

Review

Self Concept: The paradigm shift and implications for schools

Laura Rader

Program Director (graduate programs in special education), The City College of New York School of Education

Accepted 9 September, 2011

Initial Investigations into the development of self-concept have been largely descriptive and focused primarily on the concept of self-representation, namely, how the me-self evolves across childhood and adolescence. Investigators sought to document developmental differences in self-representation through coding of spontaneously generated descriptions of the self. These efforts identified broad, discontinuous, qualitative skills in how the self was described. However, there was little analysis of the structural organization of self-concept. Interest in self-processes has burgeoned in the past decade within many branches of psychology. Riding on the bandwagon of the cognitive revolution, self-theorists reconceptualized the self as a cognitive construction that is quite functional in bringing organization and meaning to one's experiences. In addition to psychologists' emphasis on self-concept, educators have become interested in the implications of self-concept among special populations within the school setting. Thus, this paper explores the common principles across these newer frameworks.

Keywords: Self-Concept, Adolescents, Special Education

INTRODUCTION

Self-concept has been studied for more than a century, as cited in Marsh and Craven, 2006). However, interest in self-concept has recently escalated, in part, given increasing emphasis in its functional role in development. Although substantial scholarship of a theoretical and empirical nature has accumulated on the child's developing self-concept, scholars have not to any great extent examined the child's self-knowledge as a spontaneously occurring process-in-action (Chafel, 2003). Thus, far from being an epiphenomenon, self-concept has taken center stage as a dynamic actor, playing a variety of roles (Harter, 1999). In fact, it is commonly asserted that the very architecture of self-concept theory, by evolutionary design, has been extremely functional across the life span (Harter, 1999).

Self-concept refers to self-evaluation or self-perception and it represents the sum of an individual's beliefs about his or her own identity attributes. A student's self-concept is dynamic and causality is complex (Hadley, Hair and Moore, 2008). That is, problems and difficulties can lower self-concept; but low self-concept can also cause problems). Having a

negative self-concept has been associated with maladaptive behaviors and emotions and in contrast, having a positive self-concept has been linked to positive social and emotional development (Hadley, Hair and Moore, 2008). Marsh and Craven (2006) offered a comprehensive review of Marsh's model of reciprocal effects, which can be used to help resolve the chicken-and-the egg (Marsh and Craven, 2006) debate regarding self-concept and achievement.

For the most part, scholars have pursued their inquiries using traditional psychometric approaches (e.g. self-report techniques). Initial investigations into the development of self-concept have been largely descriptive and focused primarily on the content of self-representations, namely, how the Me-self evolves across childhood and adolescence (Harter, 1983b). Investigators sought to document developmental differences in self-representations through the coding of spontaneously generated descriptions of the self (Bannister and Agnew, 1977; Guardo and Bohan, 1971; McGuire, 1981; Montemayor and Eisen, 1977; Mullener and Laird, 1971; Rosenberg, 1979). These

efforts identified broad, discontinuous, qualitative shifts in how the self was described. However, there was little analysis of the structural organization of self-concepts. By comparison, less interest has been shown in examining the child's self-knowledge as a spontaneously occurring process-in-action (Chafel, 2003). It is possible that children construct knowledge of self naturalistically through play in classroom settings. Similarly, some understanding and some representation of the private, inner aspects of the self may well be universal, but many other aspects of the self may be quite specific to particular cultures. The self can be construed, framed, or conceptually represented in multiple ways. However, the exact content and structure of the inner self may differ considerably by culture.

Review of Literature

Self-Concept -Cognitive Construction

It has been widely accepted that one's self-concept is formed through interaction with one's environment and significant others (Mandelman, Tan, Kornilov, Sternberg and Grigorenko, 2010). However, it is suggested that an internal metacognitive component of self-concept is also critical to its development. Given that theorists (e.g., Epstein, 1973, 1981; Markus, 1980) began to forcefully argue that self-concept theory was a cognitive construction, an analysis of how cognitive-developmental shifts might be implicated in the age differences that had been documented thus represented the next conceptual approach. It was suggested (Harter, 1983b) that the broad developmental changes observed across early childhood, later childhood, and adolescence could be interpreted within a Piagetian framework. Thus, the finding that the young child described the self in terms of concrete, observable characteristics such as physical attributes, material possessions, behaviors and preferences that were not coherently organized was consistent with the cognitive abilities and limitations of the preoperational period (Harter, 1999). The earlier studies had reported that in middle to later childhood, the self was described in terms of trait like constructs (e.g., smart, honest, friendly, shy) that would require the type of hierarchical organizational skills to emerge during Piaget's period of concrete operations.

For example, a trait label such as "smart" could be cognitively viewed as a higher-order generalization that subsumed the behavioral manifestations of scholastic, competence in several school subjects (e.g., doing well at reading, spelling and math). For the period of adolescence, earlier findings had documented the emergence of more abstract self definitions based on psychological processes such as inner thoughts, emotions, attitudes and motives. This type of self-portrait was consistent with the formal operational advances identified by Piaget, for example, the ability to construct

higher-order abstractions and the capacity for introspection (Harter, 1999). However, it has become apparent that this broad, three-stage Piagetian analysis did not do justice to the complexity of self-concept development across childhood and adolescence.

Piagetian theory has painted a picture of cognitive development that was "too monolithic, universal, and endogenous" (Case, 1992). For example, findings documenting the tremendous unevenness or decalage in development across domains argued against some single, underlying set of developing cognitive structures (Costanzo, 1991; Graziano and Waschull, 1995). Moreover, the theory has been considered to be primarily descriptive, with insufficient attention to specific underlying processes and transition rules. The broad shifts that Piaget identified have also been viewed as too discontinuous. In addition, there has been little evidence on individual differences in the rate of cognitive development, or on the potential for different pathways of development. Finally issues involving contextual factors that might affect cognitive development were virtually ignored, for example, specific instructional and socialization experiences as well as broader cultural influences (Harter, 1999).

The development of self-concept is a central focus in the study of self-concept and interest in self-processes has burgeoned in the past few decades within many branches of psychology. Cognitive-developmentalists, particularly those of a neo-Piagetian persuasion, have addressed normative changes in the emergence of a self (e.g., Case, 1985, 1992; Fischer, 1980; Harter, 1997; Higgins, 1991). Developmentalists interested in memory processes have also described how the self is crafted through the construction of narratives that provide the basis for autobiographical memory (Fivush, 1987; Nelson, 1986, 1993; Snow, 1990). Theorists, building upon the earlier efforts of Ainsworth (1973, 1974) and Bowlby (1980), have provided new insights into how interactions with caregivers come to shape the representations of self and others that young children come to construct (Bretherton, 1991, 1992, Cassidy, 1990; Cicchetti, 1990, 1991; Cicchetti and Beeghly, 1990; Pipp, 1990; Sroufe, 1990). Clinicians with the psychodynamic tradition have also contributed to our understanding of how early socialization experiences come to shape the structure and content of self-evaluations and contribute to psychopathology (Blatt, 1995; Kernberg, 1975; Kohut, 1977; Winnicott, 1965). Moreover, social and personality theorists have devoted considerable attention to those processes that produce individual differences in perceptions of self, particularly among adults (see Baumeister, 1987, 1993; Epstein, 1991; Kihlstrom, 1993; Markus and Woo, 1987; Steele, 1988).

Riding on the bandwagon of the cognitive revolution, self-theorists reconceptualized the self as a cognitive construction that is quite functional in bringing organization and meaning to one's experiences (Harter;

1999). Several common principles across these newer frameworks represent contemporary solutions to those problems identified in Piaget's theory.

For example, a greater number of structural levels have been identified, with more emphasis on the continuity of development. Higher structures have been considered to build upon and incorporate lower structures that become more uncoordinated. Decalage has been accepted as a rule, rather than the exception; therefore, it has been expected that the particular level of development at which one is functioning will vary across different domains of knowledge. The particular processes and transition rules that govern such development have also become more precise. For example, certain researchers focused on memory functions and their development (e.g., Case, 1985, 1992; Pascual-Leone, 1988). Others highlighted the role of the atomization of skills (e.g., Case, 1985; Siegler, 1991). Siegler, from an information-processing perspective, has also identified the processes of encoding and strategy construction. Encoding involves the identification of the most important features of objects and events that form the basis for internal representation. Strategy construction refers to those processes through which concepts are combined to form categories or higher-order generalizations.

Self-Concept -Social Construction

Self -concept is constructed from social experiences in the family and at school. Study of self concept requires information not only on what the student thinks about him/herself, but also about the variables related to identity, the persons close to him/her and the effects of group membership on the construction of social identity (Cambra and Silvestre, 2003). Identity is conceptualized as a self-theory, a conceptual structure composed of self-representational and self-regulatory constructs (Berzonsky, 2004).

Such processes may be influenced by social and contextual factors. For example, the child's culture as well as the more proximal family and social milieu may play an important role in dictating what features of events and objects, including self-concept, are most salient and are therefore to be encoded (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978). In fact, it may not be unreasonable to suppose, that in some cultures, on certain occasions, the individual, in the sense of a set of significant inner attributes of the person, may cease to be the primary unit of consciousness (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Instead, the sense of belongingness to a social relation may become so strong that it makes better sense to think of the relationship as the functional unit of conscious reflection (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Similarly, because a lower socioeconomic status may inspire unfavorable comparisons with those of a higher socioeconomic status, socioeconomic status and self-

concept may be inversely related (Chafel, 2003). Moreover, the child's experience may also partially determine how particular structures are coordinated (Costanzo, 1991). The inclusion of contextual variables also contributes to an understanding of individual differences in the rate and manner in which structures are integrated. Although experience, instruction and practice may influence the rate of progression through cognitive levels, most acknowledge that there are factors that constrain the upper limit that one may achieve at any given age. For example, brain development, in general, and working memory capacity, in particular, may represent such constraints.

Similarly, in psychology, emotion is often viewed as a universal set of largely prewired internal processes of self-maintenance and self-regulation. This does not mean, though, that emotional experience is also universal. On the contrary, as suggested by Rosaldo (1984), Lutz (1988) and Solomon (1984) culture can play a central role in shaping emotional experience. As with cognition, if an emotional activity or reaction implicates the self, the outcomes of this activity will depend on the nature of the self-system. And apart from the fear induced by bright lights and loud noises, or the pleasure produced by a sweet taste, there are likely to be few emotions that do not directly implicate one's view of the self (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). on the nature of the self-system.

In applying many of these principles to self-concept development, it is seen, for example, that a greater number of age-related levels can now be identified. Moreover, there has been more emphasis on how a given level of self-understanding builds upon the previous level. Processes through which concepts are combined to form categories or higher-order generalizations can be invoked to explain the developmental trajectory of self-concepts, as well as the tremendous individual differences that can be found at particular age levels (Harter, 1999). It is postulated that individuals have different identity processing styles and function as different types of self-theorists: information oriented problem solvers and decision makers; normative types who conform to the prescriptions of significant others; and diffuse-avoidant theorists who procrastinate and attempt to avoid dealing with identity-relevant conflicts (Berzonsky, 2004).

In addition to psychologists' emphasis on self-concepts, educators have become interested in the implications of self-concepts among special populations within the school setting (e.g., those identified as learning disabled and behaviorally disordered). In part, attention to self-concepts was heightened by federal legislation in 1975 mandating that children with educational handicaps receive public education in the least restrictive environment. There has been particular concern over whether the self-concepts of special education students are more negative in self-contained classrooms where they might be stigmatized or in

mainstream classrooms where they might evaluate themselves more unfavorably in comparison to their normally achieving peers (Coleman, 1983, 1985; Kistner, Haskett, White, and Robbins, 1987; Renick and Harter, 1989; Silverman and Zigmond, 1983; Strang, Smith, and Rogers, 1978).

Most investigators have focused on general self-concept, anticipating that the difficulties and related failures of special education students would negatively affect their overall sense of personal self-concept. Positive overall self-concepts have been linked to various markers of positive development, including positive peer relationships and overall happiness (Hadley, Hair, and Moore, 2008). Implicit in this formulation is the assumption that success is valued by such students and that, therefore, their perceptions of their overall competence are critical determinants of their self-concept (Renick and Harter, 1989). However, these expectations have not, for the most part, been put to systematic, empirical tests. That is, investigators have not directly examined the processes through which special education students' judgments about their overall worth are formed. Certain special education students may be able to maintain relatively high self-concept because they have more favorable evaluations in domains rated as important, can discount the importance of areas in which they have weaknesses, or both. As other investigators have observed, if special education students can dissociate their sense of self-concept from certain arenas and focus on other arenas, then self-concept should not suffer (Tollefson, 1982). Moreover, in most research designs, investigators have compared the self-concepts of special education students with those of normally achieving students, inferring generalizations about each group, as a whole. Little attention has been paid to individual differences within special populations.

Harter and Renick (1988) investigated the relationship between global self-concept and the domain-specific self-concepts for children with learning disabilities. They found a strong relationship between children's perceptions of global self-concept, their perceived physical appearance, and their perceived general intellectual ability. Other investigators have found different relationships between global self-concept and the domain-specific self-concepts. These differences can be explained only partly as a function of the population studied. For example, in two separate studies of gifted students, scholastic competence and social acceptance demonstrated the strongest relationships to global self-concept in one study (Byrne and Schneider, 1988).

Given the heterogeneity among students identified as disabled, it has been important to examine the differences in specific classifications of disability. Specifically, some research findings indicate that individuals with physical disabilities tend to have lower self-concepts than their able-bodied counterparts (Gordon, 1965; Kapp-Simon, 1986; Lawrence and Winschel, 1973; Tam, 1991; Tam and Watkins, 1995).

There may be several explanations for those findings. Physical disability often acts as a negative stimulus and leads to social discrimination. According to the perceptions of the general population, being physically disabled often means being stigmatized and placed in a disadvantaged social position. Culture-specific misattributions of the causes and effects of disabilities may exaggerate these unfavorable aspects, and the individuals with disabilities are predisposed to feel inferior to able-bodied persons (Tam, 1998).

In Tam's (1995b) study, the participants with physical disabilities generally rated physical abilities as more salient than participants without disabilities did. Moreover, the participants with disabilities regarded meeting family responsibilities as one of the most prominent areas in their lives. However, the presence of unavoidable physical disabilities and less favorable employment status (Tam, 1988, 1995b) is likely to be a serious blow to the pride of those with physical disabilities and would probably strongly influence their overall self-concept.

Students with physical disabilities often experience constant disability-related environmental and social stresses (DeLoach, 1981) that may bar them from a satisfactory integration into the community. This constant lack of positive experience and lack of respect from others may lead to lower self-concept (Fists, 1972). Self-concept discrepancy is likely to be associated with painful emotional experiences, particularly when family scrutiny, social comparisons, and impersonal evaluations keep the discrepancy chronically in sight (Higgins, Klein, and Strauman, 1985).

CONCLUSION

Although it is indisputable that one's self-perception is highly influenced by feedback from the environment and the opinions of parents, teachers and peers, there may be possible contributions of an individual's internally generated view of self-specifically his or her metacognitive evaluations- to the development of his or her self-concept (Mandelman, Tan, Kornilov, Sternberg and Grigorenko, 2010). The review of research presented above indicates that there has been little research about the self-concepts of individuals with physical disabilities, although self-concept is a very important construct for understanding the psychology of that minority population. Recently, researchers have explored disability-related attitudes, beliefs and behaviors. Those studies also have focused on the effects of sociocultural factors on health beliefs and attitudes toward people with a disability (Berry, 1994; Cook et al, 1994; Pande, 1994; Pande and Dalai, 1994). However, these studies are still preliminary, and their focus has been mainly on social beliefs and attitudes toward disability rather than on exploring the self-concepts of people with physical disabilities and the

implications for self-determination.

Practical Implications

As mentioned above, the factors that influence the formation of self-concept are multiple and interrelated, to such an extent that exhaustive description and differentiation is practically impossible. Educational conditions, such as teaching style, are important because they have a bearing on peer relations. Family factors, including culture, also have an influence on students' reactions and attitudes, which also condition interaction with others. Thus, helping improve self-concept is as varied as the influencing factors.

However, there are four strategies that teachers should consider when trying to improve students' self-concept. First, it is important to praise a student's accomplishments or successes by addressing the role that the student played in producing positive outcomes. Feedback is most effective when it addresses the role that the student played in producing positive outcomes. For example, rather than simply saying "It's great that you got a good grade on your paper," bring up the student's actions and abilities by saying "You worked so hard on the paper, and you really deserve the good grade that you got".

Second, it is important to praise a student's effort and improvement in skills. Students who focus on improving their skills gain self-concept through growth. In contrast, students who only focus on achievements base their self-concept solely on their successes and failures. Thus, it is important to praise efforts and improvement in skills in addition to the praise directed towards their accomplishments.

Third, it is important to refrain from negative comments or feedback. Praise and positive reinforcement are more effective in changing behavior and sustaining positive behavior. It is essential to describe and praise what the student should do, rather than what they should not do.

Fourth and final, it is important to work with students to improve skills in which he or she feels deficient. Specifically, it is important to first work with students to identify and discuss elements of tasks that show room for improvement. Then, it is important to provide the guidance, support and resources needed to accomplish the improvement. Strategies include helping students practice skills, giving them tips, or suggesting relevant workshops or programs to enhance skills.

REFERENCES

- Ainsworth M (1973). The development of infant-mother attachment. In B. Caldwell and Ricciuto (eds). *Review of Child development research* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 3: 1-94.
- Ainsworth M (1974). Infant-mother attachment and social development. Socialization as a product of reciprocal responsiveness to signals. In M. Richards (Eds). *The Integration of the child into the social world* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 99-135.
- Bannister D, Agnew J (1977). The child's construing of self. In J. Cole (ed). *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 26: 99-125.
- Baumeister RF (1987). How the self became a problem: A psychological adjustment to multiple sclerosis. *Social Science and Medicine*, 45(3): 411-418.
- Baumeister RF (1993). Understanding the inner nature of low self-esteem: Uncertain, fragile, protective, and conflicted. In R.F. Baumeister (ed). *Self-esteem: The puzzle of low self-regard* New York, Plenum. pp. 201-218.
- Berry JW (1994). Disability attitudes, beliefs and behaviors: Overview of an international project in community based rehabilitation. Paper presented at the XII International Congress on Cross-Cultural Psychol. Pamplona, Spain.
- Berzonsky M (2004). Identity processing style, self-construction and personal epistemic assumptions: A social-cognitive perspective. *Eur. J. Dev. Psychol.* 1(4): 303-315.
- Blatt SJ (1995). Representational structures in psychopathology. In D. Cicchetti and S. Toth (eds). *Rochester Symposium on Developmental Psychopathology: Emotion, cognition and representation*. Rochester, Ny: University of Rochester Press. 6: 1-34.
- Bowlby J (1980). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 3. Loss, sadness and depression*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bretherton I (1991). Pouring new wine into old bottles. The social self as internal working model. In M. R. Gunnar and L.A. Stoufe (Eds). *Self processes and development: The Minnesota Symposia on Child Development* Hillsdale, NJ:Erlbaum. 23: 1-41).
- Bretherton I (1992). The origins of attachment theory: John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. *Dev. Psychol.* 28: 759-775.
- Byrne BM, Schneider BH (1988). Perceived competence scale for children. Testing for factorial validity and invariance across age and ability. *Applied Measurement in Educ.* 1: 171-187.
- Cambra C, Silvestre N (2003). Students with special needs in the inclusive classroom: social integration and self-concept. *Eur. J. Special Needs Educ.* 18(2): 197-208.
- Case R (1985). *Intellectual development: Birth to adulthood*. New York: Academic Press.
- Case R (1992). *The mind's staircase*. Hillsdale, NJ :Erlbaum.
- Cassiday J (1990). Theoretical and methodological consideration in the study of attachment and the self in young children. In M. T. Greenberg, D. Cicchetti, and E. M. Cummings (Eds). *Attachment in the preschool years: Thoery, research and intervention* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 87-120.
- Chafel J (2003). Socially Constructing Concepts of Self and Other Through Play. *Int. J. Early Years Educ.* 11(3) provide page
- Cicchetti D (1990). The organization and coherence of socioemotional, cognitive, and representational development. Illustration through a developmental psychopathology perspective on down syndrome and child maltreatment. In R. Thompson(Ed). *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation. Sociemotional development*. Loncoln, University of Nebrasks Press. 36: 266-375.
- Cicchetti D (1991). Fractures in the crystal: Developmental psychopathology and the emergence of self. *Dev. Rev.* 11: 271-287.
- Cicchetti D, Beeghly M (1990). Perspectives on the study of the self in atypical populations. In D. Cicchetti and M. Beeghly (Eds). *The self in transition: Infancy in childhood*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 1-15.
- Coleman JM (1983). Handicapped labels and instructional segregation: Influences on children's self-concepts versus the perceptions of others. *Learning Disability Quarterly*, 6: 3-11.
- Coleman JM (1985). Achievement level, social class, and the self-concepts of mildly handicapped children. *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 18: 26030.
- Cook P, Pande N, Berry JW, Samuel M, Maclachlan M, Lie GT (1994). Culture health and disability. Paper presented at the XII International Conference of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Pamplona, Spain.
- Costanzo PR (1991). Morals, mothers and memories: The social context of developing social cognition. In R.Cohen and R. Siegal (Eds.) *Context and development* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. pp. 91-132.

- DeLoach C (1981). Adjustment to severe disability: Metamorphosis. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Epstein S (1973). The self-concept revisited or a theory of a theory. *American Psychologist*, 28: 405-416.
- Epstein S (1981). The unity principle versus the reality and pleasure principles, or the tale of the scorpion and the frog. In M.D. Lynch, A.A. Norem-Hebeisen, and K. Gergen (Eds.), *Self concept: Advances in theory and research* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger. pp. 82-110.
- Epstein S (1991). Cognition-experimental self theory: Implications for developmental psychology. In M.R. Gunnar and L.A. Sroufe (Eds.), *Self processes and development: The Minnesota Symposia on Child Dev.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. 23: 111-137.
- Fischer KW (1980). A theory of cognitive development: The control and construction of hierarchies of skills. *Psychol. Rev.* 87: 477-531.
- Fists WH (1972). *The self-concept and behavior : Overview and supplement.* Los Angeles: Western Psychological Services.
- Fivush R (1987). Scripts and categories: Interrelationships in development. In U. Neisser (Ed.) *Concepts and conceptual development: Ecological and intellectual factors in categorization*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon EW (1965). Characteristics of socially disadvantaged children. *Rev. of Educ. Res.* 35: 377-388.
- Graziano WG, Waschull SB (1995). Social development and self-monitoring. In N Eisenberg (Ed.), *Social development: Review of personality and social psychol.* London:Sage. 15: 233-260.
- Guardo CJ, Bohan JB (1971). Development of a sense of self-identity in children. *Child Development*, 42:1909-1921.
- Hadley AE, Hair E, Moore K (2008). Assessing what kids think about themselves: A guide to adolescent self-concept for out-of-school time program practitioners. *Child Trends*, August.
- Harter S (1983b). The perceived competence scale for children. *Child Development*, 53: 87-97.
- Harter S (1997). The personal self in social context: Barriers to authenticity. In R. D. Ashmore and L. Jussim (Eds.), *Self and identity: Fundamental issues* (pp. 81-105). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harter S (1999). *The construction of the self: A developmental perspective.* New York: Guilford Press.
- Higgins ET (1991). Development of self-regulatory and self-evaluative processes: Costs, benefits, and tradeoffs. In M.R. Gunnar and L.A. Sroufe (Eds.), *Self processes and development.* The Minnesota Symposia on Child Development Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. 23: 125-166
- Higgins E T, Klien R, Strauman T (1985). Self-concept discrepancy theory: Psychological model for distinguishing among different aspects of depression and anxiety *Social Cognition*, 3: 51-76.
- Kapp-Simon K (1986). Self-concept and the retarded: Research and issues. *Exceptional Children*, 39: 310-319.
- Kernberg OF (1975). *Borderline conditions and pathological narcissism.* New York: Aronson.
- Kihlstrom JF (1993). What does self look like? In T.K Srull and R.S. Wyer, Jr. (Eds.), *The mental representation of trait and autobiographical knowledge about the self: Advances in social cognition* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. 5: 79-90.
- Kistner J, Haskett M, White K, Robbins F (1987). Perceived competence and self-worth of LD and normally achieving students. *Learning Disabilities Quarterly*, 10: 37-44.
- Kohut H (1977). *The restoration of the self.* New York: International Universities Press.
- Lawrence E, Winschel J (1973). Self-concept and the retarded: Research and issues. *Exceptional Children*, 39: 310-319.
- Lutz C (1988). *Unnatural emotions: Everyday sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and There Challenge to Western theory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mandelman SD, Tan M, Kornilov S, Sternberg R, Grigorenko E (2010). The Metacognitive Component of Academic Self-Concept: The Development of a Triarchic Self-Scale. *J. Cognitive Educ. and Psychol.* 9: 73-86.
- Markus H (1980). The self in thought and memory. In D.M. Wegner and R.R. Vallacher (Eds), *The self in social psychol.* New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 42-69.
- Markus HR, Kitayama S (1991). Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotions, and Motivation. *Psychol. Rev.* 98 (2): 224-253
- Markus H, Wurf E (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. In M.R. Rosenweig and L.W. Porter (eds). *Annual Review of Psychol.* 38: 299-337.
- Marsh HW, Craven RG (2006). Reciprocal effects of self-concept and performance from a multi-dimensional perspective. *Perspectives on Psychol. Sci.* 1 : 133-163.
- MCquire W (1981). The spontaneous self-concept as affected by personal distinctiveness. In A.A. Norem-Hebeisen and M. Lynch (Eds). *Self-concept* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger. Pp. 211-239.
- Montemayor R, Eisen EI (1977). The development of self-conceptions from childhood to adolescence. *Dev. Psychol.* 13: 314-319.
- Mullener N, Laird JD (1971). Some developmental changes in the organization of self- evaluations. *Dev. Psychol.* 5, 233-236.
- Nelson K (1986). *Event Knowledge: Structure and function in development.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Pande N (1994). Attitudes and beliefs about physical disability: A cross-cultural study. Paper presented at the XII International Congress of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Pamplona, Spain.
- Pande N, Dalai A (1994). A study of attitudes and beliefs about physical disability in rural communities. Paper presented at the XII International Congress of Cross-Cultural Psychol. Pamplona, Spain
- Pascual-Leone J (1988). Organismic processes for neo-Piagetian theories: A dialectical Piagetian casual account of cognitive development. In A Demetrius (Ed.), *The neo Piagetian theories of cognitive development: Toward Integration.* Amsterdam: North Holland: Elsevier. pp. 25-65.
- Pipp S (1990). Sensorimotor and representational internal representation: working models of self, other and relationship: Mechanisms of connection and separation. In D. Cicchetti and M. Beeghly (Eds), *The self in transition: Infancy to childhood* (pp. 243-264). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Renick MJ, Harter S (1989). Impact of social compasisions on the developing self -perceptions of learning disabled students. *J. Educ. Psychol.* 81: 631-638.
- Rogoff B (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rosaldo MZ (1984). Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling. In R.A. Shweder and R.A. LeVine (Eds.) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. pp. 137-157.
- Rosenberg M (1979). *Conceiving the self.* Malabar, FL: Krieger.
- Siegler RS (1991). *Children's thinking* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Silverman RG, Zigmond N (1983). Self-concept in LD adolescents. *J. Learning Disabilities*, 16: 478-482.
- Snow K (1990). Building memories: The ontogeny of autobiography. In D. Cicchetti and M. Beeghly (eds.), *The self in transition: Infancy to childhood* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 213 – 242.
- Solomon RC (1984). Getting Angry: The Jamesian Theory of emotion in Anthropology. In R.A. Shweder and R.A. LeVine (Eds.), *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. pp. 238-254.
- Sroufe LA (1990). An organizational perspective on the self. In D. Cicchetti and M. Beeghly (eds.) *The self in transition: Infancy to childhood* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 281-308.
- Steele CM (1988). *The psychology of self-affirmation: Sustaining the integrity of the self.* In L. Berkowitz (Ed.) *Advances in experimental social psychology* San Diego: Academic Press. 21: 261-302.
- Strang L, Smith MD, Rogers CM (1978). Social comparison, multiple reference groups, and the self concepts of academically handicapped children before and after mainstreaming. *J. Educ. Psychol.* 29: 171-180.
- Tam SF (1991). Self-concept and correlates of Hong Kong Chinese who have physical disabilities. *J. the Hong Kong Assoc. of Occupational Therapists*, 5: 4-16.
- Tam SE (1988). Self-concept and employment status among physically disabled in Hong Kong (Unpublished master's thesis). Macau: University of East Asia.
- Tam SF (1995b). Exploring measuring and enhancing the self-concepts of the Hong Kong Chinese adults with physical disability

- (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong.
- Tam SF (1998). Comparing the self-concepts of persons with and without physical disabilities. *J. Psychol.* 132: 78-87.
- Tam SF, Watkins D (1995). Towards a hierarchical model of self-concept for Hong Kong Chinese adults with physical disabilities. *Int. J. Psychol.* 30: 1-17.
- Tollefson N (1982). Attribution patterns of learning-disabled adolescents. *Learning Disability Quarterly*, 5: 14-20.
- Vygotsky LS (1978). Mental development of children and the process of learning (M. Lopez Morillas, Trans.). In M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner, and E. Souberman (Eds.), *L.S. Vygotsky: Mind and Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (Original work published 1935).
- Winnicott DW (1965). *The maturational processes and the facilitating environment*. New York: International/universities Press.