relative of the author, who is a language teacher. The academic backgrounds of the participants varied and included business, social science, exact science, languages, arts, and medicine. The participation was voluntary.

The Canadian participants were recruited from the Estonian community in Toronto; none are close friends of the researcher. The academic backgrounds of these participants also varied, with representation from science, social science, business, and arts.
Research Instruments

An ethnic identity measure, The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, a projective personality test, The Differential Diagnostic Technique, and an in-depth interview, using the interview guide approach, were the three instruments used for data collection in this study.

Rationale for the Choice of the Research Instruments

The ethnic identity measure.

As mentioned in the Literature Review section, few measures of ethnic identity are general enough in their questions and statements for application across different ethnic groups. Generally speaking most measures have been used in only one study and tailor-made for that particular group, which limits their usefulness. In addition it is difficult to find any instruments that include all the components identified as important factors in ethnic identity. The MEIM avoids these two major limitations. Preference was also given to this particular measure because it conceptualizes ethnic identity as a process, in keeping with Erikson's theory of identity development. Because this measure was created and tested in the United States, which has a very different sociocultural milieu from that of Estonia, a pilot study to determine its capacity to discriminate between the groups in Estonia and in Canada was
conducted in 1990. The pilot study will be described later, together with the MEIM.

The personality test.

The Differential Diagnostic Technique, a projective drawing test, was chosen as the personality measure. As mentioned earlier, this choice was partly based on the psychoanalytic underpinnings of the test. Other advantages included its nonverbal nature, the simplicity of administration and the opportunity it provided the subjects to respond with little awareness of the purpose of the test. This technique provided a good complement to the highly verbal interview process and the self-rating task of the MEIM.

The interview.

The focus of this study is on one ethnic group, Estonians, and although two groups have been identified in this research according to where they were born or raised, they share ethnic origin. Therefore the assumption was made that there would be similarities as well as differences in the two groups in terms of the importance and meaning attributed to their ethnic identity.

While the MEIM scores would be used to compare the two groups in terms of the general components of ethnic identity, unique aspects of an Estonian identity would be
gleaned through in-depth interviewing. Although not entirely accurate, the statement could be made that while the MEIM scores would reflect the importance the individual attributes to her ethnicity, the interview would attend to the meaning of ethnicity in the person's life. The assumption behind the interviews is that the subjects' accounts of their experience of being Estonian are valuable and worthy of investigation.

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

Description

The MEIM, designed by Phinney (1992), consists of 14 items assessing three aspects of ethnic identity: (a) positive ethnic attitudes and a sense of belonging (five items); (b) ethnic identity achievement, including both exploration and resolution of identity issues (seven items); and (c) ethnic behaviours or practices (two items). Also included in the questionnaire are six items assessing other-group orientation.

The MEIM was translated into Estonian with the help of language teachers and was tested with three subjects to assess their interpretation of the translated terms.

Assumptions

This measure is based on the assumption that there are both common and unique elements to ethnic identity. Common
to the ethnic identity of all ethnic group members are self-identification as a group member, a sense of belonging, and attitudes toward one's group. Each group also has its own history, customs, values, and attitudes. This measure was constructed to assess the elements of ethnic identity that are common to a wide range of ethnic groups.

**Components**

**Self-identification and ethnicity.**

The measure includes an open-ended question to elicit a spontaneous statement of one's chosen ethnic label and questions that require choice of an ethnic group for oneself and both parents (see Appendix Ab). These questions permit differentiation in cases in which self-identification and ethnicity do not correspond.

**Ethnic behaviors and practices.**

The two items that tap ethnic behaviors (Items two and 16) in this measure, shown in Appendix Ab, correspond to two aspects of ethnic practices that are common to most groups: (a) involvement in social activities with members of one's group and (b) participation in cultural traditions. Language, a widely used indicator, varies in salience for ethnic groups (with virtually no salience for some), and thus is not included in this general measure.
**Affirmation and belonging.**

The six items assessing ethnic pride, feeling good about one's background and being happy with one's group membership, as well as feelings of belonging and attachment (Items 6, 11, 14, 18, and 20) were chosen, as previous studies had shown that negative items, such as wanting to hide one's identity or preferring other groups over one's own, showed very little variance. Few respondents tended to agree even slightly with statements that implied rejection of their ethnicity.

**Ethnic identity achievement.**

Ethnic identity is conceptualized as a continuous variable. It ranges from a lack of exploration and commitment, with low interest and awareness and little clarity concerning one's ethnicity (measured through Items 8*R, and 10*R, reversed for scoring purposes), to evidence of both exploration and commitment, reflected in efforts to learn more about one's background and a clear understanding of the role of ethnicity in one's life (Items 1, 3, 5, 12, and 13). A low score is indicative of ethnic identity diffusion, and a high one, of ethnic identity achievement.
**Attitudes toward other groups: the other-group orientation factor.**

In a general measure to be used with both minority and majority cultural groups, it is impossible to assess attitudes toward the majority group in the latter group, as these attitudes overlap attitudes toward their own ethnic group. In the MEIM, attitudes toward and interaction with ethnic groups other than one's own (as expressed by Items 4, 7*R, 9, 15*R, 17, and 19) are explored.

**Scale Construction and Scoring**

The MEIM was developed over a period of five years. An initial version of the scale was built to assess ethnic identity development, search, and commitment. The scale was later revised on the basis of item analysis and the questionnaire was revised on the basis of interviews and an extensive literature review (Phinney, 1990). Items were added to include the other essential components, and after a new administration of the scale, these items were revised on the basis of item analysis to arrive at the final version used in the present study.

All the items are rated on a 4-point scale from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. Scores are derived by reversing negatively worded items, summing across items, and obtaining the mean (Appendix A).
The measure yields a total score of ethnic identity, and three subscores: affirmation and belonging, identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors. The fourth scale, Other-Group Orientation, does not contribute to the total score, as it is not a factor of ethnic identity. The items pertaining to self-identification and ethnicity of parents are not scored.

**Reliability of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure**

The scale was tested with 417 high school students, and 136 college students in Los Angeles from an urban school and university with a student body comprised predominantly of ethnic minorities (Phinney 1992). The reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) were calculated for each sample for the total score, the Ethnic Identity scale and for two of its subscales. Ethnic identity, the total score, had a reliability coefficient of .814 for the high school sample and .903 for the college one. The reliability coefficient for other-group orientation was .710 and .738 for the high school and college groups respectively, which demonstrated that the MEIM is a reliable measure for use with ethnically diverse high school and college students.

Ethnic identity was also found to consist of a single factor according to principal components factor analysis. The single factor for ethnic identity accounted for 23.4% of the variance for the high school students, and 33.4% for the
college students. Other-group orientation emerged clearly as a distinct factor, accounting for 12.5% of the variance for high school participants and 14.2% for the college sample.

Ethnic identity was interpreted to be composed of three interrelated components: positive ethnic attitudes, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors. Pearson product moment correlations were calculated within each sample and significant and positive correlations at \( p < .001 \) were found among the following variables. Affirmation and belonging and ethnic identity achievement were correlated in the high school sample \((r = .52)\) and in the college sample \((r = .79)\). Affirmation and belonging and ethnic behaviors were correlated at \( r = .46 \) for the high school sample and at \( r = .60 \) for the college group. Ethnic identity achievement and ethnic behaviors were correlated at \( r = .47 \) at the high school level and at \( r = .59 \) at the college level. Other-group orientation was significantly correlated \((p < .05)\) only at the high school level with ethnic identity achievement \((r = .12)\), and with ethnic behaviors, \((r = -.17)\).

In terms of ethnic identity and demographic variables, gender did not play a role at the college level: there were no significant differences between the males and females in the sample. At the high school level, girls had higher scores in ethnic behaviors and practices \((t = 2.45, p < .05)\).
Ethnic identity scores differed significantly among ethnic groups at both the high school and the university levels. In the high school sample, Tukey paired comparisons revealed higher ethnic identity scores among Asian, (p< .05), Black (p< .0001), Hispanic (p< .0001), and ethnically mixed students, compared to White students, but the differences among these groups did not attain significance. In the college sample paired comparisons indicated that the Black subjects had significantly higher ethnic identity scores than the White (p< .05) and Hispanic subjects (p< .05), but there were no other differences among the groups.

In the present research, the MEIM was tested in a pilot study to ascertain its ability to differentiate between the two groups, one in Estonia and the other in Canada.

The Pilot study was conducted in 1990 and included 270 participants; 111 were Estonians from Canada and 159 were Estonians from Estonia. The sample included 144 females and 126 males, with 89 females and 70 males in the group in Estonia and 55 females and 56 males in the group in Canada. The age of the respondents ranged from 17 to 81 years.

The subjects in Toronto, Canada, were recruited through a fraternity and a sorority (both Estonian), with the exception of 20 respondents from the Estonian Heritage language program. The participants received by mail the MEIM and a covering letter introducing a pilot study.
investigation of ethnic identity by a graduate student in the Applied Psychology Department at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE). The participants were asked to return the MEIM by mail. The 20 younger subjects were approached in school by their teachers; they completed the measure in class.

The choice of a fraternity and a sorority for recruiting subjects in Canada was based on the following rationale: (a) most of the studies on identity and ethnic identity have used a college population as subjects; (b) there would likely be a balance in terms of gender distribution; (c) the return rate would be higher as this group would be more interested and positively predisposed toward academic pursuits such as research, and would have no difficulty understanding the concepts involved. In addition, since these respondents were members of an Estonian organization, their self-identification would be Estonian.

The subjects in Estonia were recruited through the members of an Estonian-Canadian choir and a folk-dance group, which performed in the Song Festival in Tallinn, in the summer of 1990.

The choir and dance group members distributed the measure among their relatives, acquaintances, and hosts in Estonia. The majority of the forms were returned in person upon the groups' return to Canada; some forms were sent by
mail shortly thereafter. The method of recruitment in Estonia, by personal contact, was, in the researcher's opinion, the only possible way of ensuring adequate response. In 1990, although experiencing greater political freedom, Estonia was still an occupied nation, that suffered from the suspiciousness characteristic of oppressed people.

**The Differential Diagnostic Technique**

**Description**

The DDT is a projective drawing test in which the individual is asked to copy 12 figures that are presented, one at a time, on stimulus cards. The test consists of four straight-line figures, four curved-line figures and four mixed figures, (with straight and curved lines, which the subjects copy freehand. A sample of the two practice figures is given in Appendix Ad. These figures are used to determine if the subject understands the instructions and can complete the drawings to an acceptable standard. These standards are defined together with the scoring procedures in the *Differential Diagnostic Technique Scoring Manual* (Weininger & Cook, 1994). The test compares the control exerted by the individual's ego when drawing, reflected in the accuracy of the copied figures, with the out-of-control aspects shown by inaccurate or chaotic reproductions.

Each figure is scored separately, but each set of four similar figures constitutes an "area" and receives a
separate score from the rest. The four straight-line figures constitute the "Hostility area"; the curved-line figures, the "Passive-dependency area"; and the mixed figures the "Interpersonal area". Twenty-six different scoring factors represent 26 qualities that indicate control and lack of control in the copying of the drawings, and these factors are shown on the scoring chart (Appendix Ae). The scoring factors are grouped in terms of their representation of ego control or accuracy, loss of ego control or inaccuracy, and the emotional energy available to the individual in the compromise between the factors of ego control and lack of ego control. "Personality rigidity" and "Intellectual control" represent the areas of ego control, "Impulsiveness" and "Dissociation" represent the areas of loss of control, and "Energy Output" represents emotional energy. These factors are scored for five different areas, each of which has its own index of control: (a) the hostility area; (b) the passive-dependency area; (c) the interpersonal area; (d) the "total area" which is derived from the factors scored in the first three areas; and (e) the "memory area", which is scored separately.

Another important measure, the differential index of control, is obtained by subtracting the passive-dependency control index from the hostility control index. Each index of control is essentially a number that represents the balance of control versus out-of-control factors for the
respective area. The total index of control reflects the individual's general state of mental health at the time of testing. The memory area provides information about the subject's capacity for self-reliance and for dealing with stressful situations. The differential index of control reflects the personality structure, established on the basis of the balance of the control indices in the passive-dependency and the hostility areas. This control index also allows for the classification of the "chronically hostile" personality type, which has relatively higher out-of-control factors in the hostility area than in the passive-dependency area, the "episodic" personality type, in which the passive-dependency area is more out of control than the hostility area, and the "regressive" personality type, in which both the hostility and the passive-dependency areas are balanced. A more detailed description of the control and loss of control factors, the different areas, and the personality types is provided in Appendix Af.

Assumptions

The DDT is a projective test based on theories about the relationship between drawing behaviors and unconscious personality processes. According to Weininger (1986), this test, developed by Breen (1949, 1953) and North (1950, 1953) assumes that spontaneous drawing and writing provide an awareness of deep unconscious conflict and thus offer a
symbolic parallel to the individual's unconscious processes. In terms of sexual symbolism, the straight lines and angles were seen as being symbolic of masculinity, aggression, and dominance; the curved lines and circles indicated femininity, passivity, and submissiveness; and the combination of the two represented the heterosexual aspects of life and a balance of dominant and submissive trends in the personality. Later North included manipulation versus accommodation to the environment as factors indicated by the drawing of the straight and curved-line figures.

Working from this vantage point, Breen suggested that the passive, compliant subject would draw the curved-line figures in a relaxed manner, but would exhibit anxiety and tension drawing the straight-line figures, and therefore draw those with relatively more control. These behaviors would indicate difficulty in the expression of aggression.

The opposite difficulty would be faced by the aggressive person, who would experience tension and conflict with dependency needs and exhibit more control in the reproduction of the curved-line figures.

The DDT thus adopts its fundamental constructs from the psychoanalytic school of thought. With its emphasis on patterns of control, the test reflects the basic assumption that psychological well-being consists of a delicate balance between control and expressivity. Ego strength, conceptualized in terms of tension between impulses and
control, fits the structural-drive model, where ego adaptation depends on the interaction between the intensity of the drives and the adequacy of the defensive structures. Personality organization, conceptualized on the basis of the juxtaposition of passive-dependency needs and hostile-aggressive impulses, fits the traditional psychoanalytic model, which emphasizes two basic instinctual drives, sex and aggression, modulated by the ego under the supervision of the superego. The test also fits with Klein's conceptualizations of the paranoid-schizoid position, in which aggression is more out of control, and the depressive position, in which passive-dependency needs are paramount.

Reliability and Validity of the Differential Diagnostic Technique

Weininger (1986) gives an overview of studies using the DDT. Although the earlier studies (Breen, 1953; Teahan, 1952) reported low levels of interscorer (.40) and intrascorer (.65 and .78) reliability, continued development of the scoring system has resulted in studies reporting satisfactory levels. Morris (1978) found interscorer reliability of .91; Barker (1980) and Gyra (1982), reported interscorer reliabilities of .80 and .85, and intrascore reliabilities of .92 and .96 respectively. Test-retest studies have found reliabilities of .80 and .75 (North,
1953) for groups tested at intervals of 3 months to 2 years.

According to Weininger, many studies have validated the DDT as a measure of personality organization and level of ego strength. Some studies of group differences have provided criterion validity for the DDT by discriminating between different groups in terms of the differential index (DI) and the total index (TI) (Breen, 1949; North, 1950, 1953; Teahan, 1952; Thurlow, 1957; Young, 1985; and Wunder, 1988). Studies of correlations between the DDT and other measures such as clinical assessments, the Funkenstein test (a physiological measure of systolic blood pressure reaction to mecolyl), the Bender-Gestalt test and the Beck Depression Inventory (Breen, 1953; North, 1955; McCallum, 1955; Gray, 1957) have also confirmed the validity of this instrument. In terms of studies of change, North (1953) retested psychiatric patients and found that the differential index of control remained relatively stable while the total index of control tended to improve slightly in response to treatment.

In summary many studies have shown the DDT to be a reliable and valid measure of personality organization and mental health. Studies of predictive validity and internal structural validity, however have not been completed.

In the present study the DDT was chosen as a measure of personality as it seemed specially appropriate for cross-cultural studies. As mentioned before, it is not a verbal
test, therefore the need for translation is minimal. Moreover, since its purpose is not clearly detectable, it is more immune to social desirability factors and cultural influences. It is scored only on the basis of the drawings; therefore, it can be scored by somebody other than the interviewer, and it has an elaborate, complex, but objective scoring procedure, which is unique among projective measures. Finally, since the DDT is a drawing-test, it is a good complement to the highly verbal procedure of interviewing.

The Interview

The interview guide approach, was employed as the interviewer was able to specify some important topics in advance, based on the literature review of ethnic identity. This type of interview allows for other topics to emerge during the conversation that might be important to the respondent and that had not been included in the original format. As stated before, the interview was employed as a vehicle for entering another person's perspective, and tapping the idiosyncratic aspects of ethnic identity not only from the group's perspective but also from the individual's point of view. The MEIM and the interview addressed common topics and were meant to provide a form of triangulation at the stage of data analysis. The complete interview schedule is in Appendix A6.
As can be seen in the interview schedule, self-identification was explored in more detail, in an attempt to assess the personal meaning of being Estonian, the person's image of being Estonian, and the role ethnicity played in the person's life (salience). Attitudes toward the group were tapped through queries such as "How would you characterize Estonians as a group?" and "How would you see yourself fitting in with these characterizations?" The latter question is a variation of an indirect and common way of assessing attitudes toward the ethnic group by having individuals rate themselves and their group according to positive or negative adjectives. The questions "Are there any things that you specially like about your group?" and "Are there things that you would like to see different?" are extensions of this idea.

One of the most powerful ways of indirectly assessing attitudes is to determine if the individual would stay as a group member if given a choice; thus, the following question was asked: "If you had a choice, what nationality or ethnic group do you think you would have chosen to belong to? Why?" The other questions expanded on these points and allowed for further elaboration and confirmation.

A sense of belonging to the group is often determined in relation to other groups, in terms of exclusion, separateness or just simple contrast: "How different, similar do you think Estonians are to people from other
ethnic groups?" "What kinds of thoughts and feelings do you experience when you are in contact with other ethnic groups?" "What kinds of thoughts and feelings do you experience when associating with Estonians?" and "If you were no longer an Estonian what would you miss, lose?" These were some of the queries regarding this aspect of belonging.

Another feature of the sense of belonging is a feeling of concern or responsibility for one's culture. The question "Are there any special obligations and commitments associated with being Estonian?" addressed this aspect directly. Other questions regarding values, symbols, proverbs, and so forth were interspersed throughout the interview schedule.

Questions concerning another component of ethnic identity, ethnic behaviors, asked "What do Estonians do that is unique or typical?" A number of questions explored ethnic identity development from the first experience of awareness of being Estonian, for example: "When did you first become aware of the fact that you were Estonian?" Other questions probed for an event that marked the occasion.

The salience of ethnicity was also addressed: "When you think back over the years are there any time periods in which you felt more strongly about being Estonian?" and "Do you foresee any changes in the way you think of yourself as an Estonian in the future?"
Procedures

The data collection took place in Tallinn, Estonia, in October and November 1991, and in Toronto, Canada in 1992. The interviews in Estonia were conducted in various places: the two institutions mentioned above, the subjects' homes, and the interviewer's residence. In Canada, interviews were held in a private downtown club, the subjects' homes, and the researcher's residence. The length of the interviews varied from 2-1/2 to 5 hours. All the interviews in Estonia (with one exception due to technical difficulties) were conducted in single sittings. In Canada three interviews were completed in two sessions as a matter of convenience. The researcher approached all subjects by phone to inform them about the nature of the project and to arrange for a mutually convenient meeting time and location. At the beginning of the interview, the consent form (see Appendix Ah) was presented, discussed, and signed. The participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to explore ethnic identity development in two generations of Estonian women in two different settings. They were then told that they would be interviewed at length and asked to complete a measure of ethnic identity and a personality test, and that all interviews would be audio-taped. In Canada the participants were given a choice of language, Estonian or English, with the clarification that this was not a variable under investigation, but entirely a matter of preference.
All subjects were interviewed according to the interview schedule (in Appendix A), and then they completed the MEIM and the DDT. All interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher, and the DDT protocols were scored first by the researcher, and then by a psychologist who is an expert in this particular test.
CHAPTER IV
DATA ANALYSIS

The choice of the different methods of data analysis was based on the questions the study was designed to explore: the differences and similarities in ethnic identity by environment and generation, and the possible links between ethnic identity and personality variables.

Quantitative Data Analyses of Ethnic Identity Variables

Pilot Study

Analyses of variance, both univariate (ANOVA) and multivariate (MANOVA), were used to determine if the distribution of the quantitative scores generated by the MEIM, in the pilot study was significantly associated with the variables of environment (Estonia and Canada), age (young, medium, and old), and gender (men and women in the pilot study). The ANOVA was used first, to see if there were any significant differences in ethnic identity between the groups in Estonia and in Canada, and the MANOVA was conducted, because the use of univariate tests leads to a greatly inflated overall Type I error (the probability of a false rejection of the null hypothesis).
The question of links between personality variables and ethnic identity variables could not be explored through the pilot study, because the personality measure, the DDT was used only with the main research sample.

**Combined Sample**

The combined data sample of 122 women was created by selecting from the pilot study only the women in the age range of the daughters and mothers in the main study sample (18 to 25, and 40 to 57 years respectively), and by adding them to the main study sample. ANOVAs were performed on the ethnic identity scores obtained through the MEIM, the dependent variables, by the independent variable group (meaning the pilot study and the main study samples). A MANOVA by group was also conducted. These procedures were used to determine if the pilot and the main study groups were drawn from populations with the same means. ANOVAs on each of the ethnic identity scores by environment, and by generation, were conducted together with MANOVAs by environment and generation.

The combined sample was created because it provided a larger, all female sample with the same age grouping as that in the main study, for exploring the possible differences in ethnic identity by environment and generation.
With a sample as small as that of the main study, 42 subjects, there is a greater probability of making a Type II error (accepting the null hypothesis when it is false) as power is heavily dependent on sample size.

Quantitative Data Analysis of Ethnic Identity and Personality variables

**Main Study**

In the main study both the ethnic identity scores and the personality scores were analyzed. The latter included the control indices of the five areas, total personality, hostility, passivity, interpersonal, and memory, yielded by the DDT, and a sixth score, the differential index. Both the ethnic identity scores and the personality scores were subjected to ANOVAs by environment and generation.

In the main study the third question, that of the links between personality variables and ethnic identity variables, could be addressed. Correlational matrices of the relationships between these variables in the total sample, in the Estonian sample, in the Canadian sample, in the mothers'sample and the daughters'sample were obtained. The first task was to determine if there were any significant correlations as measured by Pearson correlation coefficients between the two types of variables. The second task was to explore whether these correlations varied according to environment (Estonia and Canada) and generation (mothers and daughters).
Due to the fact that there are very few studies on the relationships between personality dynamics and ethnic identity, and because significant correlations between the MEIM and DDT scores were found in the present study, more detailed exploration of the relationships between the personality variables and the ethnic identity measures was conducted. The intent was to include in the data analysis as much of the information yielded by the personality test as possible. In concrete terms this meant finding a way to include in the analysis the 35 subscores of the DDT. The question of links between ethnic identity variables and personality variables in the main study sample was framed in the following terms: Are there any combinations of personality traits that differentiate between the participants who rate their ethnic identity as a salient aspect of their personal identity, those who feel it is important, and those who think it is only somewhat important or unimportant? Because of the exploratory nature of the question, the small sample size, the large number of variables under scrutiny, the feasibility of categorizing the ethnic identity scores as low, medium, and high, and the focus on the personality correlates of the low, medium, and high scores in ethnic identity, the dual scaling procedure of data analysis was adopted.
In contrast to inferential statistics, which may or may not confirm hypotheses, dual scaling belongs to the so-called exploratory data analysis category. This method is used to describe a given set of data rather than to draw inferences from data to a more general set or population, as both subjects and variables are assumed to be populations. Dual scaling has been referred to as a multivariate descriptive analysis, as opposed to a multivariate inferential analysis. Dual scaling can also be described as a nonlinear multidimensional method of quantification, which analyzes data exhaustively. It simplifies complex data and provides a detailed description of every bit of information in the data, yielding a simple but exhaustive analysis. Dual scaling (Nishisato, 1994) is defined as a method of statistical analysis designed to explore and identify structure within categorical data through a process of optimal quantification. The technique consists of assigning weights to response options and scores to subjects in a way which optimizes Guttman's principle of internal consistency. Nishisato summarizes this principle:

Assign as similar scores as possible to those subjects who chose the same option of a question, and these scores should be as different as possible from the scores of those who chose other options; assign as similar weights as possible to those options which were chosen by one subject and these option weights should be as different as possible from the weights of options which were not chosen by this subject. (pp. 51, 52)
This weighting system, maximizes the discrimination between subjects and between options or categories simultaneously.

There exists perfect mathematical symmetry in the relation between the two sets of scores, one for response options and one for subjects. This symmetry is referred to as duality (hence the procedure's name). The advantage of this particular analysis is that it generates an "optimal" composite or dimension of categorical variables which maximizes internal reliability and the discrimination between high and low scorers on the identified dimension. When the optimal solution does not explain the data in an exhaustive way, dual scaling determines the portion of the variance which has been unexplained by the first solution and extracts the second solution in the same manner, until the data has been exhaustively analyzed. Dual scaling is essentially the same as principal components analysis, except that dual scaling enjoys the freedom of differentially weighting response options in arriving at multidimensional decomposition of data. Principal components analysis deals with a fixed correlation matrix for decomposition, while dual scaling generates through weighting the "most informative" correlation matrix for decomposition.
Data in the present study were analyzed using the DUAL3MC program (1986). This particular dual scaling program was designed for use with multiple-choice data. The scores yielded by the MEIM and the DDT were converted into categorical data.

The ethnic identity scores were classified into three categories: low, medium, and high. The low scores fell within the bottom 33% of scores in the total sample; the medium scores in the middle 33%; and the high scores in the top 33%. The numerical ranges for each category for the pilot study sample and for the main sample are outlined in Tables I and II, respectively.

The summary of the categorization of the scores yielded by the DDT for dual scaling analysis is outlined in Table III, and the rationale behind the conversion of these scores into categorical data is presented in Appendix Ai. This categorization, first used by Ammons (1991) in his doctoral dissertation, is based on Weininger's (1986) diagnostic classification.

Because the questions of interest focused on the differences in ethnic identity by environment, generation, and the personality correlates of ethnic identity, the dual scaling procedure of forced classification by the criterion items, environment, generation, and ethnic identity, was used. The goal was to identify which personality variables clustered with low, medium, and high ethnic identity scores.
A variable that was not considered in the original set of questions, other-group orientation, was subjected to the same procedure as the scale of ethnic identity.

Forced classification is a procedure of dual scaling that carries out both discriminant analysis and analysis with a focus on a particular variable (the criterion item) or set of variables. The procedure is based on two principles: the principle of equivalent partitioning (PEP) and the principle of internal consistency (PIC). The essence of the principle of equivalent partitioning, proposed by Nishisato, is that the data structure remains invariant over row and column partitioning. If one divides a data matrix arbitrarily into a table with proportional rows, proportional columns, or both, the squared correlation ratio and distinct optimal weights remain invariant over proportional row, column, or row and column partitioning.

The second principle used in forced classification is that of internal consistency. Dominant patterns of responses or homogeneous patterns constitute a major source for determining a solution. Therefore, in forced classification, by augmenting a response pattern of N subjects to a particular item many times, the repeated item becomes the dominant force in the solution. As the number of repetitions increases, the correlation between the repeated item or the criterion item and the total score approaches 1. If the repeated item is environment (from
Estonia or not from Estonia, i.e., from Canada), the dual scaling of the augmented matrix would yield scores that maximally discriminate between those who are from Estonia and those who are not. Thus as the number of repetitions increases, dual scaling derives optimal weights of items that increase, and eventually maximize, the average correlation between items and the criterion item. The number of proper solutions depends on the number of options for the criterion item since the number of solutions is arrived at by subtracting 1 from the total number of options. For the criterion item of environment, the number of proper solutions is 1 because the total number of options is 2 (from Estonia or from Canada). For the criterion item of ethnic identity, the number of proper solutions is 2 as there are three options (low, medium, and high ethnic identity).

The dual scaling procedure of multiple-choice, forced classification by the criterion items environment (Estonia or Canada), generation (mother or daughter), ethnic identity (low, medium or high self-ratings) and other-group orientation (low, medium or high self-ratings) was used to explore in greater detail the questions addressed by this research study. In the main study both the ethnic identity and the personality variables were considered, while in the pilot study and combined sample analysis, only the ethnic identity variables could be analyzed.
Qualitative Data Analysis

The dual scaling procedure not only yields information regarding the items and options that contribute most to each solution, but it also provides scores for subjects, thus revealing which individuals are most representative of each solution. This feature proved valuable in focusing the analysis of the interview data. For example, the interview transcripts of the subjects who were most representative of the medium to high scorers in ethnic identity, were compared to those who were typical of the low scorers (the polarization established in the first solution). These transcripts were scrutinized for differences and similarities in direct quotations about experiences, attitudes, and thoughts regarding ethnic identity. The same procedure was utilized in analyzing the attitudes toward other groups, by sorting through the transcripts of the subjects who were most representative of the medium and high scorers in other-group orientation, and comparing them to the subjects that were typical of the low scorers on the same scale. This procedure also allowed for one type of triangulation: the consistency of findings generated by the different data collection methods—quantitative (the MEIM and DDT) and qualitative (interviews)—could be checked. The procedures mentioned above were used to procure answers to the question: What are the links between ethnic identity and personality variables?
The other two questions regarding the differences and similarities by environment and generation focused the rest of the analysis, which was purely inductive, with the themes and categories emerging from the qualitative data. First, the interviews were scrutinized for recurring patterns or themes. Several general themes common to all subjects, regardless of generation and environment, emerged. These themes were then prioritized according to their salience and special interest. The themes were interrelated, and links were established between these themes and the demographic, geographic, and historical context of this particular ethnic group. Themes that differentiated between the two groups by environment and generation were also determined through the same inductive process.
CHAPTER V

RESULTS

The results of the quantitative and the qualitative data analyses are reported separately. These results are classified according to the main research issues they address: differences and similarities in ethnic identity by environment and by generation, and differences and similarities in ethnic identity and personality by environment and generation.

The question of ethnic identity and its links with personality is explored without direct reference to environment and generation, by examining the relationship between personality characteristics and the relative importance the respondents attribute to their ethnicity. Intergroup relations, although not a factor of ethnic identity, figure prominently in this study and are also examined on the basis of the other-group orientation scores of the MEIM. Similar to the analysis of ethnic identity, the links between the personality characteristics of the subjects and their ratings of their attitudes toward other ethnic groups are explored.

The quantitative results are also divided in terms of the data sample analyzed: (pilot study sample, combined
sample, and main study sample) and the type of statistical procedures utilized in the data analysis: (ANOVA or MANOVA, correlation methods, and dual scaling procedures).

The qualitative results are also organized according to the research issues they illustrate. First the findings regarding the relationship between personality characteristics and the importance the subjects attribute to their ethnic identity are described. Next the relationship between personality traits and attitudes toward other ethnic groups found in this population is reported. Quotes from the interviews of the subjects who are representative of the various combinations of ethnic identity and personality variables, as identified by the dual scaling procedure, are presented to exemplify these findings.

The question of the differences in ethnic identity by environment is captured by two themes titled "Estonian as natural," and "Estonian as biculturalism and enrichment," while the third question of differences in ethnic identity by generation is reflected in the two themes of "migrating or staying," and "endogamy or exogamy." Again excerpts from the interviews are presented. These results emphasize the differences between the groups by environment and generation; the next section concentrates on the similarities in the meaning of being Estonian, rendered through the themes that emerge in the interviews, irrespective of the environment, generation, and the
personality dynamics of the respondents. These themes, common to the two groups and generations, are called "Estonia as a question of survival, invisibility and size," and "idiosyncratic aspects of an Estonian identity." These issues are seen as particular to this ethnic group, interwoven with its history and geography. The two final themes, "first awareness" and "heightened awareness of being Estonian," are included, as they exemplify the dynamic and sociohistorical aspects of ethnic identity.

Quantitative Results

Pilot Study sample

Ethnic Identity and Environment

Univariate and multivariate analyses of variance by environment.

As mentioned earlier, the pilot study was conducted to see if the MEIM could detect differences in the way Estonians in Estonia and Estonians in Canada perceived the role of ethnicity in their lives.

ANOVA of the five scores of the MEIM, the dependent variables, by environment (Estonia, Canada), the independent variable, yielded the following results, shown in Tables 1 to 5. The group in Canada, compared to the group in Estonia, rated significantly higher on all ethnic identity scores with the exception of ethnic behaviors. The differences were significant at $p<.0001$ for ethnic identity, identity
achievement, and other-group orientation and at p< .05 for affirmation and belonging.

A MANOVA by environment showed a significant difference in the scores of ethnic identity (p< .001). One can conclude that the ethnic identity scores vary significantly between the two groups, and that the environment plays an influential role in the respondents' ratings of the importance of ethnicity in daily life.

**Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure by environment.**

As mentioned in the Data Analysis chapter, the scores obtained through the MEIM were converted into categorical data, with the bottom 33% of the scores ranked as low, the middle 33%, as medium, and the top 33%, as high (Tables I and II). The dual scaling procedure of multiple-choice (with three choices, low, medium, and high, for the ethnic identity variables) forced classification by the criterion item, environment (with two options, Estonia and Canada), was used. In this case only one solution could be extracted, as there were two options for the criterion item, environment. This solution, shown in Table 6, explained 35.94% of the variance. The ethnic identity variables or items are reported in descending order, according to the strength of their correlation with environment, as measured by R(jt). The higher the value of R(jt), the greater the
relevance of the item to the criterion item. For this sample size (270), items with a correlations lower than .1194 are not considered relevant. This particular combination of the ethnic identity variables and their values (low, medium and high), obtained through this solution, reflected the pattern that was the most dominant in this group, and that accounted for the greatest variability in this sample.

According to this solution the group in Estonia presented low to medium scores in ethnic identity, identity achievement, and other-group orientation, while the group in Canada showed high scores on all of these items. In affirmation and belonging the group in Estonia showed low values and the group in Canada medium and high values. In ethnic behaviours members of the group in Estonia rated themselves as low, while members of the group in Canada rated themselves as high.

The results of the dual scaling procedure corresponded with those of the univariate and multivariate data analyses. Ethnic identity, identity achievement, and other-group orientation showed the highest level of significance in the ANOVAs by environment, and the highest correlation rate with environment in the dual scaling procedure. These two types of analysis indicated some significant differences in how Estonians in Estonia and in Canada rate the importance of ethnicity in their lives, and in how they perceive
themselves in relation to other ethnic groups. In relation to the group in Estonia, the group in Canada seemed to attribute greater importance to its ethnic identity and to portray itself as more open to interaction with other ethnic groups.

The pilot study included both men and women, and although the question of differences in ethnic identity by gender was not one of the primary questions addressed in this research, the findings of the pilot study are still informative.

**Ethnic Identity and Gender**

**Univariate and multivariate analysis of variance by gender.**

ANOVAs of the five scores of the MEIM, the dependent variables, by gender, the independent variable, showed the following results, reported in Tables 7 to 11. Women, rated significantly higher than men, on two variables: ethnic behaviors ($p<.05$) and other-group orientation ($p<.01$).

A MANOVA by gender also showed a significant difference in the scores of ethnic identity ($p<.05$). It seems that the women in this sample perceive themselves as more invested in ethnic traditions and practices, and as having a more open attitude toward other ethnic groups than the men.
Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure, by gender.

The dual scaling procedure of multiple-choice (low, medium and high) forced classification by the criterion item, gender, was utilized to differentiate between the men and women in this sample.

In this case, also, only one solution could be extracted, and it accounted for 33.93% of the total variance. This solution, presented in Table 12, shows the ethnic identity variables or items in descending order, according to their correlation rate with gender. Other-group orientation discriminated most between men and women, with women showing high scores, and men low and medium scores. Ethnic behaviors followed, with women scoring high and men, low, and identity achievement and ethnic identity came last, with women obtaining medium and high scores and men, low scores, on both of these variables. Again the results of the ANOVAs and MANOVA corresponded with those obtained through the dual scaling procedure, in that the items most highly correlated with gender were also those identified as having the highest level of significance in the analysis of variance by gender (i.e., other-group orientation and ethnic behaviors).

It seems that what differentiated the men and women in this sample the most was the way they perceive themselves in relation to other ethnic groups, with women rating...
themselves as significantly more open than men to interaction with other ethnic groups. Women also attributed more importance than men to ethnic traditions and practices. According to the dual scaling procedure, the only variable that did not discriminate between men and women was affirmation and belonging.

**Ethnic Identity and Age**

*Univariate and multivariate analyses of variance by age group.*

ANOViAs of the five scores of the MEIM, the dependent variables; by age group (three groups), the independent variable, yielded the results shown in Tables 13 to 17. The differences by age group were significant at $p < .0001$ for ethnic identity, affirmation and belonging, and identity achievement, and at $p < .001$ for ethnic behaviors. There were no significant differences in other-group orientation by age group. A MANOVA on all ethnic identity variables by age group showed a significant effect by age ($p < .05$). Ethnic identity was rated as more important in later years, while the attitudes toward other ethnic groups did not seem to change in relation to chronological age. These results again suggest different factors affect how individuals perceive their relationship with their own ethnic group and how they see themselves in relation to other ethnic groups.
Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure, by age group.

The dual scaling procedure of multiple-choice (low, medium, and high) forced classification by the criterion item age group (young, medium, and old), was used. Although two solutions were theoretically possible, as the criterion item age presented three options, only one proper solution was obtained. As mentioned before, for this sample size (270), correlation rates lower than .1194 between the items (ethnic identity scores) and the criterion item (three age groups), are not considered relevant. As no correlations of .1194 or higher were obtained in Solution 2, this solution was discarded.

The solution in Table 18 explained 28.47% of the variability in this sample and discriminated between the young group, (17-24 years) on one end, and the middle (26-59 years) and the old (60 years and above) groups on the other end. The young group showed low values in all ethnic identity variables, and medium values in other-group orientation, while the middle and the old groups had medium and high values in ethnic identity, identity achievement, affirmation and belonging, high values in ethnic behaviors, and low values in other-group orientation. These variables are presented in descending order according to the strength of their correlation with the criterion item, age group.
These results again corresponded with those obtained through the analyses of variance by age group, in that the variables with the highest level of significance according to the ANOVAs by age group were also those which correlated most highly with age group in the dual scaling procedure.

It seems that the significant difference in ethnic identity scores according to age lies between the young group and the two older groups.

**Summary of the Findings of the Pilot study**

The conclusion drawn from the analysis of the pilot study data was that the MEIM discriminated between the group in Estonia and the group in Canada, and that there were statistically significant differences between the two groups in their ethnic identity scores. The results of the different analyses reported above corresponded with other findings presented in the Literature Review section, regarding ethnic identity and gender, and ethnic identity and age. The solutions obtained through the dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure of ethnic identity variables by the criterion items, environment, gender, and age, corresponded with the results obtained through the ANOVAs and MANOVAs by the same three variables. The ethnic identity variables or items that had the highest significance level according to the ANOVAs by environment, gender, and age group, were generally those with the highest
criterion item correlation in the dual scaling, multiple choice, forced classification procedure by the three criterion items.

Combined Sample

As mentioned in the Method section, the combined sample was created by selecting from the pilot study the women who fell in the same age range, 18 to 25 and 40 to 57 years, as the daughters and mothers in the main study; the final sample totaled 122 women. The reason for creating this combined sample was to determine if the subjects from the pilot study group and the main study group were drawn from populations with different means.

Ethnic Identity and Pilot Study and Main Study Groups

ANOVA of the five scores of the MEIM the dependent variables, by group (pilot study or main study), the independent variable, yielded the following results as outlined in Tables 19 to 23. There were no statistically significant differences in any of the ethnic identity variables by group. A MANOVA by group confirmed this finding (p< .444). One can conclude that the populations of the pilot and the main study groups did not differ in their means.
The combined sample thus provided an all female larger sample (122) than that of the main study (42), with which to analyze the differences in ethnic identity by environment and generation.

Ethnic Identity and Environment

Univariate and multivariate analyses of variance by environment.

ANOVAs of the five ethnic identity scores yielded by the MEIM, the dependent variables, by environment, the independent variable, gave the results shown in Tables 24 to 28. The group in Canada, compared to the group in Estonia rated significantly higher on all ethnic identity scores with the exception of ethnic behaviors. These results were identical to those of the pilot study but for the levels of significance of the scores. The differences by environment were significant for the scores of ethnic identity (p<.003), affirmation and belonging (p<.03), identity achievement (p<.001), and other-group orientation (p<.0001). A MANOVA by environment showed a significant difference in the ethnic identity scores. (p<.0001)

Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure, by environment.

The procedure used in the pilot study sample was replicated in the combined study sample, with the results
presented in Table 29. Only one solution was possible, and it accounted for 36.87% of the variance. Again the ethnic identity items are presented in decreasing order, according to their correlation rate with the criterion item, environment. This solution differentiated between the women in Canada and in Estonia in the following manner: other-group orientation correlated most highly with environment, and the group in Canada showed high values, while the group in Estonia obtained low and medium scores. Identity achievement, ethnic identity, and affirmation and belonging scores were medium and high in the group in Canada, and low in the group in Estonia. These results again corresponded with the findings of the analyses of variance, as ethnic behaviors did not differentiate between the two groups. Also the levels of significance of the ethnic identity variables in the analysis of variance procedures concurred with the strength of the correlation of the items with the criterion item, according to the dual scaling procedure.

Ethnic Identity and Age

Univariate and multivariate analysis of variance of ethnic identity variables by age.

ANOVA of the five scores of ethnic identity obtained through the MEIM by age showed results that were the same as those obtained in the pilot study, with only one exception. The scores in ethnic behaviors in this all female sample did
not differ according to age. The results are shown in Tables 30 to 34, with the older group rating significantly higher than the younger group at $p < .001$ on ethnic identity and affirmation and belonging, and at $p < .0001$ on identity achievement.

Other-group orientation scores, as in the pilot study, did not vary by age. A MANOVA by age group confirmed significant differences in the ethnic identity scores by age ($p < .0001$).

**Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure, by age group.**

The only possible solution in this procedure accounted for 36.87% of the total variance, and the results are reported in Table 35, with the items listed in descending order, according to their correlation rate with the criterion item, age group.

This solution differentiated between the younger and older groups as follows. Ethnic identity discriminated most by age, with the older group obtaining high scores, and the younger, low and medium scores. Affirmation and belonging is the next item, with the older group's scores ranging from medium to high compared to the low scores of the younger group. Identity achievement is the last item that differentiated by age group with the older group scoring high, and the younger group, low and medium. Again the
results obtained through the analysis of variance corresponded with those of dual scaling procedures. The same variables discriminated by age in both analyses, although this time, the significance levels and the correlation rates did not correspond.

Summary of the Results of the Combined Sample

The results of the data analysis of the combined sample established that the subjects in the pilot and main groups came from populations with the same mean. Therefore, the findings of the pilot study could inform the analysis of the results of the main study. Since the pilot sample included men, as well as women who belonged to age groups that differed from those in the main study, and because ethnic identity scores varied significantly by gender and age, the combined sample was created to eliminate these major differences. This combination facilitated the analysis of differences in ethnic identity by environment and generation, by providing a larger, all female sample with the same age range as the subjects in the main study.

Main Study Sample

Exploring Relationships Between Ethnic Identity and Personality Variables

Analysis of the main study sample yielded the possibility of exploring the relationships between the
scores for the ethnic identity variables and the personality variables. There is a lack of research on ethnic identity at the psychological level, as pointed out by Phinney (1990), and there are no known studies of ethnic identity and personality dynamics. The emphasis of the few studies at the psychological level has been on examining the relationship between ethnic identity status and traits or characteristics such as self-esteem and learning styles. Therefore in the present study, the relationship between scores of personality and ethnic identity was explored through different statistical methods. The first step was to see if there were any suggestions of relationships between the ethnic identity scores obtained through the MEIM and the scores on some of the personality variables measured by the DDT. The control indices were chosen for an initial exploration, as they are the most informative of the composite scores of the DDT.

**Correlation method.**

**Total sample: Mothers and daughters in Estonia and Canada.**

The mothers and daughters in the main study sample completed the MEIM used in the pilot study, together with the Differential Diagnostic Technique, the personality drawing test. In order to search for suggestions of relationships between the personality and the ethnic
identity variables, the mean scores of the five ethnic identity components (ethnic identity, affirmation and belonging, identity achievement, ethnic behaviours, and other-group orientation), the five scores of the control indices of the five areas of the DDT (total, hostility, passive-dependency, interpersonal and memory) and the differential index of control were correlated as shown in Table 36.

The only significant and positive correlation (p< .05) found between the ethnic identity and the personality scores was between other-group orientation and the differential index of control. In this sample, the subjects with a higher score on their differential index of control, (those who leaned toward greater control of their hostile impulses than of their passive-dependency needs) tended to have a higher score on other-group orientation; they rated themselves as relatively more open and positively inclined toward other ethnic groups.

The rest of the significant correlations were among the ethnic identity and the personality variables themselves, and were partly a function of the structure and scoring. For example the total index of control is derived from the factors scored in the hostility, passivity, and interpersonal area; thus, a significant correlation among all these variables is expected as a function of the test.
The only interesting correlation between personality variables as expressed by the control indices was the significant correlation between the total index of control and the memory index of control. As mentioned before, the memory area is scored separately, and the factors scored in this area do not contribute to the other areas; hence, this correlation is not a function of the test design. In this sample, there is a statistically significant and positive correlation between the total index of control and the memory index of control (p< .05). People who are either in control or out of control in the total area, which measures ego strength or mental health, would show a similar pattern when performing under stress; there would be a tendency to be out of control or in control when environmental supports are not present, depending on the individual's usual way of being and acting. In summary the correlation matrix shown in Table 36 revealed significant links between the ethnic identity and the personality scores.

Mothers and daughters in Estonia.

In order to ascertain if there were any differences in the correlational pattern of ethnic identity and personality scores in the two environments, the correlations between the scores of only the mothers and daughters in Estonia and only those in Canada, were examined. The results of the Estonian sample shown in Table 37, demonstrated a link between
personality and ethnic identity variables similar to that of the total sample, with a positive and significant correlation \((p < .05)\) between the other-group orientation score, the differential index of control and the control index in hostility. It is interesting to note that in this sample the score for the control of hostility was also significantly correlated with the score for other-group orientation. In the Estonian sample attitudes toward other ethnic groups were linked to personality type, and more specifically to the degree of control over hostile aggressive impulses.

**Mothers and daughters in Canada.**

In the Canadian sample, a different picture materialized. The link between personality and ethnic identity variables was established through the control index in memory, which measures the individual's performance under stress, or in circumstances in which the environmental supports are removed. The control index in memory was negatively and significantly \((p < .05)\) correlated with ethnic identity, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic behaviors (Table 38). Therefore, the respondents in this sample who tended to decompensate under stress also rated their ethnicity as more important; and those who were more in control when under pressure attributed relatively less value to their ethnic identity. The scores for other-group
orientation, the way people rate their attitudes toward other ethnic groups, did not correlate significantly with any other measures in the group in Canada.

In summary, there were differences in the correlation patterns between the ethnic identity and personality variables according to the environment. In the Estonian sample, the most significant correlations were between the scores on the differential index that determines personality type, the control index in hostility, and other-group orientation, the score that reflects attitude toward other ethnic groups. In the Canadian sample, the significant correlations are between the control index in memory, the score that measures ego strength when under stress (MCI) and all ethnic identity variables with the exception of identity achievement. It is as if these correlational patterns are pointing to, and separating the crucial issues by environment. For the group in Estonia, the main concern is their relationship with other ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups translate as the Russians, a fact that emerges through the interviews. In Canada, relationships with other ethnic groups are not a concern; the issue is how to maintain and transmit the Estonian identity outside of Estonia.

These correlational patterns also suggest that different personality variables interact with these issues. In this sample, the way people perceived the relationship
with their ethnic group was related to their ego strength when under pressure, whereas the manner in which they rated their attitudes toward other ethnic groups was linked with their personality type, as determined by the differential index of control and the degree of control they had over their aggressive impulses.

**Daughters in Estonia and Canada.**

The differences in the correlational patterns between ethnic identity and personality variables according to generation were also examined. The correlation matrix for the daughters showed no significant relationships between ethnic identity and personality variables (Table 39).

**Mothers in Estonia and Canada.**

For the mothers, there were significant negative correlations ($p < .05$) between the scores on the memory control index and those for ethnic identity and ethnic behaviors (Table 40).

In order to further explore the differences in ethnic identity and personality variables related to environment and generation, a series of ANOVAs were conducted, using environment and generation as the independent variables and the ethnic identity components and the control indices of the DDT as the dependent variables.
Univariate analyses of variance of ethnic identity and personality variables by environment.

ANOVAs of the ethnic identity variables by environment (Estonia or Canada) in the main study sample (Tables 41 to 45) revealed that the groups differed significantly on only one variable, other-group orientation ($p < .001$), as shown in Table 45. The group in Estonia has a significantly lower other-group orientation score, meaning that they rated themselves as less open and positive toward other ethnic groups relative to the group in Canada. A MANOVA of the ethnic identity variables by environment showed a significant difference between the groups in Estonia and in Canada ($p < .006$). No significant differences by environment were found in the personality scores, as shown in Tables 46 to 51.

Univariate analysis of variance of ethnic identity and personality variables by generation.

ANOVA's of the ethnic identity variables by generation, (being a mother or a daughter) showed no significant differences by generation in any of the ethnic identity variables as seen in Tables 52 to 56. A MANOVA by generation confirmed this result. A significant difference by generation ($p < .05$) was found on one personality score, the control index in memory (Table 62). The mothers in this population had a significantly lower score in the control
index in memory than the daughters, meaning that they decompensated more under stress, when environmental supports were removed.

**Ethnic Identity and Personality Variables by Environment**

*Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure, by environment.*

In this dual scaling procedure, both the ethnic identity and personality variables were considered. As mentioned earlier, exploring the relationships between ethnic identity and personality dynamics in this study was considered of utmost importance, due to the scarcity of research in this particular area. The reader is reminded that in order to investigate in detail the relationship between personality and ethnic identity variables, all numerical scores of the DDT were converted into categorical data, as shown on Table III. Inclusion of the 35 subscores was expected to give a better understanding of the underlying personality dynamics than could be obtained with the five control indices and the differential index, used in the correlational analyses. The ethnic identity variables had also been categorized into low, medium, and high groups, corresponding with the bottom, middle, and top 33% of the scores in the main study sample. The pattern that emerged in Solution 1, the only possible solution in the case of a criterion item with two options (Estonia and Canada; Table
explained 35.86% of variance. The items with the highest criterion-item correlation appear in descending order. There were six variables that differentiated between the groups in Estonia and Canada, with two items from the MEIM and four from the DDT. Other-group orientation, with a correlation of .594, shows the group in Estonia with self-ratings of low and medium on this item, compared to the Canadian group which rated itself as high. Other-group orientation reflects the way in which the respondents perceive their attitudes toward other ethnic groups. High scores, relative to the low ones, are assumed to indicate a greater willingness to interact with other ethnic groups; medium scores reflect an average stance.

The variable with the second-highest degree of correlation with the criterion item, environment, was the control score in passivity. Compared to the group in Canada, which obtained medium scores in this item, the group in Estonia showed low and high scores. The passivity area represents passive-dependency needs and nurturance. For each of the areas the control score is the addition of the personality rigidity and intellectual control factors. Low and high scores indicate, respectively, lack of control and overcontrol in the expression of dependency needs or drives, while the medium scores reflect moderation.

The third variable in order of correlation rate was the control index in passivity. Compared to the group in Canada
which showed both disinhibited and inhibited scores, the group in Estonia presented with seriously inhibited and normal scores. The control index in each area is calculated by subtracting the loss of control score from the control score. The index indicates the balance of control the individual possesses in that particular area. A normal score indicates good adaptation in this area, with an adequate balance between expression and restraint of passive-dependency needs, an inhibited score reflects some overcontrol, and a seriously inhibited score translates in overcontrol or restriction in the expression of this drive. In contrast, a disinhibited score indicates a tendency to lose control and uninhibited expression of impulses.

The fourth item was ethnic identity, which showed the group in Estonia with self-ratings of low and medium compared to the group in Canada which rated itself as high. The ethnic identity score is assumed to summarize the overall importance attributed to one's ethnicity. High scores indicate that within the context of this sample, ethnic issues are greatly valued; low scores suggest that these issues are relatively unimportant; and medium scores signify that they are of moderate consequence.

The fifth item, the control index in the hostility area, distinguished between the group in Estonia with a range of normal, disinhibited, and seriously disinhibited scores, and the group in Canada, with inhibited scores. The
hostility area represents not only hostility in a negative sense, but also independence and the drive to make changes. A normal index of control indicates a good adjustment in this area, with a good balance of control of the hostile and aggressive impulses. A disinhibited score indicates a tendency toward lack of control, and a seriously disinhibited control index signifies unrestricted expression of hostility. An inhibited control index leans in the opposite direction of overcontrol, an excessive restriction of expression in this area.

The last item that correlated significantly with environment was the energy output in hostility. Correlation rates lower than .3039 were not considered relevant for a sample of this size. Compared to the group in Canada which scored low in this item, the group in Estonia showed medium and high scores. The energy output in each area represents available energy with which to gain satisfaction for needs within that area. Low energy scores reflect relatively poor adaptation in this area, medium scores allow for flexibility and a better chance to obtain satisfaction, and high scores often translate into a sense of uncertainty or anxiety.

To summarize, the other-group orientation and ethnic identity scores differentiated most between the two groups. In terms of personality variables, the areas that distinguished best between the two groups, were the passivity and the hostility areas. In the passivity area,
the group in Canada showed a tendency to either overcontrol the expression of passive-dependency needs or be relatively expressive of these needs. The group in Estonia showed either a good balance of expression and control or serious overcontrol. In terms of the hostility area, the group in Canada tended toward overcontrol, and the group in Estonia covered a range from normal, reflecting a good balance and adjustment, to being seriously out of control. Again this composite of personality traits accounted for the differences in the two groups, but did not provide a complete portrait of the groups.

Ethnic identity and personality variables by generation

Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure, by generation.

The procedure described above was repeated using generation (mothers and daughters) as the criterion item. Again, as there are two choices, only one proper solution could be extracted. This solution explained 36.8% of the total variance in the sample (Table 64). Twelve items, 11 personality traits, and one ethnic identity variable differentiated most between the mothers and daughters in this sample. The loss of control score in memory, the item with the highest correlation of .534 with generation, separated the daughters with low and medium loss of control scores, from the mothers, with high ones. The memory area
evidences individuals' reactions to stress and tension and the use of their internal resources when they are under the pressure of having to perform on their own. For each of the areas in the DDT, loss of control scores are obtained by adding the impulsiveness and dissociation factors. High loss of control scores in memory indicate a great degree of impulsiveness and dissociation in a high-pressure situation, which could overwhelm the person; low scores signify a small degree of both impulsiveness and dissociation, and a lack of spontaneous expression with no threat of loss of control; and medium scores indicate moderate degrees of impulsiveness and dissociation.

The variable with the second highest correlation rate with generation was the control index in the interpersonal area. While the mothers showed a range of scores from normal to seriously disinhibited, the daughters presented as inhibited and seriously inhibited. The interpersonal area symbolizes the way in which an individual reacts to the social environment and is seen as a combination of aggression or active adaptation and reception or acceptance of the environment. As mentioned before, the control index for each of the areas reflects the balance between the control the individual exerts over her impulses and the free expression of these drives. A normal score shows good adaptation, a disinhibited score reflects impulsiveness, and a seriously disinhibited score represents out of controlness.
and considerable difficulties in the expression of social relationships. The inhibited control index leans in the opposite direction of overcontrol, and the seriously inhibited score is indicative of severe constraints in the interpersonal realm.

The third-highest correlation with the criterion item was the control index in memory. The daughters showed normal and disinhibited scores, while the mothers obtained seriously disinhibited and severely disinhibited ones. Both the seriously and severely disinhibited control indices in memory represent extreme lack of control, with the latter denoting a state of disorganization and confusion in stressful situations. The disinhibited control index indicates some loss of control, and the normal index reflects good adaptation under stressful conditions.

The fourth item, intellectual control in the interpersonal area, distinguished between generations, with the mothers scoring low, and the daughters, medium and high. Intellectual control is scored for each area, and it represents certain ego-defense mechanisms that allow for a type of control over drives, that is more flexible than the more primitive defenses symbolized by the personality rigidity factors. Intellectual controls also represent the capacity for deliberation, judgment, planning, and insight, and the capability to postpone gratification, and so forth.
Low scores in intellectual controls in the interpersonal area indicate a lack of understanding and insight in the interpersonal realm, medium scores denote adaptiveness, and high scores indicate excessive use of defenses such as rationalization and reaction formation.

The control score in the interpersonal area, the fifth-highest correlation, showed the mothers with low and medium scores and the daughters with high ones. A low control score indicates impulsiveness in this area, a medium score denotes an adequate balance, and a high score, the tendency toward overcontrol in the expression of social relationships.

The control index in hostility was the sixth item to differentiate between mothers and daughters in this sample. The daughters showed inhibited and seriously inhibited scores, while the mothers exhibited a range of scores from normal to seriously disinhibited. As mentioned before, the control index in each area is a composite score attained by subtracting the loss of control scores from the control scores. Normal scores represent a good balance of control of hostility, disinhibited scores denote some lack of control or impulsiveness in the expression of aggressive tendencies, and seriously disinhibited scores reflect free, unchecked expression of the aggressive, hostile impulses.

Impulsiveness in the interpersonal area was the seventh item in order of significance to set apart the
mothers and daughters in this sample. The daughters showed low scores and the mothers medium and high scores. Impulsiveness represents loss of control. It also represents spontaneity of behavior when present in moderate amounts, but high scores in impulsiveness contribute to uninhibited expression of emotional impulse, and an out-of-control quality of expression in the interpersonal area.

The total control index, the eighth item, separated the mothers with severely disinhibited and disinhibited scores from the daughters with normal to inhibited scores. The total control index is considered a measure of overall ego strength and resiliency; normal scores show healthy adaptation and good ego strength, inhibited scores move toward overcontrol, seriously disinhibited scores show considerable degree of lack of control, and severely disinhibited scores show confusion and disorganization.

The total loss of control score, the ninth item in decreasing order of the strength of correlation with the criterion item, generation, differentiated between the mothers with high scores and the daughters with medium ones. The loss of control score is obtained by adding the scores in impulsiveness and dissociation, the loss of control factors. A high loss of control score in an area, specially if coupled with low control scores, translates into seriously out-of-control behaviors.
The energy output in hostility is the tenth item to discriminate between generations, with the daughters scoring low and medium and the mothers scoring high. Energy output refers to the quality of energy available to the ego in each area to respond to impulses and to provide for their expression, and it can be construed as "emotional energy." Low energy output scores generally translate into a feeling of depletion and an inability to change, while very high scores seem to be linked to anxiety and a sense of uncertainty. Ethnic behaviors was the only variable from the MEIM that differentiated between the mothers, who scored low, and daughters, who scored high. The 12th item was the energy output in the memory area; the daughters showed low to medium scores and the mothers showed high scores.

In summary the items that differentiated most clearly between generations in this sample were the 11 personality traits and one ethnic identity variable outlined above. The areas that discriminated best between mothers and daughters were the memory area, which reflects the individual's performance when under stress, the interpersonal area, which represents a union of aggression and passivity and both, interpersonal relationships and deeper object relations, the hostility area, which indicates the way a person deals with independent aggressive and hostile impulses, and the total area, which represents the overall adaptation that has been achieved, and the balance between expression and control of
the drives, and which is seen as functioning largely without
the person's awareness. Overall the mothers showed a
definite tendency to be out of control in these areas to
various degrees, while the daughters leaned toward
overcontrol or inhibition. This set of items and values
reflects the pattern that differentiated best between
generations in this sample. It is important to note that
this is not a complete profile of the mothers and daughters,
but a picture or composite of those variables and their
values that differentiated most between the two generations.

**Personality variables and the importance attributed to
ethnic identity**

*Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification
procedure, by ethnic identity.*

The dual scaling procedure of multiple-choice, forced
classification by the criterion item, ethnic identity with
three options (low medium and high) allowed for two proper
solutions. Solution one, which accounted for 26.70% of the
variance, separated the low scorers from the medium and high
ones (Table 65). To reiterate, the low scores in ethnic
identity, fell within the bottom 33%, the medium ones, in
the middle 33%, and the high ones in the top 33% of the
range in the main ample.

Eight variables differentiated between the low scorers
on one end, and the high and the medium scorers on the
other. The variable showing the highest correlation rate with ethnic identity was the interpersonal control score. The low scorers in ethnic identity obtained medium and high scores in interpersonal control, and the medium and high scorers in ethnic identity obtained low control scores. For each of the five areas identified by the DDT, the control score is formulated by adding the personality rigidity factors and the intellectual control factors. People who attribute more importance to their ethnic identity show little control over their drives and impulses in the interpersonal area, while those who attribute relatively little importance to their ethnicity, are more reserved in the interpersonal realm.

The item with the second-highest correlation with ethnic identity was dissociation in the memory area. The subjects who rated their ethnic identity as important and very important showed a medium score in dissociation, while those with low scores, who rated their ethnic identity as only somewhat important, obtained low and high scores in dissociation. Dissociation, one of the loss of control factors, represents a more serious loss of control than impulsiveness. When dissociation is high, the cognitive functioning in that area tends to be poor, with disorganized thought processing. In contrast, with low dissociation scores, the individual is able to use her unconscious mind
productively. Medium scores, although higher than the norm, signify that some control is maintained.

The next item, the control index in the total area, differentiated between the high and medium scorers, and the low scorers in ethnic identity in the following manner. High and medium scorers showed a range of scores, from disinhibited to seriously and severely disinhibited, while the low scorers showed a normal and inhibited total control index. The total control index results from subtracting the total loss of control scores from the total control scores and is considered an index of ego strength or resiliency. The disinhibited, seriously disinhibited and severely disinhibited indices reflect the tilting of the balance between the control and loss of control factors toward lack of control to various degrees, from some disinhibition or impulsiveness to a considerable degree of loss of control, to a serious lack of control in the general functioning of the individual. A normal index of control reflects good balance between control and loss of control factors, and an inhibited score represents a tilting of the balance toward overcontrol.

The control index in passivity was the next item in order of correlation with ethnic identity. The low scorers in ethnic identity showed normal scores, and the medium and high scorers show an inhibited index. Normal scores indicate a healthy balance between expression and control of
the passive-dependency needs and drives, while the inhibited score points to curbed expression, with a tendency to be defended in this area.

The total control score was the next item in descending order of correlation with the criterion item. Low scorers in ethnic identity obtained a high control score, while the medium and high scorers in ethnic identity scored low. The total control score results from the addition of the personality rigidity and intellectual control scores in the total area, and it shows the level of defensiveness. Low scores indicate a lack of defenses, which may be conducive to loss of control when coupled with moderate to high impulsiveness and dissociation, while high scores denote an excessive use of defenses.

The sixth item, intellectual control in the total area, has been described above. People who obtained low scores in ethnic identity, scored high and medium in intellectual control scores, and those who showed medium and high ethnic identity scores obtained low scores in intellectual control. When present in moderate amounts, intellectual controls aid in the healthy adjustment to the environment; high amounts might lead to overcontrol, and low amounts could mean a poor capacity for insight and understanding.

The seventh item was loss of control in the interpersonal area, with medium and high scorers in ethnic identity also scoring medium and high in this personality
variable. A high loss of control score translates into impulsiveness in the expression of social relationships, while moderate scores represent better adjustment, and low scores, a tendency to become inhibited in the expression of social relations.

The final item was the control index in the memory area. Here the low scorers in ethnic identity, obtained a normal score, the medium to high scorers obtained a range of scores from disinhibited to severely disinhibited. A normal score is indicative of a healthy performance under stress, and disinhibited scores signal a tendency to lose control, a seriously disinhibited index reflects a considerable loss of control, and the severely disinhibited score denotes considerable disorganization and confusion under pressure.

To summarize, the areas that separated the low scorers at one end from the medium and high scorers at the other end were the interpersonal area, the memory area, the total area and the passivity area. The low scorers in ethnic identity, the individuals who rated their ethnicity as only somewhat important, showed a good balance between the control and loss of control factors in all areas relative to the medium and high scorers, who rated their ethnic identity as quite important and very important respectively, and who showed a marked tendency toward lack of control in all areas except passivity.
A second proper solution was possible in this case as the criterion item, ethnic identity, offered three options (low, medium, and high). This second solution explained an additional 26.65% of the variance, bringing the total to 53.35%, and differentiated the medium scorers in ethnic identity at one end from the low and high scorers at the other end (Table 66). Five items in decreasing order of correlation with the criterion item discriminated most between them. The total control index distinguished the medium from the low and high scorers in ethnic identity as follows. The medium scorers, those who obtained scores in the middle 33% range, appeared to be disinhibited and inhibited according to their Total control index, while the low and the high scorers fell within a range of normal, seriously disinhibited, and severely disinhibited. Medium scorers fall on either side of the normal; they are somewhat undercontrolled or overcontrolled in their general functioning.

The next item, the loss of control score in passivity, showed the medium scorers with low loss of control in the expression of their passive-dependency needs, indicating little impulsiveness and dissociation in this area, and perhaps a lack of spontaneity in the expression of these needs. The low and high scorers showed medium loss of control scores, denoting more impulsiveness in the expression of their passive needs. The scores in the next
item, impulsiveness in passivity, were medium and high for, low and high scorers in ethnic identity, and low for the medium scorers. The total control scores were low and high for the medium scorers in ethnic identity, indicating low defenses or high defenses (overdefensiveness) in the total personality functioning. The low and high scorers in ethnic identity had medium control scores.

The total loss of control score was the last item that differentiated between the medium scorers and the high and low scorers. The low and high scorers in ethnic identity obtained high loss of control scores, and the medium scorers showed low and medium loss of control scores.

The areas that distinguished these two groups were the total personality and passivity areas. Compared to the two extremes (the scorers in the bottom 33% of the total range, who considered their ethnicity not important or somewhat important, and those in the top 33%, who considered ethnicity very important), the medium scorers, in the middle 33% range, who considered their ethnicity as important, leaned either toward slight overcontrol or slight loss of control in their total functioning. The low scorers display a normal adjustment and the high scorers have a personality that is out of control, leaning toward the expression of pure emotional impulse. In the passivity area, the medium scorers in ethnic identity showed low impulsiveness and low loss of control, reflecting a lack of neediness in this
aspect of their functioning. The low and high scorers showed medium loss of control and medium and high impulsiveness, with the high impulsiveness signifying a general lack of satisfaction, or unmet needs in this area.

**Personality Variables and Attitudes Toward Other Ethnic Groups**

**Dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure, by the criterion item other-group orientation.**

The dual scaling procedure in this case also yielded two proper solutions, since the options for the criterion item, other-group orientation, were three: low, medium and high. As a reminder, this item obtained through the MEIM differentiated most between the groups in Estonia and Canada (environment), in the main study sample, and between women and men (gender) in the pilot study sample.

The first solution, as in the case of ethnic identity, separated the low scorers from the medium and high scorers in other-group orientation. As for the other values obtained through the MEIM, low scores on the Other-Group Orientation scale fell within the bottom 33% of the sample scores, medium scores fit in the middle 33%, and high scores in the top 33%. High scorers are very open to interaction with other ethnic groups, and have positive feelings toward them; medium scorers are somewhat open and positive; and low
scorers are relatively closed and negative in their attitudes toward other ethnic groups.

The item with the highest correlation with other-group orientation is the loss of control in the total area. The low scorers in other-group orientation, showed a high loss of control score, while the medium and high scorers in other-group orientation showed low and medium control scores. Loss of control scores result from the addition of the impulsiveness and dissociation scores. High scores translate into an uninhibited quality in behavior, while low and medium scores would reflect better adaptation.

The next item, the control index in hostility was seriously disinhibited and disinhibited for the low scorers, and normal and inhibited for the medium and high scorers in other-group orientation. The control index in this area indicates the balance of control the individual possesses in the expression of aggressive or hostile impulses. Normal scores represent a good adjustment or adaptation, and inhibited scores lean toward overcontrol of hostile impulses. Disinhibited scores indicate some lack of control, while seriously disinhibited scores reflect hardly any control over aggressive drives.

The total control index was the next item that differentiated between low scorers and medium and high scorers in this solution. Low scorers obtained seriously disinhibited and disinhibited scores as in the hostility
area, reflecting an out-of-control quality in their general behavior and tilting of the balance of control somewhat or considerably toward loss of control. The medium and high scorers obtained normal scores in their control index, indicative of a good balance between the control and loss of control factors, and of healthy adjustment.

Intellectual control in the passivity area was the fourth item, and showed the low scorers in other-group orientation with medium and high intellectual controls, and the medium and high with low intellectual controls. Intellectual controls as described operate in each area and represent the more flexible defenses, conducive to a better general adjustment that are available to the ego. Low intellectual controls imply less than effective adaptation in the passivity area, while moderate scores reflect adaptiveness, and high scores indicate excessive defensiveness on the part of the individual.

The loss of control in hostility was the fifth item in descending order of correlation, and it showed the low scorers in other-group orientation with high loss of control scores, representing the presence of high impulsiveness or dissociation. Medium and high scorers in other-group orientation, those reporting an open and positive attitude toward other ethnic groups, showed low and medium loss of control. Low scores imply little impulsiveness or little
spontaneity in the expression of the aggressive drive, while medium scores represent greater expression.

The sixth item, impulsiveness in the total area, showed the low scorers in other-group orientation with high scores and the medium and high scorers in other-group orientation with low and medium scores. High degrees of impulsiveness generally lead to a sense of lack of control. The seventh and last item that correlated significantly with other-group orientation was the control index in passivity. The medium and high scorers in other-group orientation showed a normal or disinhibited control index, indicating a good balance of control in terms of their passive-dependency needs or a tendency toward loss of control. The low scorers showed inhibited to seriously inhibited control indices, meaning that they are somewhat or considerably overcontrolled in the expression of their dependency needs or drives.

In summary, three areas differentiated most between the low scorers, those who rated themselves as relatively closed and negative toward other ethnic groups, and the medium and high scorers, those who perceived themselves as positive or very positive and open toward other ethnic groups. These areas were the total area, the hostility area and the passivity area. What distinguished most between the two groups in this solution was the control versus lack of control factor. The pattern is that of loss of control in all the areas, except passivity for those who rated
themselves as negatively predisposed toward other ethnic groups, and a good general balance, with a slight tendency toward overcontrol in the hostility area and loss of control in the passivity area, for those who perceived themselves as open or very open toward interaction with other ethnic groups.

The second solution accounted for an additional 26.36% of the variance, bringing the total variance explained by the two solutions to 53.25% (Table 68). This solution differentiated between the medium scorers and the low and high scorers; that is, it differentiated between the middle and the two extremes. Five items correlated significantly with the criterion item, other-group orientation, and they are reported in descending order of correlation rates. The first item was the loss of control in passivity. The extreme scorers showed medium loss of control in passivity compared to the medium scorers, who obtained low scores. Medium loss of control scores, point to the presence of manageable amounts of impulsiveness or dissociation, while low scores mean a lack of spontaneity and imagination.

The next item was the control score in hostility, with the extreme group obtaining medium and high scores, and the medium scorers, receiving low scores in this item. High loss of control scores in hostility indicate the uncontrolled expression of hostile impulses, medium scores
indicate manageable hostility, and low scores represent either adequate or somewhat excessive restraint.

The third item was impulsiveness in the total area, with low and medium scores for the medium scorers in other-group orientation and high scores for the low and high scorers in other-group orientation. High impulsiveness contributes to an-out-of control quality in behavior and might restrict adaptation, while individuals with medium scores show spontaneity and the ability to adapt their behavior. Low scores indicate a lack of spontaneous expression.

The fourth item, the hostility control index, was normal and inhibited for the medium scorers, indicating good adjustment or slight overcontrol. Low and high scorers showed disinhibited and seriously disinhibited scores, indicative of slight and greater degrees of lack of control respectively.

Impulsiveness in passivity was low and medium for the medium scorers in other-group orientation, and high for the low and high scorers, those who rated themselves as closed and open toward others respectively.

To summarize the total area, the hostility area, and the passivity area differentiated most between the respondents who rated themselves as moderately open and positive in their attitudes toward other ethnic groups and those who reported themselves as either closed and negative
or very open and positive toward interaction with other groups. Generally, the medium scorers in other-group orientation, display good adjustment and low loss of control in all of the above-mentioned areas.

Qualitative Results

Main Sample

Personality Variables and the Importance Attributed to Ethnic Identity

The medium and high scorers in Estonia and Canada.

The dual scaling procedure maximizes the discrimination between subjects and options at the same time as it produces scores for subjects. The subjects with the highest scores are most representative of the particular solution. High scorers exceeded 0.80 in that particular solution. On this basis the interview transcripts of the subjects scoring highest in the first solution, which reflects the dominant pattern in the group, were scrutinized for expression of the meaning and importance of being Estonian, and for any common threads running through their stories.

Four Estonians and four Canadians showed the highest positive scores in the first solution of the dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure by ethnic identity; these participants best symbolized the pattern identified in that solution, that of the medium and high scorers in ethnic identity. It is important to note that
the plus and minus signs simply discriminate between the two ends; for example, in this case, medium and high scorers obtain a plus (+) and low scorers a minus sign (−). The cases will be referred to by environment, generation, and number; for instance Estonian mother Number 8 is coded as EM08, and Canadian daughter Number 2 is coded as CDO2.

The respondents who best represented the profile of the medium and high scorers in ethnic identity, meaning those who rated their ethnicity as very important, referred to their experience of being Estonian in the following terms. For the subjects who live in Estonia, the sense of being Estonian is tied to the country, the land as such, and the language, while for their Canadian counterparts, it is linked to being a part of the Estonian ethnic community, and to speaking the language. Although other respondents who were not representative of this solution also referred to the importance of the land for Estonians, and characterized themselves as being close to nature, the quality of their expression was different. The medium and high scorers conveyed a sense of attachment to the land as such; they expressed a lack of desire to live elsewhere or the near impossibility of living elsewhere. The words that they used also conveyed this image of closeness. Expressions such as rootedness (in the land), preserving (ethnic traditions), panacea, and going back to the womb (in reference to the use of the mother tongue) surfaced in their speech.
They also saw other Estonians as family members, and identified with them and their accomplishments. The following are some excerpts from the interviews to illustrate these points. The interviewer's remarks are in parentheses.

EM08 stated:

The first thing that I think of is Estonia, this land, this low, I wouldn't say poor, but to my eyes homely, cosy, flat land, not the urban Estonia, the city... I am sure that the ethnographic heritage is there. There are things that we have lost, but others that we have preserved in our genes so to speak, the warring Estonia ready for battle, the Estonia that seeks consolation and solace in nature, in the woods and in the earth. And the Estonian land is part of our nature, it is in our blood, it is part of our circulation, our makeup, so you can't imagine living away from it somewhere else.

The same mother in another section of the interview characterizing Estonians said:

I am by nature somebody who walks barefoot in the potato furrows, on the warm earth, somebody who gets strength from the land. This is Estonia and I am not sure that the singing of patriotic songs and standing in chain and the politicking is typical to Estonians. I think it is more our preserving, our worrying, and I don't believe that being Estonian is good and proud, but if you are, be it truly and honestly.

She as other people who value their ethnic identity highly, stressed the importance of not only the land, but also of preservation. Responding to the question if she had a choice, what nationality would she choose to be, she answered:
What is the difference? I still think I would have liked to be Estonian. I am a fatalist and I think if I was born Estonian there must have been a reason behind it, and I am at peace, content with it. If I think of all the people of different nationalities that I have met, they have been mostly taken by the fact that I am Estonian.

Being Estonian adds value to the personal identity vis-a-vis other groups.

EM10 defined herself first as an Estonian and then as a woman, and described some of her personality traits, which included being rational, and gregarious, and liking to be with people. When responding to the question of what came to her mind when she thought of herself as an Estonian, she said:

When I think of myself as an Estonian I think of the land, not the people as such, then the language, because when I didn't know what to study, I went to study the language, I thought that could not hurt, no matter where I worked or what I decided to do. It seems that I appreciate the land and the nature and this somewhat idealized culture more than Estonians. I don't think highly of Estonians.

Her attachment is to the land, the nonhuman environment, rather than to the people. She also mentioned another aspect of preservation, or rootedness, namely the respect Estonians have for their ancestors:

The Russian migrants here, they don't have any roots, many of them don't know who their ancestors were, but Estonians have preserved despite everything an interest in their heritage. I don't mean that Russians are not family oriented, they are very gregarious, but they don't have the sense of roots, and if we look at our cemeteries, we remember and we go to the graves and not like some Russians here who don't even know where their grandparents are buried.
ED02 expressed her sense of being Estonian as linked with the nonhuman environment, and the resulting difficulty in uprooting:

Well I can't say in one word how being an Estonian is expressed in me, but I have thought about it, I have considered all that is related to emigrating myself and I can say this one thing with conviction, that I would never leave Estonia permanently to go and live somewhere in order to lead a more comfortable life, I mean in terms of material and financial needs. And although I understand all those people who have, not the common mass, but the artists and scientists, still somewhere deep inside I don't consider it right. And I also believe that one would not be happy elsewhere because home is still here and a human being is identified by his environment, specially nature I believe, the familiar places you are used to seeing and being in, and this is why I would never want to leave for good.

In another part of the interview she stated that being Estonian played an important part in her self-concept although she could not quite put it into words. She showed a close identification with other Estonians: "I feel good when I read somewhere that an Estonian has done something well, I feel proud."

To the question if she were no longer an Estonian what would she miss, she responded: "I would miss the Estonian language, if I weren't Estonian I wouldn't live here, I would miss the country, I would most definitely miss the language."

ED09, when asked what nationality she would choose if she could, responded in the following manner:
I don't know, I have been created Estonian, I don't know if I have the right to choose anymore, my roots, all my ancestors, and the culture and traditions, what is particular to these people and their culture. This binds people to the land, this particularity.

For this daughter, being Estonian is not a matter of choice. When asked if she weren't an Estonian anymore, what would she miss, she answered: "I would regret everything, everything I am used to, the language, the people, the culture. It would be like losing my roots. I would feel like a nobody." In her case being Estonian seemed to be her whole identity.

Among the Canadian respondents CM02, CM05, CM06, and CM07 represented best the pattern of the medium and high scorers. CM02 when asked if she were no longer an Estonian what would she miss, said:

I think that I would miss, sort of, gosh, what could you say, it is difficult to imagine not being, I would be two-dimensional, instead of three-dimensional, I'd be flat, I wouldn't have any depth (Can you explain?) I wouldn't have a background. I just would have a front. There wouldn't be anything behind me to make the picture more interesting.

She also referred to Estonians as a race, when mentioning the younger generation:

Well they still stick together with their own race and they still have their two sets of friends type of thing, there are the Estonian friends, and then there are the other friends and sort of when they are with their Estonian friends they will speak English or whatever [laughs], but there seems to be some sort of bond, that ties them together, and I hear them say that they are very proud of being Estonian and having these strange customs and they feel so much richer for being able to live in Canada as an Estonian.
She commented on what she most likes about Estonians:

We are proud of our country, of what we have done small as we were, we have a lot of well-educated people, writers, musicians, and I guess the fact that we can stand up and say we are Estonian, and it goes back to whatever our ancestors have done, and the memories we came away with, and that we kept things, and I am very proud of the fact that so much effort has been placed upon keeping our cultural identity, and that there are a lot of people who have put in many hours to provide us with that, and of course it was a country that you could do it in, Canada allows and supports it. I am proud of the fact that we are still singing those songs and that we have our folk dances and we have our Estonian house and food and all the traditions that go with it.

One of the things she most liked about Estonians was that they have preserved their traditions, their ties with their ethnic group, even in the next generation. The stress was on preserving and transmitting, on the background.

CM05, represented her being Estonian as a natural way of being, which is typical of the Estonians in Estonia:

I don't know it is somehow so natural, I have never thought of myself as something else, I don't know I have never been anything else. I guess that at one time it meant that you were a foreigner, but I have never been ashamed of it, it seems so trite but I have never hidden my nationality... (The meaning of foreigner, is it being different?) Yes, probably a bit, it means that there is another place where perhaps you belong more than here, although you have spent less time there...

Here again the reference is to the past, to another space as being more like home than the present environment. She referred to typical Estonian traits or characteristics, and identified with them:
Yes, I see myself quite a bit in these characteristics. I guess it is the baggage you carry with you, although some people like to shed it but still sometimes it comes out in interesting ways. We all know that we were foreigners, and another thing it has always remained with us, that the real home, the hometown, the one you are really from is somewhere else.

At another point she referred to the importance of the Estonian language, which in her description had the meaning of solace:

When I am not feeling good, physically or emotionally or going through some crisis, then I take a book written in Estonian, and I start to read, and that is solace, it is a panacea, I feel better and I don't know if it is going back to the womb or back to the roots or something.

CM06, like ED02, identified strongly with the ethnic group:

When an Estonian has done something well or accomplished something, even a complete stranger, I say to myself, oh see an Estonian, isn't it great that he did well, but if they have done something awful, the feeling is one of horror, how could such a person be an Estonian [laughs], we feel embarrassed as if we were a family member.

When she thinks of herself as an Estonian, what comes to her mind's eye are her parents, Estonia (the country) and the language. There is a sense of kinship with the group:

With Estonians you have immediately something in common, something to talk about, they are like part of your group, and somehow with other Europeans you also feel some similarity, they are not as close but they still understand some things that North Americans who have lived here for too long don't understand.
CM07 when asked about what part being Estonian plays in her life, states: "Most of my friends are Estonian, we speak Estonian at home, not always but we try, we belong to the Estonian society. (So it plays a large part?) Yes, I would say so." Later in the interview when asked about her feelings when relating to Estonians and other groups, this mother replied:

I feel more comfortable with Estonians than with Canadians because we have similar backgrounds, and it is easier to communicate having the same understandings. We don't talk about it but you have that feeling that they understand you better, there is a certain rapport, it is easier than with other Canadians. The families have the same backgrounds, they have all come from --- and --, and they have started all over again, and not having been born here they think all alike. It is not always true, there are some Canadians who think just like me, I can't say that, but on the whole I assume that.

She feels connected with the Estonian community in Toronto, and again it is the background that weighs heavily in her preferences, the shared past. But in her case it is not the past in a broad historical sense, but the past of similar personal experiences affecting two generations. Her sense of "comfort" does not include Estonians in Estonia, whom she perceives as very different.

The low scorers in Estonia and Canada.

The low scorers, those who assigned relatively less importance to their ethnic background, included EM02, ED06, ED07, and ED11 in the Estonian group.
In the case of EM02, her sense of spatial and temporal dislocation immediately differentiated her from the high scorers. She expressed it as follows:

I find I live in the wrong place now. I mean, this place doesn't suit me anymore, the buildings, the community. (A feeling that it is not your place.) Yes (And before you didn't feel this way.) It was more at ---, like the countryside. I have a cottage at ---, and there is a farm where my children spent time at ---. The countryside is important, but you know even there what bothers me is that you know all the time that somebody is watching you, and listening, and loud music is playing so you can't be on your own, in peace. (It is hard to just be and that is why it feels like the wrong place.) I feel it, honestly, we have been talking about it for a while.

She also commented that she felt that fate had been unjust:

"Why did we have to live here in this place during its worst history?" There is a sense of dislocation in space and time. She does not feel at home in her own country.

ED07, when asked about her sense of being Estonian, said:

I have always been a big internationalist, well not quite but I am not one of those rabid nationalists. (What is a rabid nationalist?) Somebody for whom there is nothing but Estonia and Estonians, when it goes to extremes. (Have you met people like this?) Perhaps I haven't met anybody who is a rabid nationalist but sometimes when traveling on the bus, you see some old man, somebody who is an alcoholic and who starts to berate some Russian woman, yes, some very ignorant people say, "I am Estonian, what do you do here you Russian, go away, leave my country," and this is what has affected me negatively. (That they want them out.) No, but that they are such extremists, that they don't look at the person but just the fact that she is Russian and a stranger.

Later she commented:
But I have not experienced that to be Estonian is good and proud [alluding here to the words of a song that became very popular during the Singing Revolution]. I have experienced as an Estonian that Estonia is a small country and that we are the underdog, that we are inferior in number, and perhaps even in other respects to other people. I don't mean culturally perhaps, but I find that Estonians are less friendly than the Russians although they are more educated.

In another section when asked if there are any things she specially likes about Estonians, she stated: "I can't really tell, I am very disappointed in Estonians." When asked what nationality she would choose, she said it did not matter provided it was not Black: "I understand there are all kinds of racism in the States and that they are oppressed." This is someone with a low score and a negative attitude toward her ethnic group.

ED11 presents with a different attitude, although the importance of being Estonian was quite minimal for her too:

Generally when you are traveling in a foreign country and somebody asks you who you are, then you explain a bit and get into it more, but generally for me it is not very important... so I am Estonian, I have never been ashamed of the fact, but for me it is not an essential part of me... I have traveled quite extensively and from that too I am against the attitude that Estonia is the best place in the world, for me there are so many other places in the world that are meaningful and I enjoy... I am almost cosmopolitan, I don't prefer Estonia as a country at all, but of course another fact is that I am bound to it because I have my parents and friends and everyday life, but I think that my outlook encompasses more than just Estonia, the Estonian borders.

When asked what nationality she would choose if she could, she said: "I would still choose to be Estonian,
because it is the group I know best and I know there is nothing terrible about being Estonian." When reflecting on what she would miss if she were not an Estonian she said: "I don't know, I would miss the sense of belonging, because compared to all big nations, being Estonian is like belonging to a small organization where everybody is a good friend or an acquaintance." It is interesting to note that she does not see other Estonians as family members; there is more distance here.

ED06 presented again a different attitude. She expressed very positive feelings about being Estonian and said it plays an important part in her self concept:

What is important to me is that it is such a small nation, and that there are so few Estonians, and that everybody counts. It means that this even raises your sense of self, in that you are a representative of this special group.

In her case her ethnicity enhanced her sense of self.

She explained that she felt that she was always treated better because she was Estonian:

If I even think of the Russian children, in the building, they treated us surprisingly well, the boys had their ice hockey rink outside and they would not let the Russian girls skate there, but they would allow us. And that of course made us feel good, we thought they must really like us, and they didn't hurt us when there were snowball fights, so all that made you feel special, there was a certain respect... When traveling in other parts of the Soviet Union, if you mention that you are Estonian, and not just from some part of Russia the attitude changes, they treat you with respect.
She did not have the feeling of fitting in with her stereotype of Estonians: "The general model or stereotype of Estonian I don't fit. Because there is always talk about Estonians being, calm, held back, closed and slow to act, etc., and I don't think of myself as such." She had earlier described herself as an energetic, strong willed, confident, and reliable person. All these daughters are low scorers but their attitudes toward their group of belonging range from negative to positive. The only daughter in Canada who represented this Solution, CD08, responded in a manner somewhat similar to that of ED06. She stated that being Estonian played an important role in her life:

It played a huge part in my life, my entire social life, it kind of molded that. It molded my time after school into different activities, I guess it had everything to do with everything at the time.

In another part of the interview she states that her image of Estonians is of strong people committed to their country, set in their traditions, and quite aggressive. According to her, Estonians believe that the Estonian way is the proper way. She saw advantages in being Estonian:

Advantages, well a sense of belonging to a group, making life long friends, again having Estonians helping out other Estonians, so it is an advantage to be part of that. For myself there are no real disadvantages.

When asked about a choice of nationality, she said:
I think I would stay, I think there isn't anything wrong with being Estonian. I think they are good people and hard workers and all that stuff. And fun.

When probed if she had different feelings when interacting with Estonians or other groups, she replied:

Not really, the only thing I can think of is that when I am with Estonians there is more of a feeling of comfort and with other groups it would be more of a learning experience... (Where does the sense of comfort come from?) Well the knowing of the people, the belonging to these people when you are with Estonians. They know you and you know them, and everybody knows everybody else.

When asked to describe the period in her life during which she felt most strongly about being Estonian, she said:

Between the ages of 12 to 22. Everything that I did was pretty much Estonian. I was always with Estonians, always going to Estonian things. If there was ever anything to do at the Eesti Maja, [Estonian House] I would be there or even if we went somewhere else it would always be with Estonians. All my best friends were Estonian. (And that stopped at 22.) It didn't stop. It lessened. People got married and moved away. (Was that a loss?) I don't think of it as a loss, I think it is something that everybody would go through, if you have a group of friends. There is a little bit of a loss to it, but no sense of loss like anything bad happening. You feel a bit less Estonian because you are not at the Eesti Maja and not always with your Estonian friends.

What emerges here is a sense of things changing, of moving on, as part of a normal process of development.

The other two low scorers who were representative of Solution 1 were CM03 and CM08.

CM03 said of herself:
I guess I would identify myself according to the functions I serve, and my most important function I see as a mother, and the second most important function, I suppose I see myself as a wife, and the third most important function would be contributing to an employer and the fourth would be part of the spiritual community and the fifth would be as a member of my ethnic background.

These functions were presented in order of importance, and being Estonian came last. She commented about the sense of being Estonian in her family:

It was understood that I was Estonian, and this is who I am, and this is all there is to it, you didn't dwell on it... They [referring to her parents] never told me I was better than anyone else, they never told me I was worse than anyone else. My father told me when we came to Canada to guard my aspirations. He told me: "Remember, you actually came here as a refugee." Perhaps it was to protect me from disappointments.

Being Estonian was presented to her by her parents as a possible limitation. She sees Estonians in a positive light, but defines them as "cliquish":

I see them as not accepting of others readily, I see them, whether it is fear of being absorbed or fear of losing their identity, I don't know, I don't know how to express it actually, they struggle to keep it, to guard it, and I think that can be difficult, sort of on a person-to-person relationship if you are from the outside. I cannot see others breaking in.

She seemed to take the perspective of one outside of the group. Among the disadvantages of being Estonian she reported:

Other negatives are that you are definitely a refugee and you don't have the establishment to move you along from here to there, that you are always proving yourself.
Later she added:

But a lack of roots in a place has also its positives. The tremendous independence that you have, you have no, you are not shackled by traditions, you make your own traditions, that you pick from your culture what you like, and you take on, absorb from the other culture what you find pleasing, and, so I think it is a blessing in disguise, that I cannot see too many people benefiting from this on the face of this earth, that this is a type of unique independence that very few people have.

For her the general lack of roots is seen as freeing, and providing a chance to create one's own traditions. She elected to be Swedish, given a choice of nationality, because of the similarity she perceived between Estonians and Swedes.

CM08 when asked what part being Estonian plays in her self-concept, said:

I don't think it plays a huge part, but probably it makes me more self-confident, perhaps because of the way Esto parents say that you are better than anybody else because you are Estonian (laughter), and if you grow up like that you feel you can do it. That is why probably what I have wanted to do I have been able to do... I think they modeled their lives after that too, so it is not only what they said but what they did.

She sees positive aspects of being Estonian in the traits she has inherited, such as ambition, strong will, and intelligence. As disadvantages, she mentioned:

I don't find a lot now, but when I was younger, the disadvantage of being Estonian was coming from immigrant stock. Basically until recently we didn't have politically the opportunities we have now. Back in the 1950s an immigrant child could not be a politician. It is just now that we can think of our children in that position. (So you see the disadvantage of being Estonian as the disadvantage of
being an immigrant.) I don't think it is basically being Estonian, being Estonian there aren't any. I would wish though for a better history and a better geographic location, so I am not in the way of everybody. Being an immigrant is not the best.

When asked what nationality she would choose to be if she had a choice, she answered:

British, because I am living in an English-speaking society, so as to have the grass roots from that. So you wouldn't have to change any of your original customs and beliefs. You would not be aware of other customs and beliefs, and language, which plays such an important part, you would be basically the one, you wouldn't have to adjust. (You feel you had to make a lot of adjustments.) Definitely to fit in. I guess to a point, I wanted to fit in to the way the local people were. If I were a totally different personality, a rebel, it wouldn't have mattered to me. I wouldn't have had to adjust.

When asked what she would miss if she were no longer an Estonian, she commented: "Well as long as I had my family roots, I still would have the aggressiveness, outspokenness and I would be hardworking so it wouldn't matter." To the question of how being Estonian had affected her life she responded:

It was definitely a deterrent or a stumbling block because of the language and being an immigrant. If I was raised here and my grass roots were here I probably would not be as laid back. I don't know what I would have wanted to be, but I would not have had as many roadblocks getting there.

These two mothers saw being Estonian as being a refugee and an immigrant, as a limit and an obstacle. They did not hesitate to choose another nationality if given the chance.
Personality Variables and Attitudes Toward Other Ethnic Groups

The low scorers in Estonia and Canada.

As in the case for ethnic identity, the transcripts of the people who were most representative of the first solution of the dual scaling, multiple-choice, forced classification procedure by other-group orientation were scrutinized for references to their attitudes toward other ethnic groups. Representative of the low scorers, those who rated themselves as closed or negative toward other groups were CM02, CM07, EM02, ED02, EM03, ED04, ED07 and EM11.

CM07 made no direct negative reference to other ethnic groups; instead she showed a lack of interest in interacting with other ethnic groups and a greater sense of comfort with her own group. She was one of the mothers who were representative of the pattern of medium and high scorers in ethnic identity, referred to in the previous section. Interestingly enough, this sense of comfort was limited to the ethnic community in Toronto, and did not extend to Estonians in Estonia. Comparing Estonians in Estonia and in Canada, she said:

They are very backward in a lot of ways, they are not up to date as we are, they are just like a third-world country, the way they think. (You mean Estonians in Estonia?) Oh yes, not here, Estonians here are very well educated, just the Estonian mentality in Estonia right now. But I think it is going to change when they get more experienced in our ways. They have lived oppressed so long they cannot think, when they get out they don't know what to do with all the freedom, they are lost. That doesn't affect me because I have not
grown up that way, I have grown up here, but if I had grown up there, I would probably be the same way they are but I am glad I am here. I would never want to go back. (You don't think you would ever want to go back?) No, I have everything here that I need, I don't want to, things can always change but I don't think so... We are so much further ahead in everything, and it is very hard for us if we lived our life here to go backward... I think Estonians in Canada are very highly educated, very good people, productive in their work field, in their own personal lives. I can't say anything about Estonians in Estonia, they are different in their way of thinking. People here have done very well... I think most of them are good Canadians, specially the young people... Most of them like Canada, they have what they want, they worked hard for it, and they appreciate it. Most Estonians are very happy here, in the general situation.

She sees Estonians as similar to other ethnic groups, with the difference that they came to Canada for political, not economic reasons, and that they value freedom perhaps more than others. She clearly differentiated between her social life, which takes place among Estonians, and her work life, which is Canadian.

It is just the background. It [referring to being Estonian] doesn't affect my work or anything like that, it is just the background I come from, my friends are Estonian, my social background. I have been educated in the Canadian way and it is a good way, it [referring to being Estonian] is the social.

CM02, the only other Canadian mother who represented this pattern, felt that what lasts, stays, and weighs most is the background. Like CM07 she was also representative of the pattern of medium and high scorers in ethnic identity. She stated that Canada has been a good place to live in, but she feels more comfortable in Europe.
I still feel that I am a European, although I have lived a long time here, but I still feel that I love Europe. I like Canada, it is a very comfortable place to live in, but Europe is civilized... I think in Europe people enjoy beauty, they enjoy their leisure time. What do we do here in Canada, we tear down old buildings, and I have a heart for the old architecture and the good quality of an old house, and I just see that around Europe.

When asked about her feelings when interacting with Estonians or other ethnic groups, she commented:

Well in my particular age group I have a lot of background, grass roots that I can share with other Estonians, that I can't with another ethnic group, because perhaps they haven't gone through the same hardships, perhaps they came away from their own country of their own free will rather than having been forced to, so it is more of a superficial, work and party type of association with other ethnic groups, whereas with Estonians, the conversation can go back to... maybe there is a tie, almost a feeling that they understand, that they have been there, that you don't have to spend so many words, hours and words to describe. This bonding, it is sort of a given. I don't know if it is, but I have a feeling it is.

To the question of possible changes in her sense of being Estonian she answered:

I probably see myself in the future with less and less Canadian friends and with more and more Estonian friends as I grow older. I think the commonality, the history, that third dimension, is going to play, that backside is going to play a stronger part, I see that happening. (Why and how do you see this happening?) I guess as a result of perhaps retiring, it would be the contacts that we had, it would be back to our childhood friends, and friends and acquaintances that we made through working, or clubs, or interest groups, they will slowly disappear, and the circle of friends I'm sure will get smaller and smaller as you get older.

Both of these mothers emphasized their similarities with other Estonians, specially the commonality of backgrounds.
There is a sense of much greater comfort with people who have the same life history, and that common history starts, with fleeing Estonia, and spending their early childhood in Europe prior to immigrating to Canada. The "other" is somebody who does not share this common background, this history.

The situation in Estonia is different; in Estonia other ethnic groups means the Russians for many of the respondents, judging by the interviews. In the case of the EM02 the only direct reference she made to the Russians was as: "this other group I have to work with, and I don't like that." She feels that her country has been changed by their presence, and changed for the worse.

The only direct reference ED02 made to other groups was when asked about possible advantages and disadvantages of being Estonian. The only disadvantage she saw in being Estonian was the fact that the language was not influential in the world, like English; therefore, Estonian writers were limited. As advantages she mentioned the fact that she was not Russian:

Well perhaps it is an advantage compared to being Russian, I could not see any advantages compared to other nationalities but compared to being a Russian yes, because Estonia is still a part of Europe, it is more open to the world than if I lived somewhere in [names a city in Siberia].
EM03 perhaps spoke most explicitly and vehemently about her feelings and thoughts regarding the Russians. For her they are the enemy:

The only thing we want is not to be under the paw, pardon the expression, of the Russians. All my life I have thought this way, it has been bred in the bone, I have drunk it with my mother's milk. We have all thought if we could only get rid of them, of this domination, that they would leave us alone. I am of course not referring to a Russian, an individual, I am talking about the Russian domination, you understand? ...I know through my relatives how it used to be, the standard of living, the culture. Everything has been debased, ruined, changed, they have even changed us, they have been able to change people, so we are not what we were. Of course we are Estonian, but a true Estonian has been a hardworking, honest, and competent individual, but they have been able to modify our national characteristics, and of course to change them for the worse. I have always known that a Russian is an awful thing, and I don't mean the individual Russian, you understand that, but they came and destroyed and they defecated everywhere literally and symbolically. They did what is so strange to us... In my family there hasn't been active hatred as such but a quiet resistance, a grinding of teeth. We have had a great, incredible resistance to what came from Russia and through the Russians, the difference is that now things have opened up, we are not afraid to speak, but as long as I can remember these things have been discussed quietly, and today I was thinking to myself that we were so afraid of the KGB moles, but I guess that among our friends there were no spies, we have always discussed these things, our views openly and nothing has happened, therefore yes we have cursed the Russians, but you know we are an unfortunate people. There is still a part of me that feels and thinks what if these tapes are taken from you, do you understand? I know it wouldn't happen, but we are sick here, in some sense we really are.

ED04 also showed a low score in other-group orientation.

When asked about the advantages and/or disadvantages of being Estonian, she said:
Advantages, I don't know of any advantages in being Estonian, nobody has treated me any differently because I am Estonian, up till now, here we have been treated with a certain contempt like Estonians, what do they know? (Where does this contempt come from?) From the other group here of course... They think it is completely natural that we speak perfect Russian, but they, they who live in our homeland, they have no need to learn about our culture, or know our language, and I am forced to speak Russian to a Russian although we actually live in Estonia... They could at least try, they expect me to speak to them in Russian. Estonian kids start from first grade on, now kindergarten, to learn Russian, and they [meaning the Russian schools] don't start teaching them Estonian until Grade 3 or 4.

In another section she talked about her feelings toward ethnic groups, other than the Russians.

When I interact with Estonians I feel like an equal but with other groups, I have a certain inferiority complex, because they do know more, are more competent. And they are justified in considering me ignorant, and I sometimes find that I don't know simple things that are second nature to them and they are amazed that I don't know. (How about an example?) Well a simple thing like setting the table, things that I have never used, like dessert cutlery, cake forks that Germans can't eat their cakes without, and they are simply amazed that I don't know about them. It is rather embarrassing. (Well this is an everyday thing, every place has its customs.) But it is the everyday things that they don't understand. They can't believe that mothers here spend most of their day hand washing diapers and ironing them, they can't believe that we don't have disposable diapers.

ED07 referred to other groups in neither positive nor negative terms. Like EM02 she is representative of the low scorers in both ethnic identity and other-group orientation. She seemed to focus more on the harmful effects of the previous regime, rather than on Russians as another ethnic group.
EM11 stated that she has experienced the disadvantages of being an Estonian in Estonia, not abroad:

Well, I have experienced the disadvantages of being Estonian, there has been more negative than positive associated with it here. Well it stems from our ethnic composition, I experience it in my everyday life and at work too. There was a time when the push was toward teaching in Russian, specially the general subjects in postsecondary education. Well imagine if I am a teacher and I have any feelings toward my culture and language, how could I, the argument that Russian is a world language, and when they tell us that they have brought culture to Estonia, and this has been going on here all the time.

When asked how she thinks other people see Estonians, she stated:

Well I think some other people see Estonians as big nationalists in the negative sense of the word, and I would like to add that perhaps we are at times nationalists in this negative sense of the word, but life has forced us into this position, I don't know but we are so tired of this intermingled life, and the Estonian temperament is so different... In sociology there is a theory that people can't stand it when somebody invades their body space, and lately I really feel it, I feel I can't tolerate the atmosphere in the bus on my way to work, yet I don't have a bad thing to say about my Russian acquaintances. (It is the mass?) Yes it is the mass... and if they yell at you in the bus that they don't have room, for heaven's sake your homeland is somewhere else... and on the other hand as a human being I can understand their situation, there always has been and will be migration, and some of them have been brought in, but in the end the mass is oppressive... (It is a question of numbers.) Of numbers and history and language, many things combined.

The other ethnic group seems to be an oppressive and intrusive presence.
Medium and high scorers in Estonia and Canada.

Medium and high scorers, rated themselves as positive or very positive and open to interacting with other ethnic groups. There were three Estonian representatives, one mother and two daughters (EM09, ED10, and ED11), and four Canadian representatives, three daughters and one mother (CD02, CD04, CD05, and CM08). Only the Estonian experience will be described as it illustrates best the differences in attitudes between the low scorers and the medium and high scorers.

EM09 said that she has always had a strong sense of being Estonian, but that she is not an ultranationalist:

As a child I used to hate them, our house was destroyed during the March bombing of Tallinn. It was so hard, we had no place to stay, and where we lived was awful, I remember us crying out of hatred. But now as an adult it is gone. I don't hate any group. I have this view that everybody should live in their own country in peace.

She described herself:

I am tolerant, like when I travel by bus and people lean on me, I actually feel good, it doesn't bother me. There are many who get angry and complain, but I don't mind, I don't understand their concern, and some tell me: "But what if it is a Russian leaning on you?" So what? It is unavoidable, they live here. I don't get upset.

She compared Estonians and Russians:

I want to live in my country among my people, but that doesn't mean I don't see our faults. Let me give you an example and compare us with the Russians. We never had a car, and who do you think would stop to offer us rides? Russians. All Estonians agree on that, that they are more open, helpful, but that doesn't give them
the right to settle here in mass... It is easier to interact with Russians than Estonians, it is easier to interact with people who are more open... It is easier to interact with them [the Russians] than with Estonians here. It is easier and more open, but that doesn't mean that I prefer them, never... And to discuss politics with them, well...

She referred to her political views:

That our people survive, that is the beginning and end of our political activity, and that is something that the world at large should accept. Of course if you look at it in a purely objective way, it is not essential that Estonia and the Estonian people survive, but if other people have the right to exist, basing it on this principle alone, I say that we do too, and that our life and our everyday activities should be conducted in Estonian, and that is the reason why we need to ensure that a great number of the immigrants should leave promptly, but having said that I sustain that I have nothing against any other people, including the Russians, but it is a concern that two thirds of the children registering for first grade in Tallinn are Russian speaking. I see a trend that is very dangerous to our survival as people, even if we are politically independent.

Here the other is seen as another human being, with different characteristics and political views that are unacceptable. The discourse is at two levels; it frequently switches from the human, the ethnic, to the political level. This switching occurs because in Estonia, the other group, the Russians, has also been the occupier, thus making it difficult at times to differentiate between a political antipathy and an attitude toward another ethnic group.

One representative of the medium scores, EM01, added another dimension to how we view the other. For her the other is the stranger:
I would like to live in Estonia among Estonians, for me that would be the ultimate happiness. Why do there have to be so many strangers here? So many foreigners... Because of my work, I have to travel, and then, when I return, and I am so happy to be back home, then when I find that the Russian soul stares back at me even here, then I feel, then it is such a great disappointment, but, of course, later I adjust again.

She differentiated between the Russians as a group and as individuals:

Once you get out of Tallinn, to the islands, then you forget about the Russians, you don't hear Russian, and interestingly enough, in the countryside people relate to them differently. There are only a few of them, and they are seen as one of us, specially if they have lived here for a long time and everybody knows them, then they are invited to family birthdays, they are not seen as strangers but like our own. So I can't say that it is because they are Russians, no, it is this big undifferentiated mass that floods the city, oppresses and overwhelms you with their presence, so you can't but react, it's a defense, we are like cornered animals who feel they have to react somehow, even if it is not helpful, just to give the impression that we are fighting back.

The stranger, once familiar, ceases to be the other, and is accepted as one of the individual's own group. This acceptance takes place at the individual level, and not at the level of the group.

**Ethnic Identity and environment: Two ways of being Estonian**

**Estonian in Estonia: A natural way of being.**

Throughout the interviews in Estonia the emerging theme was that at the level of personal experience, most of these mothers and daughters did not feel threatened with respect
to their ethnic identity. Being Estonian was their natural, everyday experience, and they expressed this notion in their own words.

According to EM04:

There hasn't been a pressing need to reflect on my being Estonian because I am an Estonian who lives in her own country, so... among people who have still, till now, been the majority specially if we consider the countryside... I am an Estonian in her homeland, it is like my natural everyday being.

EM06 reiterated: "I guess living here among Estonians, you don't even think about being Estonian, the question of 'Who am I?' doesn't even arise."

ED08 said:

I have always been among Estonians. In that sense Estonians abroad might have a clearer view on this. Perhaps I don't in the same sense, perhaps for me, for me, it is so natural that I am Estonian that I haven't even thought about it or reflected on it. I sometimes think about having been born in the Soviet Union, but I haven't thought about being Estonian. I am so used to it. All my forefathers, my ancestors are Estonian, and all my acquaintances and friends, of course. It is so natural and nothing endangers it. (You differentiate between being born in the Soviet Union and being Estonian?) Yes. The Soviet Union is the political system that has swallowed us. (Did that not endanger your being Estonian?) Yes it did, but I did not perceive it that way as a child, that it was endangering my being Estonian.

At a more global, political level, the policies of Russification, together with the influx of a large number of Russians to Estonia, were perceived as a threat; but somehow, at an everyday concrete or experiential level, being surrounded by other Estonians, speaking the language,
and being in their homeland gave these women a sense of rootedness and security. The sense of being Estonian came from their everyday experiences as an Estonian in Estonia. As one mother (EM11) expressed it: "I live here, I belong here, I am simply a small part of Estonia." ED02 added: "I always knew I was Estonian and that I had Estonia."

ED06 expressed similar views:

I guess for an Estonian abroad, it is a very different thing. For him it is a preserving of some kind of Estonian community. I am immersed in it, in the Estonian culture night and day. I can't imagine any other way of being for myself, it is something that I do not ponder about, as being Estonian is my life really, isn't it?

In contrast, a daughter, in the group in Canada (CD05) compared herself to members of the group in Estonia: "They live the Estonian lifestyle, but we have to work at it and include it in our Canadian lifestyle." This same daughter, when referring to the demands imposed on youth by parents and representatives of different ethnic organizations, commented: "It is not my happiness but my Estonianism that counts. I want to be happy first, they want me to be Estonian first."

Estonian in Canada, biculturalism and enrichment.

The naturalness of being Estonian in Estonia and the enrichment of being Estonian in Canada are two themes that emerged throughout the interviews. The mothers in the group in Canada, saw themselves as bicultural, as expressed by
CM02: "My parents felt they were Estonian, I am Canadian too. I am 100% Estonian too."

CM01 stated:

Being Estonian has given me a double life in a way. I live in two communities, the Estonian community in which I am active, and the Canadian community, in which I am active too, and I have to make time for both and have enough energy for both.

This dualism was mentioned by many of the mothers; to a lesser or greater extent, their work life took place in the Canadian community and their social life, in the Estonian one. Many of them had been and still were active in several ethnic organizations, including schools, camps, and sororities.

CM04, when asked how being Estonian had influenced her life, responded:

I don't know, I don't know what it would be like not to be Estonian, but I believe that if you belong to two groups, you always get something good or positive from each, right, and for me it is a plus. (So you can belong completely to two groups?) Of course you can, and to more than two... and knowing that you belong to a group does not mean that you cannot be a good citizen or member of another community in the country you live, and that cannot be but enriching.

Later she talked about moving frequently during the war:

All the experiences I had during that time I have to say were exciting, it was exciting to live in different countries and go to school in different places. It was interesting, I got to interact with all kinds of people, and I know that for some of my contemporaries this proved traumatic, but for me personally it wasn't, I always considered it a plus, something enriching.

The daughters also considered being Estonian as
something that they have apart and beyond being Canadian.

When asked about any advantages of being Estonian, CD01 said:

I would say a chance to do a lot of different things that my Canadian friends have not been able to do, having two sets of friends, friends from different areas not just one, different activities, the cultural activities, I think it is really important for a person to do these things, to experience different things, and my Canadian friends of course they had their brownies and their skating, but not something that makes you feel part of a group, that you belong to this group because you have been brought up the same way... here it is quite a mix, which is good. It is good as well to get the different experiences, but in a way it is nice to feel that you belong, that you belong to two different groups.

CD08 when discussing the similarities and differences between Estonians and other ethnic groups, also commented on the dominant culture:

I think that the majority of Anglo-Saxons when they look at an actual ethnic group, see something that they didn't have, something extra. I have found that through people I have spoken to, and they just love the different cultures, seeing all that stuff, wondering what it would be like to be actually part of it and enjoying themselves.

She also commented that she would lose the extras that she has if she were no longer Estonian: "The culture, the food, the folkdance, the socializing. I would lose a lot, like the whole culture, the extras it brings with it."

CM06 described life in Canada as a member of the Estonian community: "It is like having two lives that are interdependent although sometimes they are also completely separate, you could almost be two separate people."
To these women there are two cultures or worlds that are more or less interdependent, although not totally integrated. There seem to be two sets of friends, the Estonian friends and the Canadian friends, along with the organized Estonian activities and the more casual groupings, which include both sets. At times, as CDO2 explained, the integration poses some difficulties:

I think as I was saying before, sometimes it is hard to bring other people into the crowd [the Estonian group]. It is hard for people to feel comfortable because everyone knows each other so well, and I think they sort of feel like if you try to bring other friends and introduce them at first, they feel sort of intimidated. They might even resent the fact that you know, that you have something in common, like that it does hold you together, and they can't, and there is no way they can be part of it, you know, like they can get to know you as well but they'll never be a part of it. They can't, and that's what I mean by they might resent it because we can't leave it behind, but they can't step into it either, I guess.

She later commented that her current group of friends is less homogeneous now than when she was a child and young teenager: "Sometimes you'll invite someone to some Esto thing and they are sort of reluctant, you know, like 'Oh, it is an Esto thing'."

CDO2 felt she had led an almost completely Estonian life, with the exception of Canadian schooling, and that a significant change took place once she went to university.

In contrast being Estonian has not influenced the major decisions CDO4 has made in her life; she feels she has led a Canadian life with her ethnicity as an added component.
CD04 says:

I am very happy to be Canadian, and that I have the opportunities that I have because I am Canadian, but I am glad to have the Estonian part, because when I compare myself to friends who don't have any specific ethnic background, I feel much richer. I don't think I would ever have gone to Girl Guides, because in itself it was not important, but because it was an Estonian organization, and Estonian school [the Heritage Language Program] and folk-dancing, and Estonian camp, and I figure I did much more because I was Estonian.

In a comparison of the Estonian and the Canadian daughters, the issue that arose in relation to being Estonian among the Estonian daughters was the question of emigrating or staying in the country. For the Canadian daughters, the concern was endogamy or exogamy, which could also be interpreted as staying in or moving out of the ethnic group. Several of the Canadian daughters were struggling with that choice; some practically, others hypothetically. This issue perhaps best illustrates the duality and interface of the personal and ethnic (or group) identities.

**Ethnic Identity and Generation in Estonia and Canada**

**The question of staying or migrating.**

For the daughters in Estonia the recently developed possibility of leaving Estonia to live elsewhere has triggered the question of what it means to be Estonian. ED01, ED02, ED06, and ED11, commented directly on this issue.
According to ED01:

When I was travelling around in --, my friend from Estonia wrote me jokingly "Watch that you don't marry -- [one of the local fellow travelers]," and then when I suddenly stopped and thought about this option, I felt how much I would lose, like the special jokes and Estonian humour, and the cultural understandings and the language.

ED02 as quoted in the section on Personality Variables and Ethnic Identity, did not approve of people who emigrated.

ED06 explained:

There was a period when very many young people wanted to leave. Now people are leaving too, but two years ago it was massive in comparison to now, and then I started to wonder if I could remain who I am abroad, and then I started to reconsider many things, from the point of view of being Estonian, if to leave or not to leave. It wasn't the question of would I manage, that is a different matter, but could I remain an Estonian. Young people they change very quickly, and if you married somebody there, a local, a foreigner, well, you could still write in your passport that you are Estonian but if I don't have anymore the sense that I am, then...

The question of endogamy or exogamy.

For the Canadian daughters, the most pressing issue concerning their ethnic identity was intragroup or intergroup marriage. Most of them expressed some uncertainty.

CD04 described her views:

It is a hard question. I have changed my mind so many times. When I was younger I thought it didn't matter if he was or not, but now I see that it would be quite difficult, not that it would be impossible, but it would be hard, because I would want my children to speak the Estonian language and I would like to marry
an Estonian, but if there isn't anybody, [laughs] or it doesn't happen... For me it would be important that my children be involved [in organized cultural activities], and some people might not understand what it is to be Estonian and what we do, and it would be hard to explain and draw the person into the community. I guess it would depend where I live. In Toronto the community plays an important role.

CD02 also reflected on moving, and finding other non-Estonian friends, and feeling uncertain about her children's future.

I don't want to put it that it [being Estonian] is not a big part of me anymore because it still is, but I have let other things come into my life maybe... Sometimes it feels scary because you think "What is going to happen, you know?" I always thought I would teach my kids Estonian, and it is still something I want to do, but you move away from it [the community in Toronto] and you lose those connections, those opportunities to let your kids experience that [the organized Estonian activities].

CD07 expressed the same view that it is better to marry an Estonian, and the wish to have her children continue the Estonian traditions:

A while ago it used to be that you were expected to marry an Esto, but nowadays it is more common and much more accepted [by the community, if you don't]. It is better to marry an Esto but it is not that important. People are realizing that you might marry an Esto and not really be happy, but I think most people, they try and express the fact that their background is important to them and that they want their kids involved, and usually others [people from other backgrounds] don't mind that.

Similar feelings and thoughts were expressed by other daughters.

CD05 had directly experienced the conflict:
Disadvantages of being Estonian are like extreme pressure to do the right thing, conform to the society, be Estonian with a capital E. (What would that mean?) According to our family it means one must carry on the traditions, marry an Estonian, have Estonian children, etc., etc., etc. An Estonian friend of mine married a non-Estonian recently, and her father was so angry. She is pregnant now, and I don't think her father likes the fact that she is now tied for good to a non-Estonian. He is kind of sulky about it.

Later she remarked that even if married to an Estonian, the experience of being Estonian can be so different from one person to another, and that she still could participate in Estonian culture without being married to an Estonian. Referring to an Estonian she had been dating, she remarked:

He is an Estonian raised in the Estonian community. He fits that role but he doesn't fit the personal Estonian one, the things that I have gotten, like the love of nature and things like that. It is not just the Estonianism; it is what it has given you. I think it has given him things differently from what it has given me... Estonian is the way it comes in.

**Idiosyncratic Aspects of an Estonian Ethnic Identity**

**Survival.**

The theme of survival appeared in both groups and was raised in some form in every interview. Often it emerged in response to the question of whether there any special obligations attached to being Estonian; other times it surfaced in the description of group characteristics or stereotype of Estonians, and in spontaneous remarks. CM01 stated:
I am proud to be a part of the Estonian people, but at the same time I have all my life suffered the effects of our harsh fate, it has always been like a weight I carry with me and I think it is the same for most Estonians abroad, who are part of the community or have an interest in it, this heavy feeling and thought of why did it have to be so hard, it is so unjust, but despite that I am happy that I am Estonian, and there is again this Estonian pride that we have survived despite the hardships for thousands of years, that we have been suppressed but we have risen again, and held our heads up high.

The same feelings are echoed in the statements of an Estonian mother, EM04: "The stubbornness of this small people, and their wish to feel themselves as a nation despite all odds impresses me. How much resistance there has been!"

ED03 commented:

I don't think there are any special obligations connected with being Estonian, but in some way it seems to me that one has a certain internal sense of responsibility toward one's people, to preserve, somehow in the name of survival, that our forefathers have fought so hard and long for this. On the other hand I don't know if [this sense of obligation] is just based on pure emotion. I think it is something else, but one cannot only base it on reason either, otherwise it would just be knowledge or history.

ED11 referred to a heightened sense of duty as a member of a small ethnic group:

If I look at it from the point of view of the group, and not from my individual selfish perspective alone, because there are so few of us Estonians, it is very important that we preserve our language and culture, but integrating both the preserving on one hand with being open to the rest of the world, but not to mix, not to assimilate.
CM04, attributed the survival of Estonians to their inner strength and goodness:

I have characterized Estonians as a small people who have a very strong sisu [a core, in Finnish], and that keeps us alive, who love their country and their culture, and I mean here the popular culture, the folk culture, and I believe we must have something very good and meaningful for it to have lasted for so long.

CM03 connected Estonian characteristics and traits to the group's history:

When I think of Estonians and what characterizes them I think of war, like the War of Independence, a war that is fought sort of body to body... I wish I could have come up with a happier event, but it is a symbol of the struggle for survival, it remains and it always will be. I guess it is because it is such a tiny place that has existed through hundreds and hundreds of years of oppression.

She later linked these Estonian traits with the group's ability to survive:

There is a sort of independence and interdependence, Estonians have this unique combination, they are very individualistic but also very dependent on others and I think these particular characteristics have had something to do with their ability to survive through centuries. (How do you see that?) They are very strong in putting their shoulder to the task, not expecting others to do it for them, they will contribute... and that when the times get tough, they work together for survival, just as you know, when they came to Canada, they realized there was no survival unless they worked together, and they did work together, and as they grew stronger, they moved out on their own and did their own thing.

EM07 justified some of the group's negative traits on the basis of its troubled history:
In general Estonians are labeled as envious, I don't think this is a typical trait of Estonians as such, I think all the cruel history, and I don't mean the last 50 years but the centuries of this small people having to live between these large nations, that this has molded us, made us somewhat closed, because too much openness has always been to our detriment... A people's face mirrors their development, because if we go back to the time Estonians were still free, when we didn't have the Teutonic Knights and our neighbors to the East, I don't think our forefathers were bad people or hostile... And I think all things considered, what I like most is the Estonian toughness, they are like a ram, who withdraws first and then strikes, and that's what happened this time [referring to the Estonian Declaration of Independence on August 20, 1991]. I was so afraid that we had withdrawn, and that if we didn't strike now the opportunity would be lost, and I would bet my life that Estonians have never given up the idea of freedom, and that they were just waiting for the right opportunity.

This mother expressed what others have said, linking the group's traits and history, and preferring those traits that have aided in the group's survival. The interviewees mentioned traits such as hardworking, achievement oriented, stubborn, tough, closed and loyal to their group. The group characteristic that many deplored was the tendency to create too many organizations, thus dividing and weakening the already small group.

CM02 stated that among the Estonian characteristics she deplored is their difficulty in getting along with each other:

I guess what bothers me is jealousy. I'd love that we all were able to get together when things get tough and decide upon a plan, and that we all contribute, but we can't do it somehow. We seem to form little groups and it slows us down, and it probably has to do with people being jealous and trying to have their own say or
something, and this is happening in Estonia too with all the small parties.

CM05 expressed the same idea:

The bickering amongst ourselves, perhaps it doesn't apply as much here anymore [meaning the ethnic community in Toronto] but this having three people and two organizations, I don't know if everybody does want to be the big frog in the small pond or what, but from the beginning I don't know if it was because people came here from different countries [where they had settled during the war years or shortly after], but there were several churches and choirs and two theatre groups, and they would be negative about each other, and work against each other.

EM01 described a similar situation in Estonia:

In the beginning it was so easy [referring to the Singing Revolution], it was us and them, and then we were united and against them, but now things are becoming more and more complicated, now we have to deal with our own people, and this ingroup fighting is in a way much more difficult [referring to the great number of political factions that had appeared after the Declaration of Independence].

The theme of survival was linked to the group's size and the theme of invisibility. Invisibility appeared often in response to the question of other groups' perceptions of Estonians. Most people thought that either the stereotype was positive, or that the rest of the world was unaware of or apathetic toward their existence.

**Invisibility.**

As expressed by CM01, the general feeling among these women was that the world did not know much about Estonians.
CM01 seemed to accept this as quite natural and understandable, the fate of small ethnic groups:

How much do they know about Estonians? We are confused with Latvians and Lithuanians, and it is understandable. How much do we know about other small groups? We don't differentiate between Greeks and Macedonians, and partly it is because we have not congregated into one area. Estonians have assimilated, we don't look different, and except for the language, nobody could tell the difference.

CD07 when commenting about the disadvantages of being Estonian, referred to her unusual name and stated:

Another thing, well not now, but before, when I said Estonian, they would always go "What?" or "Huh?" They never knew about it, but now [after the Declaration of Independence] some people really surprise me as they seem to know all these facts about Estonia, now we are more visible, more known.

CM02 commented on the putsch, and on hearing the news broadcasted in Europe, where she was on holidays:

We were in Europe at the time and all the European TV was full of the news about the Estonian independence. It was a good feeling, a feeling that finally we are being recognized, that something would be done. I cut out all the paper articles.

CM06 stated that at the time of the Estonian Declaration of Independence, she felt more like an Estonian than ever, partly because others were now acknowledging the existence of the country. Her statements were presented in the Introduction, together with those of EM10.

EM04, felt incapable of commenting on others' perceptions of Estonians because: "I think that other people are too busy to give us a thought."
ED08 expressed both the feeling of invisibility and the concern about the group's size:

We are a small dot on the map and we don't even figure on the world map... There are so few of us, and the bigger nations always look down on the small ones.

The issue of invisibility was seen as negative while the issue of size was perceived in an ambivalent fashion, with both positive and negative aspects.

**Size.**

ED11 mentioned some of the positive aspects of Estonia's small size. She saw the small size as contributing to a sense of belonging. Participants used the word *small* in reference to the size of both the country or the land, and the population.

ED05 stated:

It is interesting to be a member of a small nation. I don't know, perhaps because you have to do more to survive, because the big nations are always trying to swallow you up... If you are a member of a large nation, they want to dominate small nations, annex them. Small nations won't, can't possibly do that. Therefore at least I don't have the feeling that my people have destroyed everything.

CM05 expressed a similar feeling:

Perhaps in some ways it is better to belong to a big nation, because then the shoe would be on the other foot, but then that is not such a great advantage when you look at what they have done to small nations. It would be worse, if you were one of them.
ED04 stated: "As a small people, nation, you have to work harder, like learn other languages, but that is an advantage. You learn more, you turn out better, more accomplished."

One of the things CM04 most liked about being Estonian was belonging to a small group:

It is a such a nice warm feeling to belong to a small people. It doesn't matter where you are or travel, when you meet an Estonian you always have the feeling that it is almost a relative or a good old friend, and they will always receive you well.

CD04 stated that she would remain Estonian if she had a choice, but her second choice would be to belong to a small Nordic nation:

I think I would remain Estonian, at least a member of a small nation. Perhaps it is what I am used to, but if I look at the big nations, I don't specially like the idea of belonging there. For instance, Americans, they are too big and they talk about ideals but they don't live accordingly, and I don't like that at all, they are not clean that way. And I guess it is just habit, to be from a Nordic country. I like that also about the Scandinavian countries, there are so few people there and that you are somewhat different from others. It is somehow nicer to be part of a smaller group than a larger one...

According to ED01: "We don't play a significant role, there are so few of us, but at the same time this is an advantage, because nobody has a preconceived notion or prejudices against us and that is ideal."
Ethnic Identity, Life History, and the Sociohistorical Moment

First awareness of being Estonian.

In terms of the question of when participants first became aware of being Estonian, the majority of respondents reported becoming aware of it by contrast with another ethnic group. ED01 first became aware of being Estonian while playing with Russian children:

My awareness came I think from the Russian kids in the playground, because as a young child I couldn't understand them completely, and there were Russian families in the same building, and they drank, and if they dropped something in the hallways, they didn't clean it up, and you realized as a child that they were different, not like Estonians.

ED08 described a similar experience:

I have always known I was Estonian, since kindergarten, and specially because you heard constant criticism of the Russians. I remember playing in the sandbox, and there were these Russian kids, and we were fighting, and I told them in my broken Russian that this was Estonia and that I was Estonian and they had no right to the sandbox, I was already aware then.

ED03 became aware of being Estonian in her teens, as a result of the political activities of some Estonian youths:

I think somewhere around the age of 13 or 14, during that time there were some university student demonstrations, and the police attacked them, and there was a great deal of talk about it...and these were Estonian guys who had burnt the red flag and for that they had been sent to prison, to horrible youth centers where terrible things happen, and then I had this sense of injustice, and outrage: "How can they do this to us in our land?"
The generation of mothers in Canada became aware of being Estonian either upon arrival in Canada, not knowing the language, or in another country, prior to coming to Canada as expressed by CM03:

The only thing was in school, where you were the only child who wasn't Swedish, you were the only one who had a non-Swedish name, and even when we came to Canada, we didn't feel badly, but you definitely felt you were not part of the inner circle...

CM08 related her own experience:

From Day One, you became aware of it in the Canadian society. How could you not be aware of it when we were speaking Estonian in an English-speaking society? You became aware of it when you went to school. I remember in Grade One I would ask every day around 10:30, and I thought I was so smart: "May I go wash the room?"

For the daughters in Canada, initial awareness stemmed from their Estonian names which they had to repeat, change or explain, and the participation in organized Estonian activities, such as Girl Guides, gymnastics, and attending Estonian school. As CD02 phrased:

I went back to writing my name with ---, I didn't like the fact that I was different so I used to write it with an ---, and this was in public school. And I remember in Grade 5 or 6 I went back to writing it the Estonian way. I guess I realized then that I was Estonian and it was OK to be Estonian. (But you knew you were Estonian before.) I didn't even know I was Estonian, I wanted to write my name with an ---, because I didn't understand why I wrote it with an ---. I guess I knew I was Estonian but it wasn't conscious. At that time it became conscious, like I am Estonian, and that is why I am different and write my name in a different way.

For CD07, awareness also came through her participation in Estonian activities, commencing with kindergarten:
One of the first things I remember is going to Lasteaed [kindergarten in Estonian] and then somehow leaning toward being an Esto, leaning toward the Esto community. I was learning Estonian and being with other Estonian kids, I quickly made friends there and I didn't mind going, I was looking forward to it.

CD04 had a similar experience, and her sense of being Estonian was greatly heightened by her visit to Estonia:

I think I became aware of it at a very young age, going to Estonian school, doing different things from others. I was going to Estonian things, but what really made a difference was going to Estonia and seeing what I had been told about, because before there was a feeling of distance, I say I am Estonian, and I do Estonian things but I haven't even been there.

CD03 also referred to the impact of participating in organized ethnic activities:

I think it was when we started to get involved with the Eesti [Estonian, in Estonian] groups, like rahve tants [folkdancing, in Estonian] and Gaidid [Girl Guides, in Estonian], earlier than that maybe, when you started realizing that it wasn't just what everybody did, it was something sort of different like going to Lasteaed [kindergarten, in Estonian] on Saturday mornings. You couldn't watch cartoons when everybody else was.

CD01 said she had always known she was Estonian and described its importance for her:

I knew I had always been told I was Estonian. I remember when I was very young when somebody would ask me, I would say I was Estonian, and I know a couple of times my mother had to pitch in and say Canadian, and it was devastating because I had always considered myself Estonian, so it was always more important for me to be Estonian than Canadian, and for a long time I wished I had been born there so I could actually say Estonian, and even now when asked I will say Canadian, but I will stick in, my parents were born in Estonia.
CM02 became conscious of being Estonian upon her arrival to Canada:

When I came to Canada I became aware of the fact that I was Estonian because I was surrounded by non-Estonians who didn't speak the language. (How did you feel?) I was still proud, I still liked to be Estonian, but no big revelation.

**Heightened Awareness of being Estonian**

This question asked respondents to recall a time in their lives when they had experienced most strongly their being Estonian. A large number of respondents referred to the few years prior to the Declaration of Independence, the period alluded to as the Singing Revolution, which began in 1988 and culminated in 1991. This response was most frequent among the respondents in Estonia, specially the younger generation.

ED01 expresses it like this: "When we had the big Singing gatherings, there were so many Estonians together, doing something together, that was fantastic!"

ED02 expressed a similar sentiment in a more sober style:

Perhaps the period of 1988, when everything saw the light of day and everything changed, when articles about what had really happened started to appear, and of course that was interesting, and it had an effect but now it has subsided. (Any reason for that?) Well, nothing has really changed much.

ED03 shared her feeling of let down after the first euphoria:
It was during the Singing Revolution, in 1988, then I had the feeling that now something will change, a lot for the better, that we are all together and things will get better for all of us, but then later you could see that things were dragging and that it would take a long time for change, and there were rifts, but that was a high point, so emotional.

ED04 actually tied the two themes, becoming aware of being Estonian and feeling most intensely about it to the Singing Revolution:

I think it came quite late [her awareness of being Estonian], during the events here in 1988 that were the beginning of the fight for independence, that is when I started to reflect on it. I wondered where it all would lead, like I did not believe for a moment that the singing and meetings would lead to independence. I simply could not believe that at the time. I still don't understand it, but I guess it had to be the political savvy of the leaders that led us to this [independence].

ED06 and EM06 were both very definite regarding the impact of the Singing Revolution on ethnic sentiment. As ED06 expressed:

It was definitely during the Singing Revolution, for any people were active at that time and thought that it was now or never, and that to be Estonian was good and proud [the lyrics of a song that became very popular at the time] and I think that this feeling of being Estonian emerged at that time for most people. People seemed to suddenly become more open in their everyday dealings, and they became different, even people you never knew were Estonian minded. ("How do you interpret this change?") I think they were afraid to show their feelings before, you don't know, can't see into them, but it is my belief that most Estonians are sincerely happy to be Estonians now.

EM06 referred specifically to the Baltic chain:

I have really been impressed with the events of the last few years, specially the Baltic chain, because to have so many people participate, and to feel that we
are all one and we want one thing, there is no disharmony... We were so used to being told what to do, and here now, nobody orders anybody, you are just informed that this event will take place at this time, and people want to go, they all go there in mass, and seeing all these people standing together gives you hope. It makes you feel people like this will not disappear, they will survive, and this stays with you for a long time.

The mothers in Canada referred to the impact of these events as conveyed through the media. Their participation although indirect, was equally enthusiastic. As expressed by CM02:

The last couple of years, when the fight for freedom started and when we started to make the headlines, I felt very proud, I felt we were a nationality, that finally we were going to be recognized by the world, and at that time I felt it was very important, that I was one of those people, that I came from that country and that it was my duty to explain to people about the history and the hardships, and at that time I wore the triangle,[with the flags of the three Baltic countries in each corner], and I gave it to another person to wear, a Lithuanian who had lost his ethnic identity.

CM03 expressed a similar reaction:

I thought it was fantastic, I thought my parents should be here to see this, every time there was a thing in the newspaper about Estonia. I have all the clippings, I have them all in this little plastic bag. I guess I wanted to grab Estonia, it made it into the front page, yes there was something there, that people suddenly knew who I was, like nobody really knew Estonia [before the events leading to independence].

And CM04 summarized the effect of the sociohistorical moment on her personally and on the Estonian community in Toronto:
My sense of being Estonian is very strong. I think there have been periods in my life when it has been less, but specially with all the events of the past two years, and the constant interaction with so many Estonians, it has brought it to the fore... I think these events have pulled people back, some who had lost interest...

There was a noticeable difference between the responses of the Estonian daughters and those of the daughters in Canada. Most of the Estonian daughters mentioned the last few years as having been specially important for their feelings of being Estonian. The majority of the daughters in Canada mentioned other times, mainly the time they had been most active in the Estonian community, and the time of their participation in events such as the Estonian World Festivals.
CHAPTER VI
DISCUSSION

The discussion of the findings, in keeping with the reporting of the results, is organized according to the three relationships under investigation: ethnic identity and environment, ethnic identity and generation, and ethnic identity and personality. Related findings, regarding the attitudes toward other ethnic groups are also examined under each of these headings. The differences in ethnic identity by gender that emerged in the data analysis of the pilot study are discussed briefly.

In the interpretation of the findings, whenever possible, the quantitative and qualitative evidence is integrated. The quantitative findings resulted from statistical analyses of the scores yielded by two measures, the MEIM and the DDT. The qualitative evidence was gleaned through the analysis of the interview data.

The relevant findings, when feasible, are interpreted on the basis of the results of other empirical studies, and within the framework of the psychoanalytic theories presented in the Literature Review section.
Ethnic Identity and Environment

Differences Between the Estonian and Canadian groups

Majority and Minority

The quantitative findings obtained through the data analysis of all the samples showed that Estonians in Canada scored significantly higher on a self-report measure of ethnic identity. Therefore, one can conclude that Estonians in Estonia attribute less importance to their ethnic identity relative to Estonians in Canada. Several factors could explain this difference in salience of ethnic identity. Two studies, one with adolescents from various racial groups, and another with high school and college students from different racial backgrounds (Phinney, 1989; 1992), showed that ethnic identity played a more important role in the identity of minority youth than in that of White subjects who were part of the majority culture. One could argue that Estonians in Estonia are a majority group in their own homeland, and therefore despite the 50-year Soviet occupation, their experience would be analogous to that of Phinney's White majority subjects. Everyday life in Estonia still sufficiently reflects Estonian values and culture; thus, for the women in their homeland, awareness and understanding of the role ethnicity plays in their identity would be diminished and would occur without much reflection. The experience of Estonians in Canada would be analogous to that described for minority groups. They are exposed to two
dissimilar cultures; this exposure tends to heighten the awareness and the intensity of the experience of ethnicity. The qualitative evidence supports this explanation.

Ethnic identity as a natural way of being, and ethnic identity as biculturalism and enrichment, were the two themes that captured the experience of being Estonian in the two environments, Estonia and Canada respectively.

The qualitative findings lend credence to the explanation that the differences between the two groups are related to their belonging to either an ethnic majority or an ethnic minority. The statements made by the mothers and daughters in Estonia indicate that they consider their being Estonian a rather natural state, something they do not ponder. This reaction is typical for members of homogeneous populations, as well as for members of a majority or dominant group in a heterogeneous society. EM04 referred to the majority-minority issue by stating that she lives in Estonia, her homeland, among people who till now have been the majority, and therefore she has had little reason to ponder her ethnic background; EM06 alluded to her general unawareness of being Estonian because the question does not arise when living in Estonia; EM11 viewed herself as a part of Estonia; ED08 said that nothing endangers her being Estonian; ED02 felt that she has Estonia the country and always has had it; and ED06 said that being Estonian is simply her way of being. As part of an ethnic majority they
do not feel the need to ponder or question their ethnicity; it is a given, and they accept it unself-consciously as a natural part of their being.

For the Canadian group, being Estonian means partaking of two cultures, and the general consensus is that being bicultural is an enriching experience. CM01 referred to being bicultural as leading a double life; CM04, as a plus; and CM06 as having two interdependent lives. CD01, CD04, and CD08 saw it as a chance to do different or extra things, and felt richer for it. But as CD05 expressed, being Estonian in Canada is something one has to work at, and incorporate into the Canadian way of life; it is never very natural. The degree to which these women are Canadian in their identity while remaining ethnic varies, as does the way in which they integrate the two cultures in their lives. CM06 commented that the two cultures and lives are interdependent but can be separated; CM04 felt that she belonged completely to two groups or cultures; CD02 saw the integration of her two sets of friends as problematic at times; and CD04 considered the Estonian element as added to the Canadian element with little conflict. Isajiw (1990) when discussing ethnic identity retention referred to identity as a multisided, not a zero-sum, phenomenon. Canadian identity is not necessarily gained to the extent to which ethnic identity is lost and vice-versa. This concept is exemplified in the statement made by CM02 that in
contrast to her parents who were purely Estonian, she is also Canadian. She added: "but I am 100% Estonian too."

**Alteration and Removal of the Sociocultural Milieu**

A theoretical perspective can also help to answer the question of why, compared to the group in Estonia, ethnicity is more salient for the one in Canada. Erikson (1975) argues that a threat to ideology and culture at a group level is also a threat to identity at the individual psychological level. A change in historical circumstances like the one suffered by these two groups, occupation of Estonia and subsequent migration, will threaten the individual's sense of identity, as it alters or removes the social conditions that provided a feeling of continuity. This crisis would normally trigger a reaction of either protecting the already held identity, culture or ideology through reinforcements or actively seeking a new identification. The adaptive outcome would be a new synthesis of identifications, appropriate to the present situation and its demands. In the present study the dislocation was greater for the group in Canada, because migration involves complete removal of the previous sociocultural milieu.

The group in Estonia was also affected by majors changes in the sociocultural context, but in spite of the political oppression, their everyday existence continued in
their original cultural context and in their mother tongue. It is possible that the relatively stronger threat to the identity of the group in Canada, led to greater reinforcement of the previously held group ideology, and that this effect was reflected in the significantly higher ethnic identity scores.

The Land and the Ethnic Community as Transitional Objects

A parallel can be drawn between the concept of alteration and removal of the sociocultural habitat and the phenomenon of separation and loss. Both Koenigsberg (1989) and Stein (1987), conceptualize culture as a transitional phenomenon. Koenigsberg argues that it is not that the individual uses the objects of culture as transitional objects, but that culture develops because it provides this psychic transitional function. Koenigsberg states that culture is the human way of allowing for separation from the original object of attachment, the mother, by attaching to external cultural objects, the extrajected equivalent of the internalized object. Frequently the entire nation or country becomes this object as

...every human being compensates for the early loss, a loss which is conceived to be an enormous one by attaching himself to his country or "culture" as a symbolic object which can symbolize, or substitute for the lost part of the self, which can serve as the substitute for the omnipotent, symbiotic mother from which one has been forced to separate. (p.71)
Members of the group in Estonia showed a collective deep attachment to their homeland, the countryside, nature, and the non-human environment. A similar theme is captured in Rakfeldt's study, under the heading "Closeness to Nature, Individual Farms and Farmhouses." One of his interviewees described Estonians as people "of and from the soil" and saw this connection to the land as the most important factor in the retention of an Estonian identity. The land could be conceptualized as the shared transitional object for this group. This choice is very appropriate for Estonians, as the land is the only constant factor in their long history. Estonians were never chased off their land, although they were enslaved in their own country. It could be debated that the land functioned as a transitional object, protecting a small people against the loss of their freedom, their religion, the use of their language, and so on. The transitional object provides primarily an illusory sense of safety in times of danger, an illusion that denies loss, separation, and the fear of death.

This attachment is to the country, to the countryside and by extension to nature. It is worthwhile to note that the Estonian word land means both soil and the country and countryside.

Stein, in line with Koenigsberg's thinking, adds that culture is a defense against loss and speaks to our human inability to mourn, because in culture, symbolic ties are
institutionalized and ritualized. These processes preserve
the ties and deny loss, or diminish the pain and reality of
loss. Stein refers specifically to the process of migration
as often triggering a process of reattachment. Cultural
objects which originally were used as a bridge between
symbiosis and differentiation of the self might be used
regressively as a way of symbolically reaching for a past
that is gone instead of mourning its loss. This process of
reattachment which is akin to the reinforcement of the
already held identity in Erikson's terms, could be
translated into a sense of heightened awareness of one's
cultural and ethnic background, and again be partly
responsible for the greater importance attributed to ethnic
identity in the group in Canada. The ethnic community in
Toronto could also be regarded as a shared transitional
object, which mitigated its members' sense of loss of the
original object of attachment, the homeland, the motherland,
and which in psychoanalytic terms could be equated to
mother, or seen as symbolizing mother.

As Winnicott states, the transitional object acts as a
cushion against frustration at a time when a child's sense
of self is weak, read a group's sense of self is weak, upon
arrival in a new country, and upon discovering their
separateness and loss. As CM03 said, when commenting on
survival: "when they came to Canada they realized there was
no survival unless they worked together, and they worked
together, and as they grew stronger they moved out on their own and did their own thing." This statement raises an interesting issue in terms of what is an adaptive, healthy development at a group level, and what is an unhealthy, restricting use of the shared transitional object. As with personal transitional objects, the line between positive and negative use is thin. The use of transitional objects can develop into either artistic appreciation, and creativity, religious feeling, and dreaming, or fetishism, addiction, obsessional rituals, and so forth.

Empirical studies have shown that different ethnic groups in Canada have varying rates and patterns of retention of ethnic identity and incorporation into the majority culture (Isajiw, 1990; Krotki & Reid, 1994). Traditionally, retention and incorporation have been seen as opposites; successful incorporation into main society was automatically associated with loss of ethnic social and cultural attachments. The issue is much more complex than that, and ethnic social formations can be assets or liabilities in social incorporation. The question of the degree and pattern of incorporation and retention that is healthy at the individual and group levels requires further scrutiny. There is no simple answer to the question of when ethnic sentiment is used as a defense against accepting loss and as a way of avoiding mourning, and when it serves an
adaptive function, aiding in the survival of the group and facilitating the development of the individual.

**Intergroup Relationships and the Environment**

Other-group orientation emerged as the most powerful differentiator between the groups in Estonia and Canada. The results of the analyses of variance and the dual scaling procedures showed that other-group orientation discriminated most between the women in Estonia and in Canada in the combined and main study samples. Again the qualitative evidence helped shed light on the quantitative findings, and explain the relationship between the sociocultural milieu and attitudes toward other ethnic groups.

Like ED04 and ED09, who referred directly to the Russians as this other group here, most of the interviewees in Estonia seemed to use the Russians as a point of reference, when talking about other ethnic groups. In Estonia, the Russians fit a special category of other ethnic group; they are seen as the invader, the conqueror, and the occupier.

In contrast most of the women in Canada, when rating their attitudes toward other groups, were either thinking of the dominant culture, which they regarded positively, or other ethnic groups with whom they identified closely. CM06, spoke of other ethnic groups: "...and somehow with other Europeans you also feel some similarity, they are not
as close [as the Estonians] but they still understand some things that North Americans who have lived here for too long don't understand."

Volkan in his book The Need to Have Enemies and Allies discussed the concept of enemy at a political and social level, and how members of an ethnic group or nation frequently identify those belonging to another group as enemies. Volkan's suitable targets of externalization, the group equivalent of transitional objects, help to bridge the gap between the psychology of the individual and that of the group. In the process of socialization, the cultural milieu presents to its members certain inanimate and animate objects as possessing magical qualities, either positive or negative. These targets of externalization are sponsored by the culture; in Estonia viewing Russians as the enemy is socially acceptable, and feelings of hostility are justified although their direct expression is not condoned. Volkan states:

Although the child would have his own individualized psychological makeup, he would be allied to other children in his group through the common suitable target of externalization that is a reservoir of the unmended self and object representations of all and that affirms their ethnic, cultural and national identity. (p.33)

The individual psychological makeup and its possible relationship with perception of other groups are discussed in the section on Ethnic Identity and Personality Variables.
Here the attitudes toward other groups are examined in relationship to the environment, Estonia or Canada.

Volkan ties the need to have enemies and allies to the structure and development of the human mind, based on object relations theory. Referring to the function of targets of externalization, he states:

And a common reservoir of the good-idealized object representations helps to maintain the cohesiveness of the inner self-representation of many, being available "out there" for all to turn to in case of mass regression. When kept inside, unintegrated bad units threaten the self's cohesiveness, when put out there at a safe distance and used for comparison with good self and object representations they can enhance the sense of self. I suggest that shared durable bad suitable targets contain the beginning of the concept of any enemy in the social and political sense and that the reservoir of the good is the precursor of the shared ally. (p.33)

Thus, this concept of common targets of externalization can be used to compare the situations of the groups in Estonia and in Canada. In Estonia the other group is often taken to be the Russians, the declared enemy, who apart from its concrete external reality is also a psychological presence. As a negative suitable target of externalization, the Russians (as a group) become the repository of negative or persecutory aspects. Volkan refers to these aspects as the "unintegrated bad units," or the "bad part objects." This is not to deny the political reality of the Russians as an enemy, but to point to the group's psychological function. According to Alford, this splitting of good and bad, with the bad projected outside is easily maintained in
large group interactions, as the perception of the other cannot be checked. Therefore Alford sustains that the perennial problem with large groups is that they tend to legitimize paranoid-schizoid defenses, and fuel persecutory anxieties, thus perpetuating intergroup conflict, and a morality of revenge.

It is important to note that it was the Russians as a group that constituted the suitable target of externalization and not individual Russians, as expressed by EM01, EM03, and EM11, among others. It is as if in concrete, personal interactions their projections could not be maintained, and their perception had to be revised; the other had become a real human being, a "whole object" with positive and negative characteristics. But the faceless other, the undifferentiated mass as expressed by EM01 and EM11, could still be maintained as a target of externalization. The concrete presence of another human being and the interaction with this person provide an opportunity for revision of the projection, through the reality of the other. If the reality principle is operating, and the splitting and projection are not excessive, the inner reality can be tested and transformed through contact with outer reality. The large group, through distance, does not provide for this check, allowing for the projections to continue unchallenged. Difficult and mean sociopolitical conditions would also contribute to keeping the persecutory
anxieties alive, and to perpetuating the need for enemies or negative targets of externalization. As Alford and others have stated before, common enemies provide for a sense of group cohesion, because the hostile and aggressive impulses reinforced by difficult external circumstances, if not directed outside, endanger the group's survival, by being directed against the members of the individual's own group. Splitting and projection thus protect the group members from their own aggression, allowing them to establish the internal good object (their own group as the positive target of externalization) more securely, and projecting the bad internal object onto the other group (the negative target of externalization).

In Canada, specially in Toronto, the sociopolitical circumstances have been very different, much more benign, and other ethnic groups are not socially sanctioned targets of externalization for negative aspects of the self. Here, Estonians perceive themselves as being like other minority groups. Thus, it is not surprising that their scores in other group orientation were significantly higher, indicating their greater openness and more positive stance vis-a-vis other ethnic groups, relative to scores of the Estonians in Estonia. Other-group orientation differentiated most between the Estonians in Estonia and in Canada, that is, by environment.
Ethnic Identity and Generation

The Age Factor

The quantitative results of the pilot study and combined samples showed that ethnic identity is stronger in the older age groups. These results coincided with other research findings in which college students obtained scores in ethnic identity that were higher than those of their high school counterparts (Phinney, 1990, 1992). Similar results were reported for a study of three age groups each in Japan and in the United States (Masuda, Hasegawa, & Matsumoto, 1973); and Rakfeldt found that among Estonians in Estonia, national identity was stronger in the older population (1994). Ethnic identity, like other aspects of a person's identity may develop and become consolidated, at a certain point in life, and afterwards the changes are less dramatic.

This progression could explain why in the pilot sample the difference between the very young, (late teens to midtwenties), and the other two age groups (the middle and older groups) was significant. According to Erikson's theory of identity development, the child becomes specialized in a culture only after growing up in a given cultural milieu and acquiring its ways and attitudes. Group identity does not become crystallized until late adolescence. Whether ethnic sentiment continues to increase
gradually with age is a question that cannot be answered at this point.

**Generational Issues**

The younger generation in Estonia and Canada, when speaking of choices, related the options of staying or migrating, and endogamy or exogamy to ethnicity.

The qualitative findings showed that the daughters had major life decisions to make that were linked to their ethnicity, decisions that the mothers no longer faced. In Estonia the new possibility of migration seemed to raise the question of what it means to be Estonian among the younger generation. In contrast, the mothers felt that it is too late for them, even if they wished to leave. As EM04 said: "I have the feeling that I am in the station and the train has left." This sentiment was echoed by EM02, who hopes for a normal life for her children, and who is certain that she will not witness it: "Who knows if they will", she said wistfully. The majority of the daughters in Estonia seemed to be in favor of staying in their homeland, although most of them wished to travel.

In Canada the general preference was to marry within the ethnic group, even though endogamy was not seen as a must. As expressed by CD07, there is less pressure exerted by the ethnic community on her generation to marry within the group, as personal happiness is also an important
consideration. The issue of endogamy or exogamy is related to that of cultural transmission and survival. The compromise some of the daughters have reached between their personal inclinations and the sense of responsibility to the group is to ensure that even if they opt for exogamy, their children will participate in the ethnic community and speak the Estonian language. What emerges through the interviews is that the question of one's ethnic background arises in different forms at various stages in the life of the individual. A heightened awareness of one's ethnic background, and an increased preoccupation with it can be triggered by personal life events, such as marriage and parenthood, and by sociohistorical events like the political changes that have taken place in Estonia in the past few years.

**Intergroup Relationships and Generation**

The quantitative findings showed that the other-group orientation scores did not vary significantly by age in any of the samples. Perhaps once established, the attitudes, either positive or negative, toward other groups, do not change that much, with age. There was no significant relationship between chronological age and the way people perceived their attitudes toward other ethnic groups. This confirms Phinney's findings that other-group orientation and ethnic identity are two distinct factors.
Ethnic identity and personality variables

One primary aim of this study was to explore the possible links between personality dynamics and ethnic identity. Correlational findings supported the presence of a relationship between ethnic identity and personality variables, and were confirmed by the dual scaling procedure of data analysis. As mentioned previously the assumption underlying the interpretation of the personality test used is that personality exists on a continuum, extending from adaptive to maladaptive functioning. Psychological well-being consists in a delicate balance between control and expressivity. Excessive control at the expense of the ability to express impulses and feelings, and poor control resulting in an inability to express feelings in appropriate ways are seen as two different patterns of psychological functioning. Individuals who are overcontrolled tend to inhibit and repress the ways in which they interact with others or experience their own internal feelings, and they have poor expressive qualities. The uncontrolled individual, on the other hand, shows excessive boundary permeability, immediate and direct expression of motivation and affect, and vulnerability.

The dual scaling procedure differentiated between the low scorers in ethnic identity on one end and the medium and high scorers on the other end in its first solution, and presented a set of personality traits that best
discriminated between the two groups. It is important to bear in mind that this procedure does not provide a complete profile of the personality of any particular individual. Instead it offers a composite of personality traits that best differentiates (in this case) between the people who rated their ethnicity as somewhat important, and those who considered it important and very important. Some individuals in this sample obtained high scores in ethnic identity but are not highly representative of this solution, as they do not show these personality traits. The dual scaling procedure accentuates the differences between groups and extracts a set of variables that best differentiates between them, and the first solution presents the most reliable and robust pattern.

**Medium and High Scorers: The Salience of Ethnic Identity**

The profile of the respondents who attributed much importance to their ethnic identity is that of people who are more expressive in their social relations; they are gregarious and more open. They showed a medium or high level of loss of control in their interpersonal area; those with moderate loss would respond more appropriately and be less disorganized, while those with high loss of control would be more chaotic and disorganized in their relationships. Ethnic identity could be a form of healthy expression or contain some of the disorganization. These
individuals exhibit moderate dissociation under stress; they more consistently show irrationality under stress and, to judge by their control index in memory, there seem to be no balances to prevent disinhibition and seriously out-of-control reactions. Ethnic identity might be holding them together, but they could also become irrational in their expression of ethnicity when under stress. Mental health is less than normal moving toward disinhibited, seriously disinhibited and seriously out of control, disorganized and borderline. Their intellectual control is low, meaning that there is poor judgment, poor reflective ability and difficulty integrating their personality strengths. Their total control is low; they act without thinking. In the passivity area they are either disinhibited, needy, and demanding of care, or inhibited, overcontrolled, and dismissive of care. These traits might suggest an insecure attachment pattern. It is possible that the high scorers, those who rated their ethnic identity as very important, differentiate less between the personal and the group identity, and that some of their anxiety and disorganization is contained by their ethnic identity. For example personal concerns or anxieties could find expression in anxieties and concerns about the group, and its survival, and so on. It is not unusual to find issues of personal identity elaborated in ethnic terms. The great importance attributed to ethnic identity could be the ego's attempt to support a
weak self, and the anxiety, the sense of lack of control at the preconscious or unconscious level, might be mitigated by the merging of the personal and the group identities.

The Low scorers: Ethnic Identity as Somewhat Important

The composite of the low scorers, who attributed relatively less importance to their ethnic identity, is that of people who show moderate to high control in their interpersonal relations or a tendency to overcontrol and inhibit reactions. They would be controlled rather than impulsive and spontaneous in their interactions with others. They have either no dissociation or much dissociation under stress. The great deal of dissociation under stress is balanced by sufficient controls so that overall they do not appear as disorganized. Their mental health is normal (Weininger, 1986) as determined by their scores, with balance and control, or somewhat inhibited, that is moving toward overcontrol. These people have moderate and high intellectual controls; they are reflective, and show good judgment and ego capacity. They have a high degree of control over their impulses, which contributes to their good mental health. In the passivity area, they are normal or seriously inhibited. Some can allow their dependency needs to be met in effective ways, not being out of control and overly needy. Some are quite controlled or psychoneurotic in this area, meaning that they have difficulty in
expressing or accepting their legitimate dependency needs.

**Ethnic Identity as Transitional Phenomenon**

**A question of control versus lack of control**

The differences between the two groups identified by the first solution of the dual scaling procedure, could perhaps be summarized as a question of control. The group of medium to high scorers in ethnic identity was characterized by a tendency toward lack of control to various degrees, while the low scorers showed normal adjustment, or leaned toward moderate overcontrol.

Earlier on, reference was made to attachment to the land as a typical Estonian feature, and the land was conceptualized as a transitional object for Estonians in Estonia, with the same function placed on the ethnic group for the Estonians in Canada. For the group in Estonia the feeling of being connected to the land varied in intensity among the medium and high scorers, and seemed qualitatively different from that of the low scorers. For EM08 who exemplified the medium and high scorers, there is a special quality to her sense of attachment to the land. It is as if the land were part of her body-ego: "the Estonian land is part of our nature, it is in our blood, it is part of our circulation, our makeup, so you can't imagine living away from it somewhere else" she said.
Winnicott referred to this fantasy of "dual-unity" of baby and mother at the very early stages, and to separation-individuation as the gradual process of realizing that what was once imagined to be a part of one's body in actuality exists in the external world. With this realization the ego might strive to maintain the illusion, to recapture the sense of dual-unity, and narcissistic omnipotence. EM08 said: "I'm by nature somebody who walks barefoot in the potato furrows, on the warm earth, somebody who gets strength from the land." All the mothers and daughters in Estonia who were most representative of the pattern of the medium and high scorers in the first solution, spoke about their strong attachment to the land. EM10: "It seems that I appreciate the land and the nature and this somewhat idealized culture more than Estonians...". ED02: "I also believe one would not be happy elsewhere because home is still here and a human being is identified by his environment, specially nature, and the familiar places you are used to seeing and being in, and this is why I would never want to leave for good."; ED09: "what is particular to these people and their culture, this binds people to the land, this particularity."

What comes to mind here is Klein's interpretation of what nature means to people. Klein (1937) states that the relation to nature, which arouses strong feelings of love, appreciation, admiration, and devotion, has much in common
with the relationship to one's mother, and she comments on two kinds of people, those who stay despite any hardships in their own land and those who leave their country:

People who strive with the severity of nature thus not only take care of themselves, but also serve nature herself. In not severing their connection with her they keep alive the image of the mother of the early days. They preserve themselves and her in phantasy by remaining close to her actually by not leaving the country. In contrast with this, the explorer is seeking in phantasy a new mother in order to replace the real one from whom he feels estranged, or whom he is unconsciously afraid of losing. (p.110)

It could be argued that the medium and high scorers in the first solution belong to the category of preservers, and not to the explorers.

Winnicott compared the transitional object to Klein's internal object. The transitional object is not an internal object; it is a possession. Yet for the child it is not an external object either. The child can use the transitional object when the internal object is alive and good enough. The rather unusual wording of the statement made by EDOZ, "I have Estonia," illustrates her perception of the land as a possession. Winnicott says that the transitional object represents the transition from being merged with the mother to being in relation to the mother, as something outside and separate. The medium and high scorers in the first solution may be at a different stage in the transitional process compared to the low scorers.
The subjects who best reflect the pattern of the low scorerers seem to have a very different relationship with the land, as illustrated by the following statements. EMO2, instead of feeling rooted in the land, experiences a feeling of dislocation; she is at odds with her nonhuman environment: "I find I live in the wrong place now. I mean this place doesn't suit me anymore." ED11 remarked: "I have traveled quite extensively and from that too I am against the attitude that Estonia is the best place in the world...I am almost cosmopolitan; I don't prefer Estonia as a country at all."

Again, as Winnicott states, the child is aware that the transitional object is not the mother, but reacts affectively toward it as if it were the mother. The transitional object also implies a movement from concrete object representation to true symbol formation, and a case could be made that in this sample, for the medium and high scorerers the land functions more like a symbolic equation than a true symbol. Grotstein (1988) in effect states that a transitional object might be considered similar to Segal's (1978) "symbolic equation." The function of the symbolic equation is also to deny the separateness between the subject and the object, while the symbol is used to overcome an accepted loss.

A third characteristic of the transitional object is that its meaning is not challenged. The child is not
questioned whether the meanings experienced in the object are personal creations or whether they exist in the external world; therefore transitional objects are transitional between the subjective and the objective. In similar fashion a cultural or shared transitional object, such as the land for Estonians, reflects inner and outer reality, and its meaning for the individual is never questioned; it is a shared and validated illusion.

The profile of the medium and high scorers in the Canadian group is that of people who place greater emphasis on the importance of the past, their origins, and the role of the ethnic group in their lives. Again the difference is relative; it is a matter of degree. For example for CM02, being Estonian is the background, the third dimension. She stated that if she were no longer an Estonian: "I would be flat, I wouldn't have any depth, I wouldn't have a background. I would just have a front." For her, preserving the Estonian past and transmitting it to the next generation to ensure the survival of the group are a priority. For CM05 the past seems to carry more weight than the present. According to her, being Estonian: "means there is another place where perhaps you belong more than here, although you have spent less time there", and "being Estonian is the baggage you carry with you," she adds. This last statement again brings to mind the image of ethnicity as a possession, a characteristic of the transitional
object. CM05 has also a special way of using the mother tongue as solace in times of distress:

I take a book written in Estonian, and I start to read, and that is solace. It is a panacea. I feel better and I don't know if it is going back to the womb or back to the roots or something.

Grotstein does refer to transitional objects as a very important subclass of solacing objects, whose function is to soothe, comfort and guarantee attachment. He refers to solace as a self-regulatory capacity, the roots of which are in the nurturing functions of the external environment, Winnicott's holding environment, and Bion's containment function. According to Grotstein after the transitional stage, the child becomes capable of better self-regulation by what appears to be the internalization of the transitional, solacing operation. This function may be performed in part by the ethnic group, the traditions, and the mother tongue for the medium and high scorers in Canada. It is possible that, in this case, the subjects who are highly representative of the pattern of the medium and high scorers in ethnic identity have not adequately internalized this self-regulatory function, this containment function, and that they are at a transitional stage, in which they need the concrete presence of the transitional object to provide for that containment, soothing or solacing. This lack of internalization of the container function could explain their characteristic lack of control.
The representatives of the pattern of medium and high scorers in the group in Canada seem to fend off the separation and loss by emphasizing the past, traditions and attachment to the ethnic group. One of the characteristics of the transitional object is that it cannot be changed. Traditions and their function in social interaction can be construed in many different ways, but a rigid adherence to traditions could be conceptualized as performing a transitional function. For Winnicott, inventiveness, the interplay of originality and tradition (in any cultural pursuit), was another example of the balance between separateness and union. It could be argued that the medium and high scorers allow for less separateness, seek to maintain a closer union with the past by stressing the transmission of the old traditions.

In contrast CM03, a representative of the low scorers while somewhat deploring the limitations of not being part of the Canadian establishment, stated:

The tremendous independence that you have, you have no, you are not shackled by traditions, you make your own traditions, that you pick from your culture what you like, and you take on, absorb from the other culture what you find pleasing...

This mother seems to lean toward inventiveness, integrating the new with the old, rather than toward preserving and transmitting the old, as was the case among the medium and high scorers.
Another difference between the two groups identified in the first solution is found in the way they perceive their compatriots. The representatives of the medium and high scorers, see other Estonians like family members, as expressed by CM06 and ED02; however in the case of ED11, a representative of the low scorers, other Estonians are conceptualized as friends or acquaintances. This conceptualization is interpreted as representing greater psychological separateness or distance between the self and others. It is common to find family metaphors in ethnic sentiment and ideology (Stein, 1987). Greater differentiation between the sense of personal identity and group or ethnic identity among those representative of the low scorers is evident. ED09, a representative of the medium and high scorers, stated that if she were no longer an Estonian she would be nobody, while ED06 explained that being an Estonian enhances her already secure sense of self: "it means that this even raises your sense of self, in that you are a representative of this special group." She was alluding to the fact that the Estonian population is small and therefore every individual counts.

In conclusion the importance attributed to ethnic identity in the main study sample seems to vary with personality characteristics. It seems that a set of psychodynamics concerned with boundaries and containment is related to the salience of ethnicity in the lives of these
respondents. Medium and high scorers in ethnic identity in this solution showed as a group more permeable ego boundaries, and a tendency toward lack of control, or difficulty in containment. Containment implies the ability to hold oneself, to bear one's feelings without becoming disorganized and losing oneself. As mentioned earlier, the regulatory function of the environment, originally the mother with her capacity to hold (soothe or absorb the infant's distress in Winnicott's terms) or to contain (give meaning to the infant's experience according to Bion), is eventually internalized by the baby. Ethnic identity, conceptualized here as a transitional phenomenon, and the transitional objects, identified as the land, the language and the ethnic group and traditions, might be fulfilling this function of holding and containing, soothing and giving meaning. This conceptualization of ethnic identity seems plausible and it could explain the relationship between the salience of ethnicity and a personality characterized by lack of control. Ethnic identity, like the transitional object, allows for the sense of union, and provides holding, containment and a sense of safety.

For the low scorers in this solution, ethnic identity does not have the same salience in their lives. Their personality profile showed normal adjustment or a tendency toward slight overcontrol. They have internalized the ego-supportive environment; therefore this environment does not
have to be present physically. They have self-regulating capacity. There was also greater differentiation between the personal and ethnic or group identities. Their attitudes toward their own group can vary from negative, as in the case of ED07, to ambivalent, as for ED11, to positive, as for ED06 and CD08. It is not the attitude but the quality of attachment, the feeling of near symbiosis with the land, as described by EM08, the close connection with the past and the homeland of CM02 and CM05, and with the ethnic group of CM06 and CM07, that differentiated most between the low and the medium and high scorers. It is important to stress that this portrait does not represent all the high scorers, medium scorers and low scorers in ethnic identity; rather it is a pattern arrived at through the dual scaling procedure, which differentiates the respondents best in terms of ethnic identity and personality variables. Furthermore, the examples have been drawn from those individuals who are most representative of the pattern, the individuals with the highest scores in the solution. Again the quantitative and qualitative results inform each other, and psychoanalytic theory provides a plausible explanation for these findings.

**Intergroup Relationships and Personality Variables**

The differences in meaning of the other group in Estonia and in Canada were discussed previously in relation
to the environment or context. Also it has been established that age did not appear to interact with the respondents' attitudes toward other groups, although it was an important factor in ethnic identity.

With the dual scaling method of forced classification by other-group orientation it became evident that control and the differential of hostility, passivity distinguished most between the medium and high scorers and the low scorers in other-group orientation.

The Medium and High Scorers: A Positive Attitude Toward Other Ethnic Groups

A composite of the traits of respondents with a fairly positive predisposition toward other ethnic groups showed good mental health or ego strengths. These findings indicate that the control and out of control aspects, their impulse and defense systems are balanced to result in a personality with a fair to moderate degree of control. The impulsiveness of these respondents is low to moderate, and there is a moderate degree of rational or intellectual controls, meaning that there is a capacity for insight; they can plan and organize, think through and reflect. The dissociative or irrational parts of the personality are within the low and moderate range, to judge by the total loss of control score. This is the picture of overall ego strengths, or mental health. More specifically, in the
hostility area, the controls over hostile impulses are either normal or high; therefore, the tendency is toward inhibition of the hostile or active tendencies. A great deal of the energy available in this area is used to control the hostile impulses, as the energy level is low. In terms of the passivity area, there is more openness. The expression of these needs may be strong or more normal, under greater control. They are not highly defended in terms of intellectual controls but neither is there great insight or understanding of these needs to judge by the low score in intellectual control in this area.

**The Low scorers, a closed attitude toward other ethnic groups**

The composite for people with low other-group orientation scores in this solution shows a tendency toward low ego strengths and low control; their personality is organized in the direction of a more borderline adjustment. They tend to have high impulsiveness and a high level of dissociative factor. In addition, they do not have much insight into their behavior. This group tends to show a differential pattern in terms of hostility and dependence or passivity. These respondents are highly impulsive, and there are high levels of dissociative elements in their expression of hostility. There is considerable energy invested in the expression of aggression. These
participants in contrast, would be highly defended against their passive-dependency needs.

They are overcontrolled in terms of passive dependency needs, and they use moderate to high levels of intellectual defenses to maintain distance and limit intimacy and closeness.

The other-group orientation factor draws attention to the interaction between personality factors and environmental factors. Although the group in Estonia as a group, is significantly less positive and open toward other ethnic groups, individuals scored from low to high in other-group orientation. According to the dual scaling findings, the differences in attitudes toward other ethnic groups correlated with certain personality traits as outlined above. Generally the greater the person's degree of uncontrolled hostility, the more negative the representation of the other. It seems that some of this uncontrolled hostility and aggression is projected onto the other-group, the socially sanctioned negative target of externalization. Thus the greater uncontrolled hostility in the individual results in a more negative perception of the other. What does not emerge is a general pattern of greater hostility toward the other-group and greater attachment to the individual's own group. There is not clear pattern of subjects with low other-group orientation scores obtaining
high ethnic identity scores and vice-versa, a conclusion that could be easily drawn in the circumstances.

**Other-group Orientation: Hostility and the Different Ways of Perceiving the Other**

The discussion section of other-group orientation and personality variables in the Results section contains the excerpts from the interviews of many of the subjects who are most representative of the pattern of people with low versus medium and high other-group orientation scores. The clearest picture is obtained by contrasting the statements of subjects who represent the low, medium, and high scorers in Estonia.

**The Other as Enemy**

EM03, expressed most clearly the view of the other as enemy. This view manifested itself not only in the content of her statement but also in the language utilized:

> The only thing we want is not to be under the paw, pardon the expression, of the Russians. All my life I have thought this way, it has been bred in the bone, I have drunk it with my mother's milk.

As Stein remarks, it is very common for groups to dehumanize the enemy by depicting it as an animal, thus creating distance. The use of the motif of the Russian bear, in newspapers and magazine cartoons in the early 1980s illustrates this tactic. Also, anal symbolism is frequently
used in relation to the enemy. This same mother added, referring to the Russians, "...but they came and destroyed and they defecated everywhere literally and symbolically..." According to Stein the more primitive the fears and anxieties, the more reality is burdened by primary process phantasy.

**The Other as Stranger**

EM01, a representative of the moderate pattern, sees the other, the Russian, as the stranger: "I would like to live in Estonia among Estonians, for me that would be the ultimate happiness...why do there have to be so many strangers here, so many foreigners...?" Because of her work she has to travel: "when I return and I am so happy to be back home, then when I find that the Russian soul stares back at me even here, then I feel, then it is such a great disappointment..." This example suggests the concept of stranger anxiety, as coined by Spitz and as identified by Fornari (1975) as a precursor for the concept of enemy. Fornari argues that although stranger anxiety stems from the child's realization that the mother is absent, the fact that the child tries to avoid the stranger optically is an indication that the stranger is sensed as a bad presence, to be eliminated. He states:

Because the enemy first emerges in the child's stranger anxiety, without the child's ever having experienced an attack from the part of the stranger, the original
establishment of the other as enemy is comprehensible only in terms of externalization onto the stranger of a bad internal object...(p. 162)

EM01's statement also brings to mind the concept of the mirror-role of the good enough mother defined by Winnicott.

What does the baby see when he or she looks at the mother's face? I'm suggesting that, ordinarily, what the baby sees is himself or herself. In other words the mother is looking at the baby and what she looks like is related to what she sees there. All this is too easily taken for granted...(p. 112)

The "not-good-enough mother" fails to reflect the infant's feelings in her face and the child feels disconnected, instead of understood. If the sociocultural milieu, the ethnic group, performs a similar function of mirroring and holding, and if instead of the familiar mother (the ethnic group), the individual sees strangers (foreigners), then stranger anxiety sets in. This feeling of discomfort or alienation, is greater because the expectation at home, (homeland) is to find mother (your kin). This concept of mirroring and reflection emerges again in the discussion of invisibility.

The Other as Different

A representative of the pattern of the medium and high scorers, EM09 defined herself as tolerant. It is striking to compare her with EM11, a low scorer, as both referred to their attitudes toward the Russians in the context of their
travels by public transportation in Tallinn. EM11 talked about the feeling of somebody invading her body space:

I feel I can't tolerate the atmosphere in the bus on my way to work...and if they yell at you in the bus that they don't have room, [referring to the Russians] for heaven's sake, your homeland is somewhere else...

She finds the mass oppressive, she feels invaded.

EM09 commented:

I'm tolerant, like when I travel by bus and people lean on me, I actually feel good; it doesn't bother me. There are many who get angry and complain, but I don't mind, I don't understand their concern, and some tell me,"But what if it is a Russian leaning on you?" So what? It is unavoidable, they live here. I don't get upset.

Both these mothers have Russian friends and acquaintances, but their ways of relating to the other as a group were very different. It is also interesting to note that EM11, while less opposed to the previous political regime than EM09, held a much more negative attitude toward the other as an ethnic group.

**Ethnic Identity and Gender Differences**

Gender differences can only be discussed in the context of the pilot study, as the main research involved only women. As reported in the Results section, women scored higher in one aspect of ethnic identity, namely ethnic behaviors.
Women seemed to attribute more importance than men to ethnic traditions and customs, as expressed in the statement: "I participate in cultural practices of my own group such as special food, music or customs." Women also placed greater value on interacting socially with people from their own ethnic background, as captured by the comment: "I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group." This finding corroborates that of Rakfeldt (1994), that women in Estonia had a stronger Estonian identity than men. Phinney (1992) also found ethnic behaviors or practices to be the only significant difference by gender among the high-school group, with the females obtaining higher values.

Rituals and their role in socialization have been discussed by many theorists including Erikson (1966). He saw the roots of the ritual in the early mother-infant interactions of facial and language play, which later became known as the mother-infant dance. These repetitive games foster a sense of self in the infant based on the phenomenon of recognition, and help maintain that sense in the mother. Erikson argued that the mother, in modelling or mirroring the infant, induces patterns and rhythms of reciprocity that influence all later socialization. Initially these patterns would be the idiosyncratic rituals of the mother-infant dyad; later they would be utilized by the individual in interpersonal relations in everyday encounters, such as the
subtle rituals that regulate greetings, speech, facial expressions, and physical proximity. Ritual is used as a differentiator, to define who is inside and who is outside. The establishment of such boundaries of inclusiveness and exclusiveness is a prime function of a ritual at the group level.

Some current views of gender differences might also help to explain why ethnic customs and associating with others are more important to women than to men.

If one looks at the social reality, women to a lesser or greater degree still perform the primary parenting functions in the Western world. Chodorow (1978) and Gilligan (1982), writers in the area of women's development, both point to a different outcome in the socialization of women as compared to men. According to Chodorow, because of their experience of being parented by a person of the same gender, women come to experience themselves as less differentiated, and less separate from their inner and external object world.

She says:

A girl does not simply identify with her mother or want to be like her mother. Rather mother and daughter maintain elements of their primary relationship, which means they will feel alike in fundamental ways. (p.110)

Chodorow argues that because of the way parenting is organized in our society, a girl's mother is present in ways a boy's father is not; feminine identification is embedded
in and mediated by an ongoing relationship with the mother. According to Chodorow female identification develops through a particularistic and affective relationship to an "other", who is like the "self". The boy, usually with a remote father, will develop his sense of being masculine through a more distant relationship with the father, and through identification with cultural images of masculinity. Girls come to define and experience themselves as continuous with others, with more flexible ego boundaries. Boys come to define themselves as more separate and distinct, with more rigid ego boundaries. Males tend to identify with a cultural stereotype of the masculine, which constitutes more abstract and categorical role learning, whereas females tend to identify with aspects of their own mother's role, which is a concrete, particular way of learning. Externally and internally, women grow up and remain more connected to others. Chodorow's theory could explain why the two statements of the MEIM that refer to both concrete ordinary practices and interaction with members of one's own ethnic group differentiate most between men and women.

**Intergroup Relationships and Gender**

The Other-Group Orientation differentiated most between men and women in this group. Women rated themselves as being more positive and open to other ethnic groups than men do. Again Chodorow's conceptualization of women as more
open to relationships, is applicable, with an added explanation. Gilligan's (1982) research into female and male moral development found that caring is a major feature of how women relate and resolve moral dilemmas. Gilligan's subjects showed great concern about protecting others from harm, and the question of Who gets hurt? was paramount, in contrast to the male stance of resorting to general abstract principles as the base for their moral reasoning.

Gilligan found that women and men used different images to describe relationships.

For women her early experiences give rise to the ethics of justice and care, the ideals of human relationships, the vision that self and other will be treated as of equal worth, that despite differences in power, things will be fair; the vision that everyone will be responded to and included, that no one will be left alone or hurt. (p.63)

Women, who have demonstrated the capacity to reason formally and abstractly, nonetheless prefer a style of moral thinking that is contextual and concrete and that sees the self in relation to others. For men the concrete other is subsumed by the generalized other, and there is less recognition of the particular individual needs of the other. As compared to men women tend to conceptualize their relationship with members of another ethnic group more in terms of relating to another human being rather than on the basis of a higher principle, such as the other as the occupier or enemy. This concern for the other, the particular individual, was illustrated in the statements
made by many of the mothers and daughters during the interviews.

**Idiosyncratic Aspects of an Estonian Identity**

The emphasis in this study has been on examining and explaining the differences in an Estonian identity in terms of the sociocultural milieu or environment, and age or generation.

In this section the similarities, those aspects of an Estonian identity that emerge irrespective of environment and generation, are discussed.

The following three themes are closely tied to the Estonian history and geography: survival, invisibility, and size.

**Survival**

At some point in most interviews the question of survival of the ethnic group emerged, both in Estonia and in Canada. Having survived against all odds is something most Estonians refer to with a sense of satisfaction and pride. Survival at the group level is proof that the internal good object has not been destroyed, and that there is hope. Despite the persecution, hostility, and attacks life continues. As CM04 phrased it, referring to the preservation of the Estonian culture: "I believe we must have something very good and meaningful for it to have
lasted for so long." The response to the threat at a group level in Estonia has been passive resistance, reinforcement of the previous identifications, and a closing of the personal borders to others. In Canada, the response has been preservation of the language and traditions through the organized activities of a close-knit ethnic community.

Although this closing is perceived as an advantage at an intergroup level, in the fight in Estonia against the threat of Russification, the same characteristic at the intragroup level works against survival. Many of the interviewees described the lack of helpfulness of Estonians toward each other, the envy of somebody else's good fortune, and the fragmentation into too many political parties in Estonia, after the Declaration of Independence. In Canada, an equivalent dynamic was seen in the proliferation of organizations in the ethnic community with the same goals that competed against each other instead of joining ranks. Envy, the negative trait mentioned most often, elicited great concern, as if people unconsciously realized its destructive power, so well conceptualized by Klein in *Envy and Gratitude*. The flight, fight basic assumption operating at the intergroup level, was seen as manifesting itself at the intragroup level too. This same assumption was referred to as action-reaction in Rakfeldt's work, and was rightly identified as "a pretty primitive self-preservation mechanism" by one of his subjects. In the present study,
the interviewees described Estonians as peaceful and soberminded, held back, undemonstrative, closed, stubborn, hardworking, tough, achievement oriented, resourceful, family oriented, and loyal. Members of the group in Canada added to the list fun-loving and close-knit. All the characteristics that were seen as aiding in the survival of the group were accepted as positive, even if they were not found to be specially endearing at the personal level.

Several of the interviewees mentioned the need for a better balance between being closed and open to others. The stress on being closed and preserving was seen by many as maladaptive, as working against change and progress, and therefore also as a threat to the survival of the group. ED11 expressed it this way:

Because there are so few of us Estonians it is very important that we preserve our language and culture, but integrating both the preserving on one hand with being open to the rest of the world, but not to mix, not to assimilate.

Two fears, of annihilation and engulfment, interact in the feeling of threat to the group's existence.

The image of the group as small contributes to this sense of threat, and of the group's being an endangered species that has to be protected.

Invisibility

Invisibility was seen (no pun intended), as a negative aspect of being Estonian, a lack of confirmation of one's
existence, and an unpleasant feeling. CM03 stated that: "Nobody knows who you are and to be mistaken for this, that and the other thing, not that I admire stereotypes, but sometimes it is nice to have individuals associate you with a group"; CD07 commented: "Before when I said I was Estonian they would always go 'What?', or 'Huh?', they never knew about it"; CM06 spoke about the change after the Estonian Declaration of Independence in 1991:

Suddenly everybody seemed to know what an Estonian was, that was an important moment, that we really were somebody...I often had the feeling that people didn't believe we existed, and then suddenly we were on Time magazine and everybody was talking about Estonians.

ED08 linked the feeling of invisibility with size: "We are a small dot on the map, and we don't even figure on the world map...There are so few of us, and the bigger nations always look down on the small ones."

Invisibility means you are not seen, you are not reflected back, and your existence is not confirmed. This brings to mind Winnicott's (1992) mirror-function: "When I look I am seen, so I exist. I can now afford to look and see..." (p.114). According to Winnicott, at the basis of creative looking, or apperception, there is always the striving toward being seen. Invisibility is another manifestation of the fear of not existing, or of having been annihilated. One could draw a parallel between the psychological level and the political level.
Political recognition of the existence of the Republic of Estonia by the large nations of the world was seen as crucial to the existence of Estonia the nation, after the Declaration of Independence. Rejoining the world map, was visual proof of that existence.

Size

Estonia's small size, was considered a positive feature by most of the interviewees. However, in its relations with other large countries, such as Russia, Estonia's size was seen as a disadvantage. ED05 referred to the small country's fear of the big countries trying to "swallow them up" but then she added: "small nations won't, can't possibly do that, therefore at least I don't have the feeling that my people have destroyed everything." This statement could be interpreted as saying that at least in a small country people do not have to live with the fear of their own aggression and hostility being expressed in destructive ways. Smallness may be a safeguard against the unleashing of their own destructiveness. This same sentiment was echoed by CM05. She commented that sometimes she felt it would have been better to belong to a big nation, but then "that is not that great an advantage when you look at what they have done to small nations. It would be worse if you were one of them." The positive aspects of smallness were stressed as warm feelings that everybody
counts, you are not just a number, you are special, you have a secret language, and smallness differentiates you from others. Smallness gave a sense of being acknowledged or recognized and it enhanced the individual's sense of self. That sense of being acknowledged by one's own group seemed to counteract the negative feelings aroused by the general lack of knowledge and interest in the plight of Estonia and Estonians on the part of the rest of the world.

The themes of survival, invisibility, and size are closely tied to Estonian history and geography, and to the group's psychic structure.

Ethnic Identity, Life History, and the Sociohistorical Moment

This final topic is not an idiosyncratic aspect of Estonian ethnic identity, but it illustrates the links between time and space, and the individual and the group. The Singing Revolution, the movement for freedom that began in 1988 and culminated in the Estonian Declaration of Independence in 1991, had a great impact on ethnic awareness and attitudes of belonging to the ethnic group, specially for the daughters' generation in Estonia. The excerpts from the interviews speak for themselves; most people referred to this period when asked about a time in their life in which their feelings of being Estonian were the strongest. The impact in Estonia was the greatest, as the events took place
there, although the effects in Canada were similar in intensity.

Summary and Conclusions

The present study provided some answers to the three questions it set out to investigate, and it contemplated two related issues, the attitudes toward other ethnic groups, and differences in ethnic identity by gender.

In terms of the first question, which addressed the differences and similarities in ethnic identity in the two environments, Estonia and Canada, the assumption was that some differences would occur, but the nature and magnitude of those differences were unknown. The environment in effect played a central role in how participants experienced their ethnic identity and in the importance they attributed to it. The finding that Estonians in Estonia attributed significantly less importance to their ethnicity relative to the group in Canada is explained on the basis of the qualitative data from the interviews. The mothers and daughters in Estonia considered their being Estonian so natural that it did not prompt reflection. They lived as a majority in their homeland, secure in their mother tongue. The group in Canada considered themselves to be bicultural, and their Estonian heritage to be mostly an enrichment, but also something that had to be worked at, that could never be taken for granted.
The experience of being Estonian perhaps has to be examined at two levels, the individual and the group level. On a personal level the women in Estonia felt that being Estonian was part of their everyday life, their natural state of being, while the women in Canada consciously make a point to partake in Estonian activities and to speak Estonian. On a group level, that of an ethnic group and a nation, both groups were concerned about survival. The biggest threats to survival in Estonia was the Russian presence, not only in terms of the constant threat of political domination, but also regarding the ethnic composition of Estonia, the low birth rate of Estonians compared to ethnic Russians, and so on. In Canada the threat to survival was seen in the inevitable language shift and the difficulties in maintaining ethnic traditions specially in the case of intergroup marriages.

Another difference that was directly linked to the environment was the love of the land, and nature. Estonians in Estonia characterized themselves by this attachment, while in Canada the attachment was seen in relation to the ethnic group, and the traditions. Language was an object of attachment in both groups. Thus, the group in Estonia is attached to the nonhuman environment, the group in Canada to the human environment. Language was considered a salient feature of Estonian identity in both groups. In Canada this belief manifested itself in the group's desire to maintain
the language and to transmit it to the next generation, while in Estonia, it expressed itself in the wish and determination to maintain Estonian as the official language and the language of higher education.

From the perspective of psychoanalytic theory, the greater salience of ethnicity for the group in Canada, is explained on the basis of the effect of separation and loss on identity. It is argued that the greater cultural dislocation suffered by the group in Canada might have led to reinforcement of their previous identifications and group ideology in defense against loss. Winnicott's concept of transitional phenomena, transitional object and transitional space, and elaborations of this concept by Koenigsberg and Volkan help to unify the findings at the group and at the individual level.

The statistical findings of the differences in ethnic identity by generation also confirmed the general assumption that the older generation would rate their ethnicity as more important. This prediction was based on the results of other empirical studies. The analysis of the pilot data showed that the difference between the younger and the two older groups was significant. This finding was interpreted on the basis of Erikson's theory of identity development, in which the child becomes specialized in a culture only after growing up in a given cultural milieu; the child's group identity becomes crystallized in late adolescence. The
argument was made that ethnic identity, like other aspects of a person's identity, develops and becomes consolidated at a certain point in life. The question of whether ethnic sentiment continues to increase gradually with age remained unanswered; however, the qualitative evidence revealed that increased awareness and preoccupation with ethnicity is often linked to certain milestones including marriage and becoming a parent. In this study the daughters voiced some common concerns related to their ethnic background, revolving around intragroup or intergroup marriage in Canada, and staying or migrating in Estonia; these concerns were not shared by the older generation.

The assumption, that higher ethnic identity scores would correspond with greater ego strength was not corroborated in the present research. People who rated their ethnicity as more salient in their lives, displayed a tendency toward lack of control under stressful conditions.

This trend was confirmed by the dual scaling procedure; the pattern that differentiated most clearly in terms of ethnic identity and personality variables was that of the medium and high scores in ethnic identity corresponding with a personality characterized by varying degrees of lack of control.

Ethnic identity is conceptualized in this study as a transitional phenomenon, at the interface of the "me", or personal identity, and "not-me", or group identity. The
land in Estonia, and the language, and the ethnic community in Canada are identified as shared transitional objects, which function to deny loss and separation, and provide holding and containment. The fate of the transitional object is to become gradually decathected and that of the transitional function is to become internalized as a self-regulatory mechanism. In terms of ethnic identity, the preoccupation and absorption with one’s ethnicity is replaced by an attitude of integration. It could be argued that people in this population are at different stages in this transitional process, of decathecting and internalization, and thus their ethnic identity would be more or less integrated with other aspects of their personality.

In terms of inter-group relations, assessed through the Other-Group Orientation scale, the environment also played a crucial role. The group in Estonia rated themselves as significantly less open and positive toward other ethnic groups than their Canadian counterpart. The qualitative evidence again helped to explain this finding. In Estonia other ethnic groups were equated with the Russians, who comprised a special group as the occupier and political enemy. One could argue that this scale measured different things in Canada and in Estonia.

The statistical analyses linking other-group orientation and personality variables showed that the
hostility factor played an important role. The openness and closedness to other groups was related to the degree of control exerted over hostile or aggressive tendencies, with greater control correlating with more positive attitudes and openness toward other groups. This finding emerged very clearly in the group in Estonia. From the qualitative evidence three classifications of the other, as enemy, as stranger, and as different were found to correspond with the low, medium and high scorers in other-group orientation respectively. The Russians were identified as negative targets of externalization for the group in Estonia.

In this study the commonly held assumption that people who attribute a great deal of importance to their ethnic identity tend to exhibit negative attitudes toward other groups was not confirmed.

In the pilot study it was found that women in this population attributed greater importance to their ethnicity than men did. These results, which coincide with the findings of other studies, are explained on the basis of the socialization process that is typical of the Western world, and the resultant gender differences, with women leaning toward relatedness and a morality of concern, and men showing a tendency toward separateness and a morality of justice.
Limitations of the Study

This study explored the question of ethnic identity from different angles and yielded some interesting results. Even so, because of the small sample size, some caution must be exercised in terms of the conclusions reached. The most interesting findings are undoubtedly the links between personality variables and ethnic identity, and other-group orientation and ethnic identity. People who rate their ethnicity as important and very important tend to display a personality that leans toward lack of control of varying degrees. Attitudes toward other ethnic groups are linked to control of the hostile impulses or drives; more positive attitudes toward other groups corresponded with greater control of hostility. Further research into the relationship between ethnic identity and personality dynamics is required to verify these findings.

The other issue of concern is the use of the MEIM, which has been tested in a cultural context that is different from that of the group in Estonia. Also, while the measure was intended for young adults, half of the sample in the main study consisted of middle-aged women. However the pilot study revealed that the MEIM was differentiating between the two groups by environment, gender, and age in ways which were consistent with previous research findings. The interview data corroborated the quantitative findings.
A further limitation is that of gender. Would the patterns of links between personality and ethnic identity variables be different in a male sample? From the results of the pilot study, that pointed to significant gender differences in ethnic behaviors, and other-group orientation, the relationships between personality and ethnic identity could be different in men.

Directions for Future Research

The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection allowed for a better understanding of the factors underlying the differences in the two groups. For instance the conclusion that ethnic identity was attributed less importance in the homeland than abroad because it was seen as a natural state of being, and thus equivalent to the situation of the majority group in a heterogeneous society, was drawn on the basis of the interview data.

Without such data, this claim would have remained an educated guess requiring further confirmation. Moreover, with the use of the MEIM a much larger sample could be included in the study, and significant differences in the two groups could be detected. Qualitative and quantitative results informed each other in this research.

This research also confirms the importance of understanding the sociohistorical and cultural context, when studying a particular group. In cases like the present
study, membership in the group of interest provided definite advantages, not only in terms of access but also in terms of understanding the context.

The study of ethnicity and intergroup relations has become a major focus of attention in the past decade in North America. As Berry and Laponce (1994) mentioned in their introduction to "Ethnicity and Culture in Canada", ethnicity is likely to become in the 21st century what class was in the 20th century: a primary source of social tensions and political conflicts.

The topic has been approached mainly from a sociological perspective; the psychological dimension has been rather neglected. The links between the individual and the group, and the individual and culture have been referred to in general theoretical terms, or in common-sense language, but there are very few empirical studies.

The study of the psychological function of ethnicity at a personal and group level in different cultural groups seems to provide fertile ground for the exploration of those links.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX Aa

Estonia and the Estonians

A Historical Perspective

Middle Ages

The history of Estonia is troubled, with conqueror after conqueror occupying the land. The first arrivals were the Danes who occupied Tallinn in 1219, and later asked the Teutonic Knights for help in dealing with the resisting population in the area. The Teutonic Knights came ostensibly as bearers of Christianity, but also with a need to find somewhere to live, having fallen on hard times in the Holy Land. They were followed by German craftsmen and merchants who formed the burgher class which monopolized the towns and cities.

After the Danes sold their holdings in Estonia to the Teutonic Order in 1346, the area became a loose confederation of the domains of the Order, ecclesiastical estates ruled by princes of the Holy Roman Empire and a few independent Hansa towns. The knights transformed the economy developing farming and commerce, and establishing serfdom by the beginning of the 15th century. This system survived for almost six centuries. As a result of the Reformation, the Teutonic Order and the ecclesiastical domains in Estonia became politically anachronistic.
This coincided with the colonization of the New World, which attracted adventurous Europeans and led to manpower shortages in the area. Unable to protect themselves properly they began to seek foreign protection.

The Swedish Era

Major political realignments were triggered by a Russian push toward the area led by Ivan IV. The rulers of northern Estonia preferred to submit to the Swedes in 1561, and southern Estonia to Poland. In 1583 the Russian armies were forced out of Estonia, and as a result of the Swedish-Polish war all of Estonia became Swedish territory in 1629. Tartu University opened its doors in 1632. Although Sweden itself had never experienced enserfment, the system of peasant bondage continued in its Baltic provinces as they could not alienate the barons on whom they depended for military service and grain imports from the region.

The Northern War and the Russian Era

The next major change in the political configuration in the area came with the renewed and this time successful Russian invasion during the Great Northern War. Estonia was occupied by Russia in 1710, and the imposition of Russian rule allowed the German nobility to reassert some of their early prerogatives which had been somewhat eroded during the Sweden domain. The Treaty of Nystad, guaranteed all former
noble rights, of self-government and unlimited rule over the peasants, and the Baltic German barons proved loyal subjects of the Russian Empire. The late eighteenth century marked the nadir of the Estonian peasants' rights and living conditions.

The beginning of the nineteenth century was marked by the appearance and growth of a national consciousness in Estonia which paralleled the social struggle of its people against a culturally alien and entrenched nobility. This task was facilitated by the policy of Russification pursued by the Tsarist government, with the aim of turning the region into a culturally integral part of Russia. This action was aimed primarily at the old local elites and inadvertently facilitated the emergence of the indigenous peasant nation. The Russian aristocracy influenced by the ideas of enlightenment attempted reforms, but serfdom was not abolished until 1819. Although the peasants were legally free, they were not endowed with land until the 1840's. At the same time, the abolition of compulsory guild membership among urban craftsmen allowed Estonians to settle in the before exclusively German cities. Estonian schools were established across the country and the education level of the population rose quickly. By the end of the century illiteracy had been virtually eliminated.
The Era of Awakening

Between 1860 and 1885 called the era of awakening, Estonian language journalism began and an Estonian intelligentsia developed. Song festivals started in 1869, agricultural and cultural societies and a national theatre were founded, research was begun into Estonian topics such as philology, ethnology, history etc. An Estonian middle class as well as a proletariat made its appearance. The railway age saw a considerable expansion of the cities and Tallin was two thirds Estonian by 1897.

The Period of Russification

This period was followed by a so called period of Russification under the reign of Alexander III. Its targets were the provincial administration, the courts and the educational system, which were the bastions of the privileged German elements. This pressure helped the political activity of the indigenous people in Estonia, but also proved a setback to the language development with Russian being imposed as the language of instruction in schools. The Russian Revolution started with the suppression of the St. Petersburg uprising in 1905. During the following period of instability, a new generation of educated people, including politicians, quickly restored the awareness of national identity. More Estonians became involved in local government and Estonian language education
developed. Quick moving events during World War I and the collapse of tsarist power in Russia in 1917 enabled the Estonian people to declare their right to self-determination.

**The Beginning of Independence**

On February 24, 1918 the Republic of Estonia was declared in Tallinn. A provisional government was set up and neutrality was declared in the Russian-German war. The Germans refused to recognize the new state and occupied Estonia. Supreme power was assumed by the German military government; the power of the aristocracy was restored and the manors were returned to the aristocracy.

After the collapse of Germany in November 1918, the Estonian Provisional Government assumed power. Soviet Russia attacked Estonia and by the beginning of 1919 one third of Estonia was under Soviet control. Estonia mobilized all its resources, counter attacked and drove the Russians out. In April 1919 the freely elected Constituent Assembly convened and passed a Declaration of Independence, a land reform bill and a constitution. In June and July of 1919 successful battles were conducted against the Baltic-German army which attacked from northern Latvia. On February 2, 1920 the Tartu Peace Treaty was concluded wherein Soviet Russia recognized the Republic of Estonia.
The national self-determination of the Estonian people occurred while the War of Independence was being fought. Prior to the war, more than half of Estonia had belonged to 200 German-Balt families. An Agrarian Reform Law passed after independence redistributed the land and inventory of the baronial and feudal estates back to the people on the land. This was the impetus for the development of a strong agricultural economy.

**The Period of Independence**

The period of independence lasted until 1940. During this time in addition to the development of farms, the development of oil shale was initiated, the rail network was completed and the production of timber and paper products increased. National independence also meant that, for the first time, national culture could officially develop. Estonian as the national language quickly developed into the language of research and scholarship. A network of cultural establishments was created and notable achievements were made in many fields.

**The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact**

Everything began to unravel with the signing of the secret protocol of the Nazi-Soviet Pact on August 23, 1939. Stalin and Hitler agreed between them that the Soviet-Union
would annex Estonia together with Finland and Latvia, and Germany would annex Lithuania.

The Soviet Union, threatening force, obliged Estonia to sign an agreement in September 28, 1939, which resulted in 25,000 Red Army soldiers being brought into Estonia. Subsequent threats and ultimatums forced the Estonian Government to resign. A rigged election was staged in July 1940 for a new parliament, which proclaimed the formation of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and nationalized industry, banks and the land.

On August 6, 1940 the Estonian S.S.R. was incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. During the mass deportations which began on June 14, 1940 over 10,000 people were loaded onto railway boxcars for the long train ride to Siberia. The general estimate of population losses from all causes, deportations, mobilizations, massacres and unexplained disappearances during the first year of Soviet rule amount to approximately 60,000 people for Estonia. The collapse of the Nazi-Soviet Pact naturally changed everything. German forces invaded in 1941.

The Republic of Estonia was not restored. Estonia became part of Ostland (the Eastern Territories). The economy was subjugated to the interests of the Third Reich and nationalized property was not returned.
The Soviet Invasion

In August 1944 the Soviet Army once again invaded Estonia and by the end of November, 1944 the whole country was again under Soviet control. Fearing another Soviet occupation approximately 70,000 people fled, mainly to Germany and Sweden. Tens of thousands of those who did not flee were consigned to Soviet labour camps and into the vacuum thus created were introduced comparable numbers of Russians, with the dual purpose of manning heavy industry and completing the program of russification begun by the Tsars.

The Stalinist era

The postwar Stalinist era covering the period 1945 to 1953 firmly established the iron control of Moscow in all facets of life in reoccupied Estonia. There was total repression and systematic destruction of all elements of prewar. Mass collectivization of farms and the deportation of farmers and their families was carried out. In March, 1949 about 60,000 individuals were deported from Estonia to western Siberia. While the native population was decimated by deportation and guerilla-war losses, over 200,000 Russians were brought in, along with Estonians who had settled in Russia in tsarist times. The most influential segment of Russians consisted of thousands of officials assigned to direct and supervise social and economic changes.
at all levels. Red Army forces also occupied a privileged position.

Literature, language and theatrical arts faced the pressure of Russification and ideological correctness. Cultural Russification was particularly reflected in the rewriting of history through the contriving of age-old intense and friendly relation with the Russians, who were always presented as superior to the Estonians and other Balts. This recreation of the past extended from press to school texts and overflowed into operas and pictures about medieval and recent history.

**The "Thaw" Period.**

After the death of Stalin in 1953, during the period 1956-1968, there was a general relaxation or "thaw" in Soviet life. This affected the three Baltic republics somewhat more than other regions of the USSR, but less than the East European satellite countries. As elsewhere in Eastern Europe the de-Stalinization served as a catalyst for reassertions by the local leadership of their prerogatives within the system, as well as for trends toward fundamental change which questioned the social order itself. The thaw raised high hopes in cultural circles. Artistic and literary production increased rapidly in quantity and in quality. Cultural rebirth was the main development of the late 1950's and early 1960's, together with a feeling of
greater security. Those deportees to Siberia who had survived were allowed to return to Estonia. The number of Estonians joining the Estonian Communist Party grew substantially. During the period 1968 to 1980 on the one hand a centralization of the economy and politics under Moscow control continued and set in more deeply; immigration also continued to strengthen the Russian hold within Estonia and the other Baltic countries. During the 1980's the proportion of Russians living in Estonia rose to 40 percent. On the other hand the development of Western-oriented culture and lifestyle also continued. Dissent arose in the midst of increasing Soviet conformism. Russification of education contradicted cultural autonomy. By the mid 1980's general stagnation prevailed.

The "Glasnost" and "Perestroika" Period

Everything started to change with the introduction in Moscow of "glasnost" and "perestroika"; the new official policy of openness and change, championed by Gorbachev. On August 23, 1987, the anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, dissidents in Tallinn organized the first political demonstration. The Estonian Popular Front was founded on April 13, 1988, and it united the masses.

The Estonian national flag was restored and criticism against the Estonian Communist Party became more direct.
The Singing Revolution

During the summer of 1988 in what became known as "The Singing Revolution", Estonians who had always expressed themselves through singing, did express their dissent through songs at the numerous organized meetings and rallies. This period of never-before-seen political activity culminated in a rally of over 300,000 participants in Tallinn on September 11, 1988.

As a result of public pressure the Supreme Soviet passed a sovereignty declaration on November 16, 1988 which acknowledged the supremacy of Estonian laws and declared all resources in Estonia to be Estonian property. The Estonian problem began to receive attention through the international press and in the years 1989 to 1990 civic society was restored. A free press developed, political parties were formed, society became more open and there were free elections. The Estonian Communist Party collapsed and relinquished its position of power. On May 8, 1990 the flags and symbols of the Estonian S.S.R. were abolished and the official name of the country became the Republic of Estonia. However with 150,000 Soviet troops based on its territory, and no control over its borders, Estonia was still an occupied country.
The Second Declaration of Independence

Amid the rapid disintegration and dissolution of the U.S.S.R., Estonia finally regained its independence on August 20, 1991. It took another three years, until August 31, 1994 before the last of the Soviet troops were withdrawn from the country giving Estonia real sovereignty over its territory and true political independence.
APPENDIX Ab

THE MULTIGROUP ETHNIC IDENTITY MEASURE

Please fill in:

In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be ___________________________.

Use the numbers given below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

4: Strongly agree / 3: Somewhat agree / 2: Somewhat disagree / 1: Strongly disagree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions and customs.
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
4. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.
8. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.
9. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.
10. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.
11. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
12. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.
13. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
14. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.
15. I don't try very hard to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.
16. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
17. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.
18. I feel a strong attachment toward my own ethnic group.
19. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.
20. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

1. Age ________ 2. Sex: F _____ M _____
3. Education: High School _____, University incomplete _____, University complete _____
4. Ethnic background ____________________________
5. Mother's ethnic background ____________________________
6. Father's ethnic background ____________________________
APPENDIX A

SCORING OF THE MEIM

I. ETHNIC IDENTITY:
The total score is derived by reversing negative items, summing across items, and obtaining the mean (Items 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8R*, 10R*, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20).

Subscales are calculated separately by summing items and obtaining the mean.

Affirmation and belonging: (Items 6, 11, 14, 18, 20)

Ethnic identity achievement: (Items 1, 3, 5, 8R*, 10R*, 12, 13)

Ethnic behaviors: (Items 2, 16)

Ethnic self-identification and ethnicity: Self-identification (self-label) and ethnicity (parents'ethnic group or groups) are not scored but are used as background information.

II. OTHER-GROUP ORIENTATION: (Items 4, 7R*, 9, 15R*, 17, 19)

*Items marked with "R" are to be reversed in scoring
APPENDIX Ad

THE DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSTIC TECHNIQUE

INTRODUCTORY CARDS

ADULT FORM
APPENDIX Aa

DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSTIC TECHNIQUE
SCORING CHART

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONALITY RIGIDITY</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrangement - Methodical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constriction - Incon.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guides</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Rotation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Shift</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseveration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retracing - Incon.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style - Constricted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTELLECTUAL CONTROL</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrangement - Spat.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Quality - Good</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Serious Rotation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Shift</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IC TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENERGY OUTPUT</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expansion - Incon.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Quality - Incon.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotation - Slight</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squeezing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style - Expansive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EO TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPULSIVENESS</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrangement - Confused</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destruction - Partial</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaboration</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Destruction</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Quality - Poor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overlapping</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shift</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splitting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISSOCIATION</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collision</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condensation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copying Model</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destruction - Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line Change</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotation - Serious - Partial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotation - Serious - Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIS TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTROL INDEX</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Control Score (PR+IC)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Loss of Control Score (IM+DIS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIFFERENTIAL INDEX OF CONTROL</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control Index (TC - TLC)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differential Index of Control (HCI - PCI)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX Af

Interpretation of the Differential Diagnostic Technique

The Differential Diagnostic Technique yields information regarding the quantity and quality of control in five areas of emotional functioning: the total, hostility, passivity, interpersonal and memory areas. The control indices provide an indication of the quality of control in a given area. A high positive control index suggests excessive inhibition or control in that area, while a low negative one indicates poor impulse control. A control index in the vicinity of zero suggest a healthy balance between ego control and gratification of needs and drives.

The Five Areas

**The Total Area (the T area)**

The Total area reflects the individual's overall balance of emotional functioning. This control and or lack of control operates in great part without the individual's awareness, and is taken as an indication of the basic ego strength-level or mental health. The Total Index (TI), the difference between the total control and loss of control
scores indicates to what extent the individual's functioning can be considered "healthy" or within "normal limits".

The Hostility Area (the H area)

The Hostility area represents not only hostility in the negative sense but also the ways in which an individual expresses his aggressive drives towards independence through socially-appropriate ways. The hostility control index (HCI) represents the degree of control over the aggressive drives as the individual attempts to manage or manipulate his environment in order to gain satisfaction of his needs.

The Passivity Area (the P area)

The Passivity area reflects the degree of control over the dependency, passivity and nurturance needs. The passivity control index (PCI) provides an indication of how an individual will gratify his dependency requirements and serves as a measure of the individual's ability to relinquish control over or accommodate to the environment.

The Interpersonal area (the HP area)

The Interpersonal area reflects both the interpersonal relationships and the deeper object relationships. The understanding is that interpersonal relationships involve a union of both aggression and passivity. The relationship
with the human environment is seen as a combination of both aggression and active adaptation and reception and acceptance of it. The way in which a person moves towards others to satisfy these needs constitutes interpersonal relationships. The relationship of the Interpersonal area to the Hostility and Passivity areas gives an indication of where the individual's out of controlness or overcontrol in the Interpersonal area stems from. Here, as in the other areas the interpersonal control index (HPCI) indicates the balance the individual has achieved between control and out of control factors, in this case, between approaching or withdrawing from his social environment.

**The Memory area (the MEM area)**

The memory area is that area represented by those drawings that the individual reproduces without relying on the booklet and is assumed to reflect the person's capacity to depend on his own resources. The memory control index (MCI) is predictive of the way an individual will respond when experiencing stress and tension. The degree of loss of control in the memory area indicates the degree to which the individual becomes disorganized when under emotional pressure. This area does not contribute to the score in the Total area.
Scoring Categories

Subscores and their implications

While the control indices provide an indication of how an individual is functioning in each of the five areas, the five subscores yield information regarding the types of control or defences at the individual's disposal, the manner in which primary drives are expressed, and the amount of emotional energy available to satisfy a drive or need in each of the five areas of emotional functioning.

The Control Categories

Personality Rigidity (PR)

The personality rigidity score is seen as reflecting perfectionistic or meticulous control in the drawing of the figures. According to Weininger (1986) this score represents primitive ego defences that are organized very early in emotional development and include splitting, projection, denial, introjection, and projective and introjective identification. Individuals with high personality rigidity scores tend to be rigid and rule-bound in the way they experience and express their primary affects and impulses, and have difficulty adapting to changes in the environment. Low scores in personality rigidity suggest a difficulty in accepting and following routines and
schedules. Order and consistency are the aims of personality rigidity in an attempt to ward off confusion and maintain impulse control.

**Intellectual Control (IC)**

These defences or controls reflect more advanced stages of emotional development and include sublimation, suppression, reparation, intellectualization, rationalization and reaction formation. Weininger indicates that Intellectual control reflects a capacity to understand the environment and to respond to it in a flexible manner.

**Energy output (EO)**

This score which does not contribute mathematically to the control scores, loss of control scores or control indices, is conceptualized as the emotional energy that the ego has at its disposal to discharge libidinal impulses in effective or ineffective ways. This store of energy is replenished through the satisfaction of libidinal needs. High scores in Energy output, and low control scores in a particular area would suggest that the individual is not using the available emotional energy effectively and would most likely experience anxiety and confusion. In the opposite case of high control scores and low energy output scores the individual would be aware that certain behaviours
are ineffective but will feel unable to change. On occasions were high rigidity scores occur with low energy output scores, it would be interpreted that the emotional energy available to the ego is used in maintaining the defensive structure.

The Loss of Control Categories

**Impulsiveness Score (IMP)**

This score contributes to the loss of control score and is described as representing the degree to which the individual sporadically expresses unconscious drives or impulses. This score reflects out of control factors that an individual understands and is sufficiently aware of and able to control and direct. A low impulsiveness score indicates lack of spontaneity, and a difficulty in satisfying primary drives, high impulsiveness suggests uninhibited expression of primary impulses with an inability to control or alter such behaviour, and a moderate score indicates the ability to respond to situations in spontaneous ways but also the capacity to alter the behaviour according to the demands of the situation.

**Dissociation Score (DIS)**

The Dissociation score represents more serious loss of control factors than the loss of control factors represented
by the impulsiveness score. High dissociation scores are indicative of psychotic processes and reflect a tendency to perceive and respond to situations in unrealistic ways based on unconscious and irrational thought processes. Low dissociation scores suggest that an individual has the capacity to make effective use of his unconscious processes and if sufficient intellectual control and energy are present he can utilize unconscious fantasies or processes in constructive and creative ways.

Personality Structure

The Differential Control Index (DI) is obtained by subtracting the Passivity Control Index from the Hostility Control Index and it provides an indication of the basic personality structure. The personality type is determined by the way the individual differentially controls the aggressive versus the passive-dependency drives. Individuals demonstrating greater control over their aggressive versus passive dependency drives are classified as episodic or depressive personalities. Individuals showing greater control over passive dependency drives than over their aggressive ones are diagnosed as chronically hostile personalities, and individuals who demonstrate equivalent control over both aggressive and passive drives are labelled regressive personalities. High positive and
negative differential indices reflect extreme expressions of episodic and chronically hostile personality types respectively. The Differential Control Index provides an indication of types of issues or conflicts associated with a particular personality structure but the degree to which an individual will exhibit pathological traits associated with a certain personality type depends on the level of ego strength as measured by the Total Control Index.

The Chronically Hostile Personality Organization

The chronically hostile personality relates to his environment in ways which are characteristic of the paranoid-schizoid position. Weininger indicates that the chronically hostile personality typically exhibits behaviour tinged with irritation, manipulation and hostility, engages in fairly superficial relationships and lacks feelings of guilt. They exhibit a defensive reluctance to express their need for care and support from others and value independence and self-sufficiency. This is often reflected in difficulty in taking in or introjecting what the environment has to offer, and thus they do not benefit from advice or assistance. As the source of persecutory anxiety is projected, aggression is typically directed outward. The chronically hostile personality type develops from mother-child relationships where the mother has been unable to
accommodate sufficiently to the needs of the infant. Other factors would be inborn constitutional difficulties, like digestive problems, losses or extended separations from the primary caregiver, particularly within the first year of life, extreme family disruption interfering with the attachment process, or excessive envy which would interfere with the process of introjection.

The Episodic Personality Organization

The episodic personality reflects dynamics of the depressive position and is characterized by experiences of and defences against depressive anxiety, a recognition or acknowledgement of dependency needs and a concern for and sensitivity to the impact that behaviour has on others. Weininger indicates that episodic individuals generally exhibit deeper feelings toward others, feel a greater sense of responsibility for their actions and experience a strong potential for guilt. The episodic personality is felt to develop from a mother-child interaction that is overprotective and solicitous and where the infant develops the belief that the provision of care and love are contingent on his remaining in a position of dependency. These mothers consciously or unconsciously encourage repression and denial of their children's aggression. As a result the child's ability to gain a realistic picture or
sense of control over his aggression is impeded. Dependency and inadequacy are perpetuated as the child perceives independent action as an expression of aggression.

**The Regressive Personality Organization**

The regressive personality organization is described as responding to situations in a manner that combines characteristics of the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions, reflected in the Differential Index as an equivalent level of control over aggressive and dependent impulses. At normal levels they are described as coping with issues relating to dependency and aggression with little difficulty. However with ego strength in the psychoneurotic range, they show a marked ambivalence with regard to their experience and expression of aggression and dependency and with ego strength at the lower levels they show disinhibition in their expression of aggression and passive dependency. The background of the regressive personality with normal ego strength suggests a successful passage through both the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions. Regressive personalities functioning at levels that deviate from the normal are described as developing from family backgrounds where care and nurturance are provided on an inconsistent basis with the infant's
consequent inability to establish a sense of control and a realistic understanding of responsibility.
APPENDIX Ag

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Demographic Data
Name, age, place of birth, marital status, education, occupation. (For interviewee and both parents)

Personal History
Ethnic Identity

Self-identification or Definition
If you had to define yourself through three to five statements what would you say?
What part does being Estonian play in your self-concept?
When you think of yourself as being Estonian what kind of things come to your mind?

Attitudes toward the Group of Belonging
How would you characterize Estonians as a group?
(your stereotype of the group)
How do you think Estonians are perceived by others?
(perceived stereotype of others)
Do you agree, disagree with these perceptions?
How would you characterize Estonian men?
How would you characterize Estonian women?
How would you see yourself fitting in with these characterizations?
Are there things that you specially like about your group?
Are there things you wish were different?
What are in your experience some advantages and disadvantages of being an Estonian?
If you had a choice, what nationality or ethnic group do you think you would have chosen to belong to? Why?
Sense of Belonging to the Group
If you had to choose some historical events and/or personalities to characterize the Estonian spirit, what would you choose?
How different, similar do you think Estonians are to other ethnic groups?
What kinds of thoughts, feelings do you experience when you are in touch with other ethnic groups?
What kinds of thoughts, feelings do you experience when associating with Estonians?
If you were no longer an Estonian what would you miss, lose?
If you had to teach other people about your culture, what kinds of things would you tell them?

Ethnic Behaviors
We have addressed feelings and thoughts, but can you think of any things that you and other Estonians do that would be unique or typical of Estonians? (explore customs, traditions, intragroup friendships, etc.)

Values, Symbols, and Obligations
What proverbs, sayings, etc. would capture essential features of "being Estonian"?
What are some of the things Estonians value most? How about you?
What are symbols of being Estonian?
Are there any special obligations or commitments associated with being Estonian?

**Ethnic Identity Development**

When did you first become aware of the fact that you were Estonian? Relate the event and the feelings and thoughts associated with that consciousness.

What other experiences have made you aware of your background?

Have there been occasions in your life when you felt you were treated a certain way not because of who you are but because you are Estonian?

When you think back over the years are there any time periods in which you felt more strongly about it?

Have these feelings, thoughts changed over the years?

Have you discussed these feelings, thoughts with other people?

Have there been people in your family or outside of it who have specially contributed to your sense of being Estonian?

How?

How is your sense of being Estonian similar or different to that of your parents? (or other significant people you have mentioned)

How has being an Estonian affected your life?

Do you foresee any changes in the way you think of yourself as an Estonian in the future?
APPENDIX A8

CONSENT

I am a graduate student at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, and I am interested in exploring the process of ethnic identity development as part of identity development in general. The study focuses on Estonian women in two generations and contexts; mothers and daughters in Tallinn, Estonia and in Toronto, Canada. You will be interviewed at length and asked to complete a measure of ethnic identity and a projective test. The interview will provide you with a chance to examine issues related to your own identity but will also necessitate the sharing of personal information. All the interviews will be tape recorded. Your identity will be known only to the investigator and confidentiality will be strictly respected. You will be free to discontinue your involvement at any time during this process if you so wish. A brief written summary of the general findings will be made available to all the participants in the study. Please indicate your willingness to participate by signing this sheet. Thank you

Kadri-Ann Laar

I am willing to participate ____________________________

Signature

NAME ____________________________
Categorization of the Differential Diagnostic Technique scores for Dual Scaling

Rationale

Personality Rigidity.

The personality rigidity score has a mathematical possibility of ranging from zero to 20 in the Total area, and 16 in the remaining areas. Scores of zero to four were categorized as low, scores between five and nine inclusive were considered medium, and scores ranging from 10 to 20 were classified as high personality rigidity scores for any given area.

Intellectual Control.

The intellectual control score can range from zero to 20 in the total area and 14 in the other four areas. Intellectual control scores of zero to 4 were categorized as low, scores ranging from 5 to 7 were classified as medium, and scores 8 through 20 made up the high intellectual control category for a given area.

Energy Output.

The energy output score can range from zero to 20 in the total area and zero to 14 in the remaining areas. The low energy output in any given area was composed of scores ranging from zero to four, the medium category of
scores from five to seven, and the high category of scores ranging from eight to 20.

**Impulsiveness.**

Impulsiveness scores range from zero to twenty in the total area and to 17 in the remaining four areas. Impulsiveness scores of zero to five make up the low impulsiveness category, scores of six to nine are inclusive of the medium category and scores of 10 through 20 make up the high impulsiveness category.

**Dissociation.**

The dissociation score ranges from zero to 20 in all of the five areas. Dissociation scores ranging from zero to four make up the low dissociation category, scores from five to seven are categorized as medium, and scores of eight and higher are classified as high dissociation scores.

**Control Indices.**

In terms of the control indices in each of the five areas they were categorized on the basis of the tentative diagnostic classification devised by Weininger (1986). He proposed that total control indices ranging from negative to positive five (-5 to 5) indicate a normal balance of control versus out of control factors. Total control indices ranging from negative six to negative nine (-6 to -9) reflect disinhibition resulting in psychosocial difficulties while indices ranging from six to nine (6 to 9) suggest psychosocial problems due to excessive inhibition. Total
control indices from negative ten to negative thirteen (-10 to -13) are reflective of pre-psychotic or borderline disorders, and indices of negative fourteen and below (-14) are indicative of psychotic disorders with poor reality testing and bizarre thought processes. Total control indices of ten (10) and higher suggest the presence of over control or neurosis. With this classification system in mind the control indices in the hostility, passivity, interpersonal and memory areas were categorized in the following manner: Psychosis composed of indices of negative fourteen (-14) and below, severe disinhibition including indices ranging from negative thirteen to negative nine (-13 to -9), disinhibition consisting of index scores of negative eight to negative six (-8 to -6), normal control inclusive of indices ranging from negative to positive five (-5 to +5), inhibition including indices of six to twelve (6 to 12) and serious inhibition composed of indices of thirteen (13) and higher.

**Personality Organization: The Differential Control Index.**

Weininger discusses three personality types that can be diagnosed through the differential control index (DI). DIs of negative four (-4) and below were classified as chronically hostile personality types, DIs ranging from negative to positive three (-3 to +3) are regressive, and DIs of four (4) and above as episodic personality types.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>2.22-3.21</td>
<td>3.28-3.57</td>
<td>3.58-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmation and Belonging</td>
<td>1.60-3.20</td>
<td>3.40-3.60</td>
<td>3.80-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity Achievement</td>
<td>1.43-3.14</td>
<td>3.17-3.57</td>
<td>3.67-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Behaviours</td>
<td>1.00-3.00</td>
<td>3.50-</td>
<td>3.83-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other - Group Orientation</td>
<td>1.17-2.17</td>
<td>2.25-2.67</td>
<td>2.83-3.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scores</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>2.50-3.20</td>
<td>3.21-3.43</td>
<td>3.50-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmation and Belonging</td>
<td>2.20-3.01</td>
<td>3.20-3.42</td>
<td>3.60-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity Achievement</td>
<td>2.14-3.01</td>
<td>3.14-3.30</td>
<td>3.43-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Behaviours</td>
<td>2.00-2.50</td>
<td>3.00-</td>
<td>3.50-4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other - Group Orientation</td>
<td>1.83-2.17</td>
<td>2.33-2.67</td>
<td>2.83-4.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE III

**DDT CONTROL INDICES AND SUBSCORES**

### Control Indices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Severe Disinhibition</td>
<td>&lt; -14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious Disinhibition</td>
<td>- 13 to - 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disinhibited</td>
<td>- 8 to - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>- 5 to 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhibited</td>
<td>6 to 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious Inhibition</td>
<td>&gt; 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Subscores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscore</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personality Rigidity</td>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>&gt; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Control</td>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>5 - 7</td>
<td>&gt; 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy Output</td>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>5 - 7</td>
<td>&gt; 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impulsivity</td>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>6 - 9</td>
<td>&gt; 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissociation</td>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>5 - 7</td>
<td>&gt; 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Score</td>
<td>0 - 8</td>
<td>9 - 14</td>
<td>&gt; 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of Control Score</td>
<td>0 - 9</td>
<td>10 - 16</td>
<td>&gt; 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Differential Control Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chronically Hostile</td>
<td>&lt; - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regressive</td>
<td>- 3 to + 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episodic</td>
<td>&gt; + 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 1**

Pilot study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: **** p < .0001

**Table 2**

Pilot study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * p < .05
Table 3
Pilot study

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(3.93) 18.30****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: **** p < .0001

Table 4
Pilot study

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1.08) 2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.41)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5

Pilot study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(9.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: **** p < .0001
Table 6

Pilot study

Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item environment. Solution 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estonia</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>R((jt))</th>
<th>Canada +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Ethnic identity</td>
<td>0.412</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Identity achievement</td>
<td>0.394</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Other-group orientation</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Affirmation and belonging</td>
<td>0.263</td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Ethnic behaviours</td>
<td>0.182</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5391
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7343
Percentage Homogeneity = 53.91
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For)
Partial = 35.94; Cumulative = 35.94
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.8290
Table 7

Pilot study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by gender: female, male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.43) 2.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

Pilot study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by gender: female, male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.05)  .31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9
Pilot study

**ANOVARs for Ethnic identity variables by gender: female, male**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 10
Pilot study

**ANOVARs for Ethnic identity variables by gender: female, male**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.141)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:  *p < .05
Table 11

Pilot study

**ANOVA**s for Ethnic identity variables by gender: female, male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F ( )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2.88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>(.31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ** p < .01
Table 12

Pilot study

Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item gender.

Solution 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>R(j%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Other-group orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Ethnic behaviours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium, High</td>
<td>Identity achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium, High</td>
<td>Ethnic identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5089
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7134
Percentage Homogeneity = 50.89
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For) Partial = 33.93 Cumulative = 33.93
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.8070
### Table 13
Pilot study

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group: young, medium, old**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2.82) 21.89****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>(.12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** **** p < .0001

### Table 14
Pilot study

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group: young, medium, old**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2.57) 14.70****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>(.17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** **** p < .0001
### Table 15
Pilot study

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group: young, medium, old**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>.239</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(3.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>(.20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: **** p < .0001*

### Table 16
Pilot study

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group: young, medium, old**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(3.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>(.39)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: *** p < .001*
Table 17

Pilot study

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group: young, medium, old**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>(.32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18

Pilot study

Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item age group.

Solution 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>R(jt)</th>
<th>Medium, old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>0.962</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic identity</td>
<td>0.610</td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity achievement</td>
<td>0.513</td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmation and belonging</td>
<td>0.507</td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic behaviours</td>
<td>0.377</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other-group orientation</td>
<td>0.129</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5695
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7546
Percentage Homogeneity = 56.95
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For) = 28.47
Partial = 28.47 Cumulative = 28.47
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.8488
Table 19
Combined sample

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by group: pilot and main study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main study</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20
Combined sample

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by group: pilot and main study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main study</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21

Combined sample

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by group: pilot and main study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main study</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22

Combined sample

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by group: pilot and main study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main study</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(3.36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 23

Combined sample

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by group: pilot and main study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main study</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.50) 1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 24
Combined sample

**ANOVA**s for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ** p < .01

Table 25
Combined sample

**ANOVA**s for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * p < .05
Table 26

Combined sample

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2.41) 12.33***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *** p < .001

Table 27

Combined sample

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 28

Combined sample

**ANOVA**s for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1 (9.52)</td>
<td>37.15****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 29

Combined sample

**Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item environment. Solution 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estonia</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>R(jt)</th>
<th>Canada +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Other-group orientation</td>
<td>0.488</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Identity achievement</td>
<td>0.404</td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Ethnic identity</td>
<td>0.394</td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Affirmation and belonging</td>
<td>0.316</td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5536
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7441
Percentage Homogeneity = 55.36
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For)
Partial = 36.87; Cumulative = 36.87
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.8388
Table 30

Combined sample

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 25 years</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 57 years</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1.38)11.71***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *** p < .001

Table 31

Combined sample

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 25 years</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 57 years</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2.10)11.97***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *** p < .001
Table 32
Combined sample

**ANOVA s for Ethnic identity variables by age group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 25 years</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 57 years</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source | df | F          |
Between groups error        | 1   | (2.74) 14.19**** |
Within groups error         | 120 | (.19)      |

Note: **** p < .0001

Table 33
Combined sample

**ANOVA s for Ethnic identity variables by age group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 25 years</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 57 years</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source | df | F  |
Between groups error       | 1   | (.11) .31 |
Within groups error        | 120 | (.37)    |
Table 34

Combined sample

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 25 years</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 57 years</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.00) 0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>(.33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 35

Combined sample

Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item age group. Solution 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>0.976</th>
<th>older +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Ethnic identity</td>
<td>0.538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Affirmation and belonging</td>
<td>0.507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Identity achievement</td>
<td>0.437</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5536
      Product-moment Correlation = 0.7441
      Percentage Homogeneity = 55.36
      Delta (Total Variance Accounted For) Partial = 36.87; Cumulative = 36.87
      Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.8388
### Table 36

**Main study**

**Correlation Matrix of The MEIM scores and the DDT Control index scores for the total sample.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HI</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>BS</th>
<th>EB</th>
<th>OGO</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>DI</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>RF</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.71**</td>
<td>.83**</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>.71**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>.83**</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.37*</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.37*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGO</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.36*</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.47**</td>
<td>.49**</td>
<td>.49**</td>
<td>.31*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.36*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.63**</td>
<td>-.68**</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.47**</td>
<td>.63**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.49**</td>
<td>-.68**</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.49**</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEM</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.31*</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**

Pearson correlation coefficients rounded off to two significant digits.

* p < .05.  ** p < .01., two-tailed
Table 37
Main study
Correlation Matrix of The MEIM scores and the DDT Control index scores for the Estonian sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>H1</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>HB</th>
<th>OGO</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>DI</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>EHP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.43*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>.43*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGO</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.48*</td>
<td>.49*</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>.47*</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.48*</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.51*</td>
<td>-.78**</td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.49*</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.51*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>.78**</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.42*</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EHP</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.47*</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.42*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEM</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
Pearson correlation coefficients rounded off to two significant digits.
* p < .05.  ** p < .01, two-tailed.
Table 38
Main study
Correlation Matrix of The MEIM scores and the DDT Control index scores for the Canadian sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HI</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>IA</th>
<th>RE</th>
<th>OGO</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>DI</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>EP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td></td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.85**</td>
<td>.86**</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.61**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>-.33</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.62**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>.85**</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td></td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.35</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>-.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>.86**</td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td>.65**</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.50*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGO</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td></td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.33</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>-.35</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.50*</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.55*</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.33</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td></td>
<td>.72**</td>
<td>-.58**</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.50*</td>
<td>.72**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-.33</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>-.58**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.55*</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEM</td>
<td>-.61**</td>
<td>-.62**</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>-.50*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td></td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
Pearson correlation coefficients rounded off to two significant digits.
* p < .05. ** p < .01., two-tailed.
Table 39
Main study
Correlation Matrix of The MEIM scores and the DDT Control index scores for the sample of Daughters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HI</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>HB</th>
<th>OGO</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>DI</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td></td>
<td>.68**</td>
<td>.83**</td>
<td>.68**</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>.68**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.28</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>.83**</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td></td>
<td>.46*</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.39</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>.68**</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.46*</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGO</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td></td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.64**</td>
<td>.57**</td>
<td>.53*</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td></td>
<td>.58**</td>
<td>-.59**</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.64**</td>
<td>.58**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.39</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.57**</td>
<td>-.59**</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.53*</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td></td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEM</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
Pearson correlation coefficients rounded off to two significant digits.
* p < .05.  ** p < .01., two-tailed.
Table 40
Main study
Correlation Matrix of The MEIM scores and the DDT Control index scores for the sample of Mothers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HI</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>EB</th>
<th>OGO</th>
<th>TI</th>
<th>DI</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>EP</th>
<th>MEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HI</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.76**</td>
<td>.84**</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>-.44</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.51*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>.76**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>-.39</td>
<td>-.37</td>
<td>-.39</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>.84**</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>-.31</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGO</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>-.44</td>
<td>-.39</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>-.31</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>-.37</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.74**</td>
<td>-.77**</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>-.39</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.74**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>-.77**</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEM</td>
<td>-.51*</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>-.34</td>
<td>-.49*</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
Pearson correlation coefficients rounded off to two significant digits.
* p < .05.  ** p < .01., two-tailed.
Table 41

Main study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source** | df | F  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 42

Main study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source** | df | F  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 43

**Main study**

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.39) 2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 44

**Main study**

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.00) .00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.38)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 45

Main study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(4.34) 16.77****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: **** p < .0001
Table 46

Main study

ANOVARs for Personality variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>-4.59</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>-3.52</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(11.55) .30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(37.43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 47

Main study

ANOVARs for Personality variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differential index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>-4.13</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>-2.52</td>
<td>6.49</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(26.42) .66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(39.67)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 48
Main study
ANOVAs for Personality variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hostility control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>-1.31</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(36.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(20.95)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 49
Main study
ANOVAs for Personality variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passivity control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(24.54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 50
Main study
ANOVA for Personality variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpersonal control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>6.92</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(8.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(43.87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 51
Main study
ANOVA for Personality variables by environment: Estonia and Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Memory control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>-10.72</td>
<td>7.27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>-8.05</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(72.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(43.46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 52
Main study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by generation: mothers and daughters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 53
Main study

ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by generation: mothers and daughters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmation and belonging</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 54

**Main study**

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by generation: mothers and daughters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity achievement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 55

**Main study**

**ANOVA for Ethnic identity variables by generation: mothers and daughters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic behaviours</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.34)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 56

Main study

ANOVA's for Ethnic identity variables by generation: mothers and daughters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(.23) .64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(.36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 57

Main study

**ANOVAs for Personality variables by generation: mothers and daughters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>-5.20</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>-3.04</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 58

Main study

**ANOVAs for Personality variables by generation: mothers and daughters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differential index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>-2.80</td>
<td>6.87</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>-3.95</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 59  
Main study  
**ANOVA for Personality variables by generation: mothers and daughters**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hostility control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>-1.10</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(17.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(21.46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 60  
Main study  
**ANOVA for Personality variables by generation: mothers and daughters**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passivity control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>4.92</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(61.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(22.99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 61
Main study

**ANOVA for Personality variables by generation: mothers and daughters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpersonal control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>6.43</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(139.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(40.51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 62
Main study

**ANOVA for Personality variables by generation: mothers and daughters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Memory control index</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>-11.90</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>-7.19</td>
<td>6.03</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups error</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(227.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups error</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(39.51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * p < .05
Table 63

Main study

Ethnic identity and personality variables.

**Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item environment. Solution 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estonia</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>R((jt))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Other-group orientation</td>
<td>0.594 High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, High</td>
<td>Passivity control score</td>
<td>0.448 Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seriously inhib., Normal</td>
<td>Passivity control index</td>
<td>0.379 Disinhib., Inhib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Ethnic identity</td>
<td>0.385 High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seriously disinhib., Disinhib., Normal</td>
<td>Hostility control index</td>
<td>0.379 Inhib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium, High</td>
<td>Hostility energy output</td>
<td>0.328 Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5260
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7252
Percentage Homogeneity = 52.60
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For) Partial = 35.58  Cumulative = 35.58
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.9804
Table 64

Main study

Ethnic identity and personality variables.

Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item generation.

Solution 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>- Mothers</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>R(jt)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Memory loss of ctrl.</td>
<td>0.534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser. disinhib., Disinhib., Normal</td>
<td>Interp. ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sev. disinhib., Ser. disinhib.</td>
<td>Memory ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Interp. intellect ctrl.</td>
<td>0.429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Interp. ctrl. score</td>
<td>0.399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sev. disinhib., Ser. disinhib.</td>
<td>Hostility ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium, High</td>
<td>Interp. impulsiveness</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ser. disinhib., Disinhib., Normal</td>
<td>Total ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Total loss of ctrl score</td>
<td>0.335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Hostility energy output</td>
<td>0.331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Ethnic Behaviours</td>
<td>0.325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Memory energy output</td>
<td>0.305</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.  
Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5334  
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7304  
Percentage Homogeneity = 53.34  
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For)  
Partial = 36.08  Cumulative = 36.08  
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.9810
Table 65

Main study

Ethnic identity and personality variables.

Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item ethnic identity.

Solution 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R(jt)</th>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>0.998</th>
<th>Medium, High +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
<td>Interp. ctrl. score</td>
<td>0.414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low, High</td>
<td>Memory dissoc.</td>
<td>0.414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normal, Inhib.</td>
<td>Total ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Passivity ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Total ctrl. score</td>
<td>0.339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium, High</td>
<td>Total intellect. ctrl.</td>
<td>0.328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Interp. loss of ctrl.</td>
<td>0.324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Memory ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5276
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7263
Percentage Homogeneity = 52.76
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For) = 26.70
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.9782
Table 66

Main study

Ethnic identity and personality variables.

Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item ethnic identity.

Solution 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R(jt)</th>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>Low, High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disinh., Inhib.</td>
<td>Total ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Passiv. loss of ctrl.</td>
<td>0.467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Passiv. impulsiveness</td>
<td>0.374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, High</td>
<td>Total ctrl. score</td>
<td>0.367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Total loss of ctrl. score</td>
<td>0.338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5264
       Product-moment Correlation = 0.7256
       Percentage Homogeneity = 52.64
       Delta (Total Variance Accounted For)  Partial = 26.65  Cumulative = 53.35
       Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.9781
Table 67

Main study

Ethnic identity and personality variables.

**Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item other-group orientation.**

**Solution 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R((jt))</th>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>Low +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium, High</td>
<td>Total loss of ctrl.</td>
<td>0.470 High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal, Inhib.</td>
<td>Hostility ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.439 Ser. disinhib., Disinhib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Total ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.400 Ser. disinhib., Disinhib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Passivity intellect. ctrl.</td>
<td>0.368 Medium, High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Hostility loss of ctrl.</td>
<td>0.366 High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Total impulsiveness</td>
<td>0.364 High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disinhib., Normal</td>
<td>Passivity ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.311 Ser. inhib., Inhib.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5312
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7288
Percentage Homogeneity = 53.12
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For) Partial = 26.89 Cumulative = 26.89
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.9785
Table 68

Main study

Ethnic identity and personality variables.

**Dual scaling, multiple-choice data, forced classification by the criterion item other-group orientation.**

**Solution 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Other-group orientation</th>
<th>R(jt)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low, Medium</td>
<td>Total impulsiveness</td>
<td>0.359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>Hostility ctrl. index</td>
<td>0.340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Hostility loss of ctrl.</td>
<td>0.362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passivity loss of ctrl.</td>
<td>0.427</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Squared Correlation Ratio = 0.5208
Product-moment Correlation = 0.7216
Percentage Homogeneity = 52.08
Delta (Total Variance Accounted For) = 52.08
Partial = 26.36  Cumulative = 53.25
Reliability Coefficient Alpha = 0.9776