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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

DIFFERENCES IN ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE
IN WHITE AND NATIVE AMERICANS

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Norman, Oklahoma

1999

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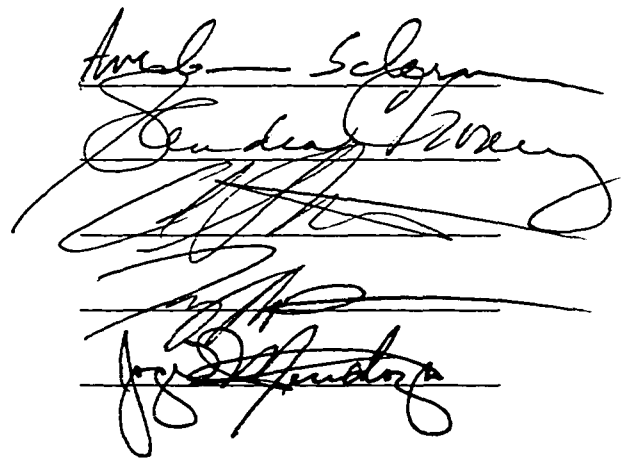
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DIFFERENCES IN ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE
IN WHITE AND NATIVE AMERICANS

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY



The image shows four handwritten signatures in black ink. The top signature is the author's, followed by three signatures of approvers. Each signature is written over a horizontal line.

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Abstract

The relationship between ethnic identity and social distance was explored among Native Americans and White Americans. A sample of 50 participants, in each ethnic group, were used for analysis. Participants were given the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992), a revised version of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925a), and a demographic form. Results comparing high scores on the MEIM and social distance among White Americans and Native Americans indicated that a significant difference existed between the two groups on the social distance questions concerning marrying and having a member of another ethnic group live in an ethnically homogenous country. A significant difference was also noted between the total score and the subscale scores on the MEIM between the White and Native American groups. Several implications are mentioned including the possible development and existence of a White American ethnic identity and the importance of being cognizant of ethnic identity development when working with Native American clients. In addition, further investigation of the relationship between ethnic identity development and social distance and the factors that may influence ethnic group interaction is recommended.

Introduction

Ethnic identity has been referred to as a generic concept for investigation (Smith, 1991). More specific areas that have received extensive attention in the literature are those that have addressed racial identity in African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and White-Americans. The popularity of such investigations stem from the Nigrescence model, the process of developing a positive Black identity, as suggested by Cross (1978, 1995) and recent advances in the areas of Black racial identity development (Helms, 1984) and White racial identity (Helms, 1984; Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994). These models look at one specific group and how individuals within that group perceive members of a different group, whether they are from the majority or minority group. However, ethnic identity addresses how one develops an identity, based upon personal experiences with one's specific ethnic group. Thus, ethnic identity occurs across cultures and plays a vital role in how individuals perceive themselves and others.

Numerous definitions have been given to help in the understanding of what ethnic identity encompasses. The difficulty in finding one universal definition of ethnic identity helps to demonstrate the overall confusion concerning the topic (Phinney, 1990). Phinney (1990) states that ethnic identity involves a positive feeling toward and a sense of belonging to a specific ethnic group along with an interest in, knowledge of, and involvement in the traditions and activities associated with one's group. Tajel (1981) stated that ethnic identity is one component of an individual's social identity based upon the knowledge of one's membership in the group, as well as sharing similar values and

having an emotional attachment to the group. An ethnic group, according to Smith (1991), is a reference group for individuals who have a common culture, background, values, and who also may be identified by physical characteristics, which help to strengthen the feeling of being a member within the group. Maldonado (1975) suggested that ethnic identity involves the integration of ethnicity into one's self-concept. He further suggests that ethnic identity develops from the involvement and experiences one has within an ethnic culture rather than being based on the views of others, outside the specific ethnic group. Further, Knight, Bernal, Garza, and Cota (1993) state that ethnic identity is not only membership, but also a sense of ownership in an ethnic group along with the values, ideas, and beliefs that are directly in line with the ownership of an ethnic identity.

Trying to find an adequate definition of what ethnic identity means is a difficult task, but addressing how individuals define their own ethnicity is another problematic issue. In the United States, ethnicity is often associated with the group in which one affiliates with or feels a closeness too. When addressing the issue of ethnicity and ethnic identity among White Americans, many do not associate being an "American" as being an ethnic group with its own norms, culture, and values (Martinez & Dukes, 1997). One reason that has been proposed to explain why people refrain from identifying themselves as an American ethnic group, according to Martines and Dukes (1997), is based upon the notion that White Americans are so secure with their ethnic identity that they take it for granted and are unaware of its existence. Therefore, because they have never had to address what it means to be White in American society, they are less likely to view their

American identity as being distinct from others. Instead, White Americans will identify themselves based upon their nationality or religion, such as Irish, French, German, Italian, Greek, and Jewish. Within ethnic identity research, studies often use such national labels as defining the ethnic group an individual affiliates with and fail to recognize the importance of a White American ethnicity.

Ethnic identity among Native American populations is another issue that has not received much attention in the literature. According to Phinney (1990), the majority of the studies on ethnic identity have focused primarily on Black and White ethnic groups. In fact, less than five sources were located that directly addressed the role of ethnic identity in various behaviors, practices, and attitudes of Native Americans. One area of difficulty in studying this population is that many Native Americans do not identify themselves with the broad category of Native American or American Indian. Instead, they are more likely to identify themselves as being members of a specific nation or tribe (Weaver, 1998). Further, Weaver (1998) also states that membership in a band or a clan (an extended family network) may be seen by some as a more important determinant in ethnic identification. In urban areas, where numerous nations are more likely to be represented, a pan-Indian identity may be more common due to a sense of commonality (Weaver, 1998). As with other ethnic groups, assimilation into the dominant culture does occur and in the Native American population some members have been forced to adapt and take on the values and norms of the White American culture.

As with many of the identity theories, ethnic identity development is considered to occur over time and is changeable based on new experiences. There are

not necessarily fixed, pre-determined stages, but there is an overall developmental process that does occur. Marcia (1980) suggested a process, based upon the ego identity work of Erikson, that is dependent upon an individual's level of commitment and exploration of a variety of issues. Again, this is not a stage model, but rather each component is considered a status based upon the individual's level of involvement in the entire process.

When individuals do not engage in any form of commitment or exploration on various issues, they are considered to have a diffused identity. Thus, they have no clear idea of themselves in regards to their identity and have little interest in exploring such issues. Individuals who make a commitment to or have a sense of their identity, without exploration, are considered to be in a foreclosed status. Here, the main commitment and information comes from family and friends, particularly parents. These individuals have not explored identity issues on their own, but have taken in the values and ideas of those around them. The moratorium status is best explained by an individual who has undergone some exploration of identity issues, but has failed to make a commitment to develop such an identity. This is a period of searching and trying to understand the roles that play a part in identity development. The last status is an achieved identity. The achieved status occurs after one has made a commitment to and has actively explored the essential components of the chosen identity (Marcia, 1980). Though this is not an ethnic identity model, components of Marcia's model appear in the developmental stages of many ethnic identity development models.

Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, and Cota (1993) proposed a model of ethnic

identity in children, which, as with the others, is based on exploration of ethnic issues. In their model, they do not describe a period in which the child affiliates with or becomes involved with the majority culture, as with other models of racial and ethnic identity. The process begins with children developing an understanding and categorizing themselves as part of a specific ethnic group. By identifying oneself as part of this group, the child begins to engage in behaviors that are consistent with the beliefs and values of the ethnic group. The final stage is termed ethnic feelings and preferences and is described as the feelings and beliefs that the child holds concerning one's ethnic group and one's preference in sharing the values of other members.

Along with other racial identity models (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza & Cota, 1993; Cross, 1978; Helms, 1989) the notion of an achieved identity based on exploration is salient. The revised Nigrescence model (Cross, 1995) consists of numerous stages that an individual must go through in order to understand and ultimately internalize a Black identity. As with the model presented by Marcia (1980), the process begins with the minority individual identifying with the majority culture, which according to Marcia, is similar to the foreclosure status. The individual takes on those values and beliefs of the majority culture because they are more salient within the society as a whole. However, through search and exploration, the Black individual is able to make a firm commitment and is able to internalize a sense of Black identity in the long term. Helms (1995), in the internalization status of her people of color model also prescribes to this sense of an achieved identity. In the internalization status, the individual, through search and exploration, has developed a positive sense of ethnic identity and an overall commitment

to one's own socio-racial group.

Based on various identity models, Phinney (1989) developed a three stage ethnic identity model, building upon the commonalities in the identity development literature. This model is also based on the need for exploration in order to make a commitment to a specific ethnic identity. The first stage, in the proposed model by Phinney (1989), is an unexamined ethnic identity. At this stage, individuals, both adolescents and adults, have yet to become exposed to issues relating to ethnic identity. Phinney (1989) proposes that there may be two subtypes, similar to the diffused and foreclosed status in the model suggested by Marcia (1980). They may not necessarily find themselves absorbed in the majority culture, but have little interest in or knowledge of their own ethnic make-up (diffused status). What ethnic knowledge they do have is likely to have come from parents and friends rather than their own investigation (foreclosed status). The second stage is similar to the moratorium status, as proposed by Marcia (1980), and is characterized by the individual's exploration of ethnic issues. This involves becoming interested in ethnic issues that are pertinent to the individual's own identity development. Such activities may include researching ethnic history through reading and attending cultural events and talking with others in the ethnic group. From all these experiences, it is proposed that individuals will come to a deeper understanding of their ethnic identity and therefore reach the last stage of acquiring an achieved ethnic identity.

Besides addressing the psychological factors that can influence or be influenced by ethnic identity, some early researchers investigated descriptive features of ethnic groups to determine the role such factors have in the development of an ethnic identity.

Christian, Gadfield, Giles, and Taylor (1976) stated that the study of ethnic identity development must be based on a multidimensional process. They contend that rather than looking at one issue and its role in the process of ethnic identity, researchers need to address the numerous features that help to maintain a boundary between groups.

Factors such as geography, language, cultural background and traditions, social activities, religion, family roles, and physical characteristics (Giles, Llado, McKirnan, & Taylor, 1979; Giles, Taylor, Lambert, & Albert, 1976; Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985; Taylor, Bassili, & Aboud, 1973) have been investigated in regards to ethnic identity development. In the majority of studies investigated, language appeared to be the most salient feature in the development of an ethnic identity (Giles, Taylor, Lambert & Albert, 1976; Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985; Taylor, Bassili, Aboud, 1973). Taylor et al (1973) proposed that language is an important component because it easily distinguishes groups from each other. Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) also concluded that the importance of language in ethnic identity is that it differentiates between groups who share similar physical characteristics.

However, Giles, Llado, McKirnan, and Taylor (1979) investigated the role of language development of an ethnic identity in Puerto Rico. They found that language was not a salient feature as it had been in previous studies. In the Puerto Rican sample of adolescents, language was not a salient feature, but rather identity was better explained by a strong relationship with their parents. The importance of parental involvement was also found in a study conducted by Rosenthal and Cichello (1986). They found that Italian-Australian adolescents reported parental involvement in the Italian community

positively contributed to their development of an ethnic identity.

Research on ethnic identity has also addressed the decline of ethnic identity over generations (Der-Karabetian, 1980; Hutnik, 1986; Wooden, Leon, & Toshima, 1988). According to Hutnik (1986), the maintenance of ethnic groups and ethnic identity are in a constant state of change, yet generations continue to keep their sense of ethnic identity. Wooden et al (1988) addressed ethnic identity decline among three generations of Japanese-American youth. Findings indicated that there were no differences among the generations on ethnic identity based upon generation, location, and gender. Der-Karabetian (1980) also found that ethnic identity scores did not differ among Armenian teenagers who were either born in the United States or were recent immigrants. However, those who were born in the United States scored significantly higher on an ethnic involvement scale when used to assess American identity. Thus, as contact increases, identification with the majority culture should also increase, but ethnic identity appears to remain stable across generations.

Another area that has been addressed in the ethnic identity literature is how individuals come to achieve an ethnic identity, the psychological factors that influence such identity development, and the exploration and resolution process that accompanies the achievement of an ethnic identity. In one of the few ethnic identity studies with Native Americans, Lysne and Levy (1997) addressed ethnic identity development among 9th and 12th graders at two high schools. The authors investigated the levels of ethnic identity, with Native American students, at a high school with a predominately Native American population and one where the student population was mostly White. In the

study by Lysne and Levy (1997), 12th grade students from the predominantly Native American school did experience a higher level of ethnic identity exploration than 9th graders from either school setting. Further, for all grades, those students in the Native American school context had greater scores on ethnic identity exploration and commitment than those in the predominately White school. It was concluded that students from the Native American school context are more likely to have a Native American peer group and the overall school structure may influence the development of their ethnic identity (Lysne & Levy, 1997).

In addition, numerous studies have addressed the relationship that exists between self esteem and the development of an ethnic identity (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; White & Burke, 1987). Martinez and Dukes (1997), reported findings indicating that as ethnic identity increased, reports of self esteem, self confidence, and having a purpose in live also increased. Results from a study by White and Burke (1987) indicated that being committed to an ethnic group did influence the level of self esteem reported by samples of both Black and White college students. Phinney and Alipuria (1990), in a study with college students, found that self esteem was positively correlated with a commitment to one's ethnic identity. In a longitudinal study conducted by Phinney and Chavira (1992), results indicated that a significant relationship did exist between self esteem and ethnic identity. The authors speculate that a high self esteem may enhance and individual's exploration of ethnicity or that having a firm understanding of one's ethnicity may help to promote a positive self view.

While ethnic identity fosters a sense of closeness to a specific group, social distance addresses the distance one perceives between oneself and members of different groups. This distance may not only be due to ethnic differences, but also race, sex, age, educational level, economic class, occupation, religion, and regional differences. Social distance, according to Bogardus (1925a), “refers to the degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other” (p. 299). These experiences, states Bogardus (1925b), can fall into four categories: a) traditions and opinions of others; b) personal experiences while young; c) disgust due to sensory impressions; and d) personal experiences during adulthood.

Further, McAllister and Moore (1991), building upon the work of Bogardus, discuss various explanations for the existence of social distance. First, McAllister and Moore (1991) state that personality variables and societal norms can influence an individual’s social distance. Conformity, peer pressure, and group norms can result in creating distance between various individuals and groups. Another factor that can be used to help explain social distance are the various educational experiences an individual encounters. Education, according to McAllister and Moore, helps to open individuals up to taking an objective view of the world and to evaluate people on an individual, rather than group, basis. Economic factors can also influence the amount of distance between groups, as one group tries to gain economic dominance over all others. Finally, another explanation is the amount of contact one has with others of different groups. Less contact or negative social contact between various individuals may help to further enhance and support stereotypical views of other groups and increase perceived social

distance. On the other hand, the more positive social contact that occurs will result in a decrease in the perceived social distance.

Researchers in the area of social distance have looked at a variety of issues, specifically race and ethnicity, that may impact the increase or decrease in perceived social distance. Triandis and Triandis (1987) found that the most important component in determining social distance is race. The authors report that conformity may be one construct that helps in understanding the impact race has upon social distance.

According to Triandis and Triandis (1987), conformity is the adoption of the norms and mores of a specific reference group. Thus, in order to feel one belongs to a certain ethnic group, one would have to adopt the customs and beliefs of the group, which helps to distance oneself from others.

In a study conducted by Muir and Muir (1988), addressing the issues of social distance with Black and White middle school children, findings indicated that White children maintained a basic civil acceptance of the Blacks, but rejected them socially. Thus, increasing the social distance of the White students to their Black counterparts. Black students, on the other hand, were more accepting and tolerant of their White classmates, both socially and publicly. Muir (1989) conducted an additional study with White and Black students by looking at how social distance had changed from 1968 to 1988 on the campus of a southern university. The archival data was from 1968 in which students on campus were asked to complete the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. The 1988 data was acquired from students currently attending the university. Findings indicated that social distance had decreased among these two groups over the course of

the study.

Differences in social distance have also been investigated across ethnic groups in the United States and other countries with highly diverse populations. Netting (1991) found that Chinese immigrants to Canada were more likely to reject the majority culture, as well as other groups, rather than trying to be accepted by them. The White majority, on the other hand, were more accepting of the Chinese immigrants. A study conducted in Australia by McAllister and Moore (1991) found that for native born Australians, having an education and having a spouse born overseas lead to a decrease in social distance from immigrant groups. For the immigrant groups, the use of the English language greatly decreased the amount of social distance perceived between themselves and the majority of the Australian culture.

In a study conducted in the United States, Brown (1973) found that Mexican-Americans reported less social distance between themselves and Mexican, Spanish, and White ethnic groups. Thus, it can be inferred that they do not perceive a significant amount of social distance between themselves and the White group. However, the White group reported greater levels of social distance between themselves and the Mexican-American group. The author contends that this may have been influenced from the sample being drawn from a Texas-Mexico border town, where there were emotionally charged feelings in the White majority on the plight of Mexican individuals. Therefore, as described by McAllister and Moore (1991) pressure from society, as well as negative social experiences, may have influenced the results of the Brown (1973) study.

As discussed earlier, ethnic identity development is not static, but changes based

upon societal experiences that people acquire as they proceed through the steps in the model. Such factors as language, geography, social activities, and family roles impact the development of an ethnic identity. In addition, the level of ethnic identity achieved is not only influenced on the individual level, but it also is affected by how accepting the dominant culture is of others. Thus, the motivation of minority ethnic group members to identify with the majority culture, as well as the majority culture's acceptance, will influence the perceived social distance between the two groups.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the relationship between ethnic identity development and regard for other ethnic groups. According to Phinney (1990), a critical issue for exploration in the area of ethnic identity is on attitudes toward the dominant as well as other minority groups. By assessing ethnic identity and perceived social distance in White and Native American ethnic groups, this study will be able to add valuable knowledge to the ethnic identity literature by addressing how ethnic identity influences an individual's affiliation with the White American and the Native American cultures. Further, most of the research on the topic of ethnic identity have focused on adolescent samples. The current study, utilizing an adult sample, will help to promote knowledge on the process of ethnic identity development in adults. In addition, with research lacking in the area of ethnic identity development of Native Americans, this research will also help further understanding and knowledge on this population.

Hypotheses

1. Native American individuals who score higher on the overall ethnic identity measure will report greater social distance between themselves and the dominant White American

ethnic group.

2. White American individuals who score higher on the overall ethnic identity measure will report greater social distance between themselves and the Native American ethnic group.

3. Those with low scores on the ethnic identity achievement subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), will report less social distance between themselves and the other group.

4. There will be a significant difference on MEIM scores between the White and Native American ethnic groups.

Method

Sample

The sample consisted of 106 participants, 52 White Americans and 54 Native Americans, who were attending university sponsored events on the campus of a large university in the southwest. Surveys from two participants in the White American ethnic group and three in the Native American ethnic group were discarded because they were incomplete. One respondent, in the Native American group, did not identify belonging to any of the listed ethnic groups and wrote “other” in the requested space. Therefore, it was discarded. Overall, a total of 50 participants comprised each of the indicated ethnic groups under investigation. See Table 1 for complete demographic information.

TABLE 1
Demographics

Variables	Native American	White American
GENDER		
Male	20	21
Female	30	29
AGE		
18-25	19	25
26-35	12	14
36-45	10	08
46-55	06	03
56 +	03	00
SES		
Upper	01	04
Upper Middle	10	16
Middle	26	22
Lower Middle	11	08
Lower	02	00
EDUCATION		
Less than High School	00	01
Graduated High School	07	04
Trade School	05	01
College	34	33
Post College (grad/med/law)	04	11

Instruments

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) (Appendix A) is a 20 item instrument that addresses three components of ethnic identity: (a) positive ethnic attitudes and a sense of belonging (5 items); (b) ethnic identity achievement (7 items); and (c) ethnic behaviors and practices (2 items). A fourth component, other-group orientation (six items) is also included. Scores range from a 4, indicating high ethnic identity, to a 1, indicating low ethnic identity. The last question on the survey requires respondents to identify their ethnicity as well as the ethnicity of both their parents. Overall reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the MEIM is .90. Reliabilities for three of the scales range from .74 to .86. No reliability information is available for the ethnic behaviors and practices subscale as it only consists of two items. Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) were calculated for the total sample in the current study. On the 14 item Ethnic Identity Scale, reliability was .90. Reliability of each subscale ranged from .78 (Other-Group Orientation) to .89 (Affirmation and Belonging).

A revised version of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925a) (Appendix B) was used in this study. Statements were developed based upon the information available in the original instrument. Four questions were embedded in a shortened version of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (in order to assess for social distance in four situations: as a citizen of a country, a friend, a neighbor, and related by marriage). Split-half reliability of the original instrument was reported at .90 (Hartley & Hartley, 1952). Currently, studies utilizing this scale have been based upon revisions of the instrument. Few studies have employed the instrument, as developed in 1925, in its

entirety.

A demographic questionnaire (Appendix C) was also administered to all participants in order to gather simple demographic information.

Procedures

Participants were attending a university sponsored event in the southwest. Native American participants were administered the instruments while attending a university sponsored pow-wow sponsored by the Native American Student Association. This researcher, a White American male, and a Native American female were present for the data collection. White American participants were sampled before attending a large university sponsored sporting event. This researcher, as well as a White American female, assisted in the gathering of the data. Instruments were administered to interested individuals in a packet containing the instruments and a pencil. The instruments were stapled together in the following order: informed consent, MEIM, Social Distance Scale, and the demographic questionnaire. The entire packet took approximately 15-20 minutes to complete.

Upon completion of the instruments, participants were able to enter a drawing to win a prize for their participation. Participants in the Native American group were given a lottery ticket to win a traditional Pendleton blanket (approximately an \$80.00 value). The winner of the blanket was randomly drawn by an individual attending the event and announced during an intermission in the festivities. The White American participants were also given a raffle ticket for a chance to win a \$30.00 money order for their participation. They were also required to supply the researcher with a phone number,

corresponding to their raffle ticket number, in order for the researcher to contact the winner and forward them their prize. No additional identifying information was requested. Again, the winner was chosen through a random drawing and the prize was delivered to them through the mail after the researcher notified them that their ticket was chosen.

Results

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis one stated that Native American individuals who score higher on the overall Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure would report greater social distance between themselves and the dominant White American ethnic group. However, a statistical analysis was unable to be conducted due to the small number of individuals whose total Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure score was 2.0 and below. To distinguish between high and low scores, a decision was made to eliminate those individuals who received total MEIM scores between 2.0 and 3.0. This was determined because it was doubtful that there was a significant difference between an individual who scored 2.49 and one who scored 2.5. Overall, there were no members of the Native American ethnic group who scored within the low range, thus, a statistical procedure was unable to be conducted.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis two stated that White American individuals who score higher on the overall ethnic identity measure will report greater social distance between themselves and the Native American ethnic group. As with hypothesis one, hypothesis

two was also unable to be conducted due to the small number of participants with low total scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Results indicated that only eight of the White American participants scored within the low range (2.0 and below) on the total Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure score.

Therefore, in response to the inability to conduct an analysis on hypothesis one and two, a post-hoc Chi-square procedure was used to compare high scoring (total Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure score ≥ 3.0) Native American ($M = 3.63$, $SD = .39$) and White American ($M = 2.91$, $SD = .50$) participants on each of the social distance questions. On the question of having a relative marry a member of the other ethnic group, an obtained $\chi^2(1)=4.57$; $p<.05$ was significant. Another significant $\chi^2(1)=10.28$; $p<.01$ was obtained on the question assessing allowing members of the other ethnic group into their country. There was no significance on the social distance questions concerning having a friend ($\chi^2(1)=1.28$; $p=.25$) or a neighbor ($\chi^2(1)=1.00$; $p=.31$) of the other ethnic group.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis three addressed the notion that those individuals with low scores on the Ethnic Identity Achievement subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, would report less social distance between themselves and members of the other group. Again, it was not possible to conduct an analysis for hypothesis three, due to the lack of participants with low scores (≤ 2.0) in the Native American ($N=0$) and White American ($N=8$) groups, on the Ethnic Identity Achievement subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Therefore, the numbers of individuals with low scores were too small

or non-existent to analyze.

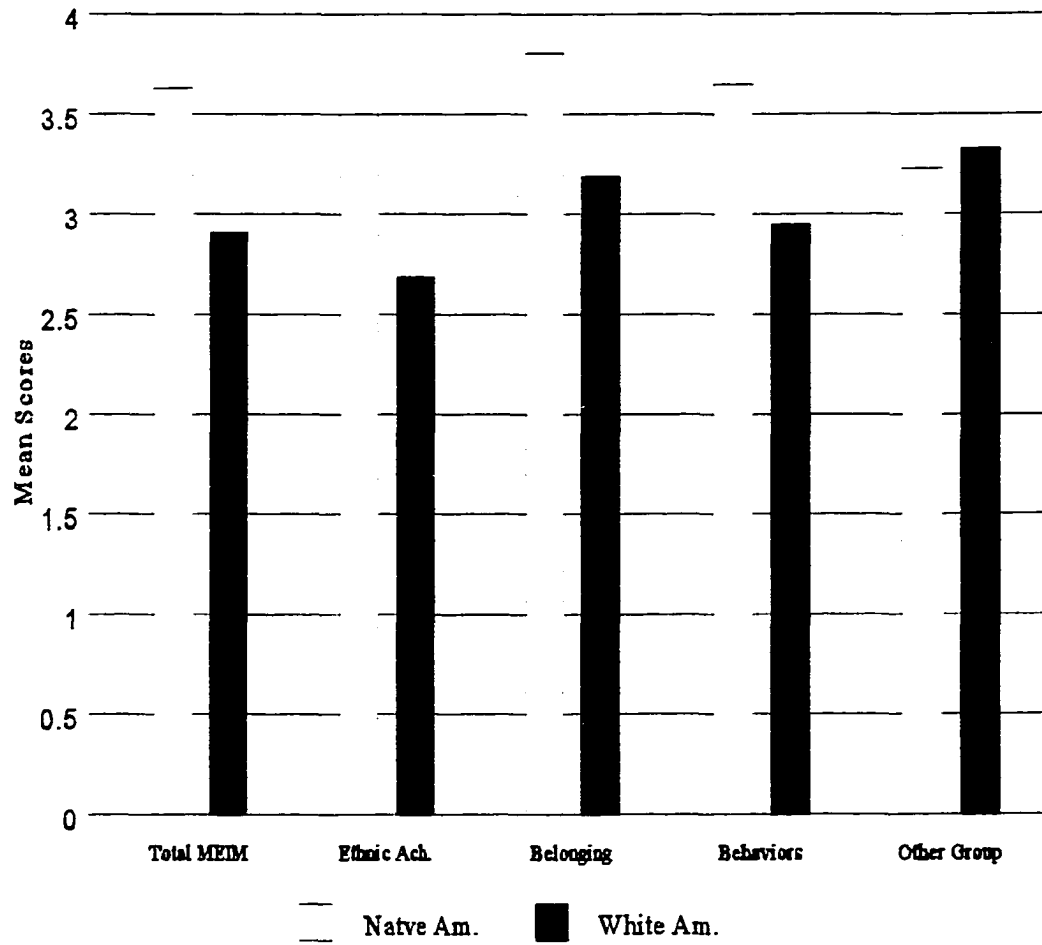
In response, a post-hoc analysis using a Chi-square procedure was conducted on those individuals with high scores (≥ 3), in the Native American ($N=43$) ($M = 3.50$, $SD = .46$) and White ($N=17$) ($M = 2.69$, $SD = .58$) groups, on the Ethnic Identity Achievement subscale. Results of this procedure obtained a $\chi^2(1)=9.31$; $p<.01$ only on the question asking ethnic group members whether they would allow members from the other ethnic group to live in a homogenous country inhabited only by members of their own ethnic group. No differences were found on any of the other three social distance questions addressing having a relative marry a member of the other ethnic group, having a friend of the other ethnic group, or having a neighbor who was a member of the other ethnic group.

Hypothesis 4

For hypothesis four, it was speculated that a significant difference on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure scores between the White American and Native American groups would be found. A One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to compare means across ethnic groups on the total Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure score and the four subscales which make up the MEIM: Affirmation and Belonging, Ethnic Identity Achievement, Ethnic Behaviors, and Other-Group Orientation. Mean ethnic identity scores for each ethnic group are shown in Figure 1. Comparisons by ethnicity indicate significant differences between the White American and Native American groups on total ethnic identity score ($F_{1,98}=64.29$; $p<.001$).

Analysis of subscales indicated significant differences among the components

Figure 1
Mean Scores on the MEM by Ethnic Group



that have been suggested to assist in the development of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). A significant difference between the ethnic groups was found on all subscales. For Affirmation and Belonging, results indicate that Native Americans ($M = 3.81$, $SD = .38$) feel more positive and attached to their ethnic group than Whites ($M = 3.19$, $SD = .64$) ($F_{1,98}=34.08$; $p<.001$). Native Americans ($M = 3.65$, $SD = .50$) were more involved in the social and cultural aspects of their ethnicity (Ethnic Behaviors and Practices) than Whites ($M = 2.95$, $SD = .67$) ($F_{1,98}=38.05$; $p<.001$). Also, Native Americans ($M = 3.50$, $SD = .46$) has a more secure sense of who they are in regards to the ethnicity than Whites ($M = 2.69$, $SD = .58$) ($F_{1,98}=59.377$; $p<.001$). No difference was found between the Native American ($M = 3.23$, $SD = .50$) and White American ($M = 3.33$, $SD = .61$) groups on the Other-Group Orientation scale ($F_{1,98}=.85$; $p=.3564$).

A Person Product-Moment Coefficient was used to determine the magnitude of the relationship between ethnicity and MEIM scores. A direct relationship was found between ethnicity and total MEIM score ($r=.63$). A direct relationship was also found between ethnicity and the following subscales: Affirmation and Belonging ($r=.51$), Ethnic Identity Achievement ($r=.61$), Ethnic Behaviors ($r=.51$), and Other Group Orientation ($r=-.09$)

Discussion

The first hypothesis to be investigated in this study addressed the relationship between high and low scorers on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and the questions used to assess social distance with Native Americans. It was believed that there would be a difference among the high and low scorers with those scoring higher

reporting greater social distance. However, this hypothesis was not able to be tested because there were no low scorers in the Native American sample. This problem with the sample may have been influenced by the location where the participants were sampled. Based upon the stage model of ethnic identity (Phinney 1989), the first stage consists of individuals who have yet to become interested in their ethnic heritage. Thus, they may not have knowledge of their ethnicity or they may have developed a basic understanding through family and friends. An individual in the second stage is interested in their ethnicity and will often seek out opportunities to learn about their ethnic group, such as reading, talking with others, and attending ethnic events. Further, individuals in the last stage of the ethnic identity model are those who have an achieved ethnic identity and have a deeper understanding of their ethnic identity. Thus, the problem in gathering a sample of participants with varied scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure may have been influenced upon the location where participants were sampled. In retrospect, sampling Native American participants at an ethnic event may have eliminated the possibility of gathering data from individuals with varying levels of ethnic identity. Based upon Phinney's (1989) proposed model, as well as other ethnic and racial identity models (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza & Cota, 1993; Cross, 1978; Helms, 1989) individuals who have yet to develop a sense of their identity are less likely to seek out opportunities and make a commitment to a specific identity. Therefore, they may be less likely to attend ethnically specific events while others with a more developed sense of their ethnicity will attend in order to develop or maintain their achieved ethnic identity.

The problems with the scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure with the Native American sample were also evident with the sample of White Americans. The second hypothesis to be tested addressed the relationship between White American low and high scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and their responses to the social distance questions. As with the Native American sample, the results indicated that only individuals in the White American sample scored within the low range on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Thus, this hypothesis was unable to be tested. Unlike the research on minority racial and ethnic groups available in the literature, studies addressing the development of a White American identity are rare. Knight, Bernal, Garza, and Cota (1993) state that an ethnic identity is not only being a member of a specific ethnic group, but also consists of developing a sense of ownership within that group and adopting the values and beliefs of the group. Such an explanation, according to Martinez and Dukes (1997), fails to lead to an understanding of what it means to be a "White American". Martinez and Dukes (1997) argue that White individuals in the United States fail to understand that they are a distinct group within the country, but take such an identity for granted and fail to investigate the existence of a White identity. However, in divergence with this thought, the sample of White Americans all identified their ethnicity as "White" and refrained from identifying themselves based upon nationality and/or religion. Based upon the current sample, the participants did demonstrate that a White American identity does exist within the United States. Like the Native American sample, the White American participants were sampled before the start of a collegiate athletic event, which, it can be argued, represents an

activity geared more toward the White American culture than other ethnic groups in the United States. This divergence may be based upon a variety of factors that were not investigated in this study.

Smith (1991) stated that an ethnic group is a reference group for individuals which is based on such factors as belief, traditions, values, and physical characteristics, which help to strengthen a sense of belonging. The response of the White American sample, in this study, may be more indicative with Smiths' statement on the role of physical characteristics in identifying with a specific group. Plus, similar factors may also have helped in the development of the White American participants sense of belonging, such as being at a sporting event, cheering for the same team, hoping for the same outcome, and enjoying the festive environment. Christian, Gadfield, Giles, and Taylor (1976) proposed that the study of ethnic identity needs to be based on a multidimensional process incorporating numerous features that maintain boundaries between groups. According to a study conducted by Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985), social activities and physical characteristics are two important components in the development of an ethnic identity. Though speculative in nature, the lack of low scorers in the White American sample in the current study may represent the importance of physical characteristics, social activity, and similar interests in the development of an overall White American ethnic identity based upon a sense of belonging and an identification with those they see as most similar to themselves.

In response to the inability to test the above mentioned hypotheses', a post-hoc analysis was conducted to compare high scoring Native Americans and White Americans

on the social distance questions. When a comparison was conducted to identify if a significant difference existed between the high scoring White Americans and Native Americans on the four social distance questions, findings indicated significance on two of the four questions. The results indicated that Native Americans, with a high score on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure reported that they would not want to have a relative marry a White American nor, if they could develop their own country, would they want White Americans to live there compared to the sample of White Americans, with whom it did not matter.

The social identity model, as proposed by Lewin (1948), suggested that an individual would have to have a strong identification with their specific ingroup to develop a positive sense of well-being. Grants' (1993) similarity-differentiation model suggested that ethnic group members will actively strive to distinguish themselves from other groups in order to develop a positive social identity. Thus, the results indicate that high scoring Native Americans did not report greater social distance between themselves and the White American group based on friendship or having a white individual as a neighbor, which may not be as threatening to the development of a positive social identity because one does not assimilate with the majority ethnic group. However, on questions that impacted their sense of differentiation, Native Americans did report greater social distance on questions assessing marriage to White Americans or allowing them to live in a specific Indian country. Such actions, it may be hypothesized, threatens the overall sense of differentiation, as proposed by Grant (1993). Therefore, when participants indicated they would not mind having a White American in a more platonic

relationship, such as a friend or neighbor, there was no threat to the differences between the two ethnic groups. However, when marriage or allowing others to live in a country with only one race, the sense of differentiation was threatened.

This sense of distinction can also be found in the theory of acculturation. According to Ullah (1985), the linear model of acculturation assumes that as an individual develops stronger ties with the majority culture, a strong ethnic identity is not possible. Thus, one needs to maintain some distance between oneself and the majority group in order to develop a strong identity. The results in the present study may support such a claim. Though an acculturation instrument was not used, it can be implied that the specific social distance questions that resulted in significant findings tapped into this concept. In fact, it may be argued that as social distance decreases, the concept of acculturation brings about a break down in individual identity. By remaining distant, the acculturation process fails to take hold and the individual is able to maintain a sense belonging to the non-majority group.

Building upon Ullah's (1985) linear model of acculturation and Grant's (1993) similarity-differentiation model, the results from the White American sample may be an indication that being a member of the majority culture does not require the necessity to be seen as different. This may be due to the fact that both minority and majority group members are well aware of the differences between the groups without White American individuals having to actively affiliate with only those in their ethnic group. Therefore, by being a member within the ethnic majority, may not result in a threat to the sense of or the need to be seen as different from others. Thus, social distance may not be an issue

that the majority culture needs to consider in order to view themselves as distinct from other ethnic groups and their members.

Next, an attempt was made, based on the third hypothesis, to conduct an analysis on those individuals with low scores on the Achievement subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and their responses to the social distance questions. Based on the literature, it was believed that individuals with low scores would report less social distance between themselves and the other group. Marcia (1980) suggested that individuals with a diffused identity have no clear idea of themselves in regards to their identity and have little interest in investigating this component of themselves. According to Phinney (1989), the first stage in her proposed ethnic identity model is an unexamined ethnic identity. At this stage, often seen in children and adolescents, individuals have yet to become exposed to the notion of ethnicity and how it makes them different from others. The Achievement subscale on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure indicates the level of ethnic identity achievement an individual has acquired based upon investigation and commitment to one's ethnicity (Phinney, 1992). According to Phinney (1992), the Achievement subscale differentiates those individuals who have a diffused identity (evident in a low score on this subscale) and those who have developed an achieved ethnic identity (as demonstrated in a high score). Results of scores on the Achievement subscale indicate that there were only eight low scores within the White American sample and no low scores were acquired from the Native American sample. According to the theory proposed by Martinez and Duke (1997), it was speculated that the White American sample would demonstrate low scores on the Achievement subscale

of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure due to their unawareness of being a distinct ethnic group within the United States. However, because of the low scores on the Achievement subscale, it appears as though individuals in both the White American and Native American groups have developed a sense of who they are in relation to their ethnic group membership. The results indicate that neither group, as a whole, are in a state of having a diffused (Marcia, 1980) or an unexamined (Phinney, 1989) ethnic identity.

As with the other hypotheses', a post-hoc analysis was conducted to investigate whether a significant difference existed between the two groups on high scores on the Achievement subscale and the questions used to assess social distance. Results indicate that there were no significant differences on three of the four social distance questions. However, results did demonstrate that the Native American participants, with high scores on the Achievement subscale, reported significantly greater social distance only on the question about having a member of the White American ethnic group living in a proposed ethnically homogenous country. Such results appear to support many of the same points discussed earlier in terms of the similarity-differentiation model (Grant, 1993). Thus, it can be suggested that having contact with individuals in a variety of settings does not impact one's sense of differentiation, but allowing others into a ethnically homogenous environment contaminates one's feelings of being distinct from others based on beliefs, values, and activities. Surprisingly, a statistically significant difference on the question of marrying a member of the other ethnic group was not endorsed by individuals with high Achievement scores. This is in contradiction with

what was discussed earlier in response to the findings of hypothesis one and two where overall high scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and response to the social distance questions. Thus, it may not be only one factor, achievement, that determines the amount of desired social distance, but it may also involve a sense of affirmation and belonging and an understanding and participation in specific ethnic behaviors.

The last hypothesis to be addressed in this study was that there would be a statistically significant difference on overall Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure scores between the Native American and White American participants. Results indicate that the Native American participants scored higher on the overall Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, as well as each subscale, except Other Group Orientation, than did the White American participants. Statistical significance was not found between groups on the Other Group Orientation subtest, which is used to measure attitudes and interactions with members of other ethnic groups. Phinney (1992) stated that such issues are conceptually different from ethnic identity, but may interact with it in regards to social identity. The results indicating the absence of statistical significance on this scale may indicate that members in both ethnic group do regularly interact, but it does not specifically address situations in which an individual's sense of ethnic identity may be threatened. Overall, in comparison, Native American participants had a more developed sense of their ethnic identity than their White Americans counterparts. Based upon the results, the Native American participants have a greater sense of belonging to their ethnic group, are more involved in ethnically specific activities, and have a greater

understanding of their ethnic group membership than the sample of White Americans.

An explanation of these findings can be traced back to many of the theoretical models discussed earlier. First, models of ethnic development (Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989, and Bernal et al., 1993) all suggest that a sense of one's identity develops out of an exploration of ethnic issues and what it means to each individual. Therefore, it can be argued that the Native American participants, based upon their minority status, have had to undergo some form of ethnic identity, which their White American counterparts did not have to undergo. Maldonado (1975) suggested that ethnic identity needs to be integrated into one's self-concept and is based upon involvement and experiences one has with their specific ethnic group. The opportunity to become involved in ethnically specific events and activities will greater enhance individuals in the development of an achieved ethnic identity.

For the White American participants, the scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and each subscale may be more indicative of not fully understanding their membership in a specific White American ethnic group. Martinez and Duke (1997), as mentioned earlier, suggest that a specific White American ethnic group does exist within the United States. They argue that the existence of a White American identity is taken for granted based upon the majority and privileged position they have within the United States. Thus, such factors do not require White Americans to undergo such an extensive process of understanding and investigating their ethnic group and their membership within that group.

These results have a number of implications, which are unique to the current

psychological literature. First, the notion that White Americans do not identify themselves as a distinct group because of being unaware of what it means to be White needs to be questioned (Martinez & Duke, 1997). There does appear to be some understanding on the part of the White American participants, in this study, about their ethnic group membership and what it means to them to be a White American in the United States. Thus, suggesting that a White American ethnic identity does exist and that White Americans do understand the distinction between themselves and other groups. The possible development of a true White American identity may be an important factor to consider in working with individuals who need assistance in developing or strengthening a social and/or ego identity. Also, in a therapy setting, attention needs to be given to Native American clients to determine their level of ethnic identification. Someone with an achieved Native American ethnic identity may drop out of therapy if not given the opportunity to work with someone within their same ethnic group. Such factors would be important to include in a thorough evaluation of the individual in order to determine the type of therapist that would work well with the individual and the areas to explore for self-growth. Being conscious of ethnic identity states will enable therapeutic services to meet the needs of those individuals who seek it out.

The implications raised concerning issues of social distance is also important in relation to ethnic identity. Results indicate that the higher level of ethnic identity one has, the more social distance they prefer in more intimate relationships. Feelings such as these may often be viewed negatively by the general public, but such beliefs and

activities appear to foster a sense of belonging and affiliation with a specific ethnic group and may not be due to an internal hatred of others who are viewed as different.

Continued questioning of the effect such attitudes have upon daily activities and interactions would be important to consider.

The limitations of this study focuses upon instrumentation and the procedures used for acquiring participants. Ethnic identity, as discussed in the introduction, is a relatively new area of investigation in psychology. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992) is a fairly new instrument and is not well documented in the literature. Numerous studies have utilized the instrument, either in its entirety or just specific components, but data on validity factors are still unclear. The social distance questions, utilized in this study, were drawn and revised from the original instrument, the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925a), to adhere to the terminology of this current time period. A total score from the four questions used were not totaled together because there was a question whether these specific questions measured the social distance construct appropriately. Instead, these questions were selected based upon levels of relationships, either platonic or more intimate. Therefore, based upon the results of this study, one can only infer that ethnic identity does have an influence on social distance questions concerned with relationship issues, but they do not suggest a desire for total separation and/or distance.

In addition, this study is also limited because the manner in which the sampling procedures were employed may have greatly influenced the results of this study. Native American participants were sampled while attending a Native American ceremony at a

large southwestern university. The involvement in such an activity suggests that the individuals in attendance may have a higher level of ethnic identity and may have decreased the chances of gathering data from individuals with varying levels of ethnic identity. Therefore, the score on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure may have been skewed toward the high end of the continuum. It is also important to note that the surveys were passed out by this researcher, who is a White American male, which may have also influenced or effected the results and the decision of some of the Native American attendees to participate. A Native American classmate did assist in gathering data for a few hours, but it is not known what influence this may have had upon the participants and their responses to the instruments. It is not speculated that the participants in the White American group were influenced by such factors as the ethnicity or gender of the researcher. As with the Native American counterparts, the sampling of the White Americans at one specific event may have also influenced the results of this study and decreased the opportunity to sample individuals along the ethnic identity continuum.

Overall, this study has raised some new and unique questions that need to be investigated in future research endeavors. First, a sample size of both Native Americans and White Americans in different settings would be an ideal way to expand upon these finding. Sampling Native Americans in urban and rural settings, as well as tribal reservations would help in gathering information from individuals with varying levels of ethnic identity. The same is true of the White American sample. Being able to identify and gather data at events that could be inferred to be more indicative of a White

American ethnic group would help in the debate of whether a White American ethnicity exists within the United States. Also, research on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and its use with a variety of ethnic groups is imperative in order to help in the development of validity data to further support its continued use. The development of a questionnaire assessing social distance should also be investigated in order to help in determining what factors may influence the amount of social distance people of varying ethnic groups desire between themselves and others. Finally, in the therapeutic arena, continued research may want to address the way in which ethnic identity influences involvement and outcome in therapy.

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Appendix A

Running head: ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Differences in Ethnic Identity and Social Distance

in White and Native Americans

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Abstract

The relationship between ethnic identity and social distance will be explored among Native Americans and White Americans. A sample of 50 participants, in each ethnic group, will be used for analysis. Participants will be given the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992), a revised version of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925a), and a demographic form. It is predicted that Native American individuals who receive high scores on the ethnic identity measure will also report a greater level of social distance between themselves and the dominant White culture, compared to those with lower ethnic identity scores. White Americans with high scores on the ethnic identity measure will also report greater social distance between themselves and the Native American culture. Also, it is predicted that there will be a difference on ethnic identity scores between Native Americans and White Americans.

Differences in Ethnic Identity and Social Distance
in White and Native Americans

Introduction

Ethnic identity has been referred to as a generic concept for investigation (Smith, 1991). More specific areas that have received extensive attention in the literature are those that have addressed racial identity in African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and White-Americans. The popularity of such investigations stem from the Nigrescence model, the process of developing a positive Black identity, as suggested by Cross (1978, 1995) and recent advances in the area of Black racial identity development (Helms, 1984), and White racial identity (Helms, 1984; Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994). These models look at one specific group and how individuals within that group perceive members of a different group, whether they are from the majority or minority group. However, ethnic identity addresses how one develops an identity, based upon personal experiences with one's specific ethnic group. Thus, ethnic identity occurs across cultures and plays a vital role in how individuals perceive themselves and others.

Numerous definitions have been given to help in the understanding of what ethnic identity encompasses. The difficulty in finding one universal definition of ethnic identity helps to demonstrate the overall confusion concerning the topic (Phinney, 1990). Phinney (1990) states that ethnic identity involves a positive feeling toward and a sense of belonging to a specific ethnic group along with an interest in, knowledge of, and involvement in the traditions and activities associated with one's group. Tajel (1981)

stated that ethnic identity is one component of an individual's social identity based upon the knowledge of one's membership in the group, as well as sharing similar values and having an emotional attachment to the group. An ethnic group, according to Smith (1991), is a reference group for individuals who have a common culture, background, values, and who also may be identified by physical characteristics, which help to strengthen the feeling of being a member within the group. Maldonado (1975) suggested that ethnic identity involves the integration of ethnicity into one's self-concept. He further suggests that ethnic identity develops from the involvement and experiences one has within an ethnic culture rather than being based on the views of others, outside the specific ethnic group. Further, Knight, Bernal, Garza, and Cota (1993) state that ethnic identity is not only membership, but also a sense of ownership in an ethnic group along with the values, ideas, and beliefs that are directly in line with the ownership of an ethnic identity.

Trying to find an adequate definition of what ethnic identity means is a difficult task, but addressing how individuals define their own ethnicity is another problematic issue. In the United States, ethnicity is often associated with the group in which one affiliates with or feels a closeness too. When addressing the issue of ethnicity and ethnic identity among White Americans, many do not associate being an "American" as being an ethnic group with its own norms, culture, and values (Martinez & Dukes, 1997). One reason that has been proposed to explain why people refrain from identifying themselves as an American ethnic group, according to Martines and Dukes (1997), is based upon the notion that White Americans are so secure with their ethnic identity that they take it

for granted and are unaware of its existence. Therefore, because they have never had to address what it means to be White in American society, they are less likely to view their American identity as being distinct from others. Instead, White Americans will identify themselves based upon their nationality or religion, such as Irish, French, German, Italian, Greek, and Jewish. Within ethnic identity research, studies often use such national labels as defining the ethnic group an individual affiliates with and fail to recognize the importance of a White American ethnicity.

Ethnic identity among Native American populations is another issue that has not received much attention in the literature. According to Phinney (1990), the majority of the studies on ethnic identity have focused primarily on Black and White ethnic groups. In fact, less than five sources were located that directly addressed the role of ethnic identity in various behaviors, practices, and attitudes of Native Americans. One area of difficulty in studying this population is that many Native Americans do not identify themselves with the broad category of Native American or American Indian. Instead, they are more likely to identify themselves as being members of a specific nation or tribe (Weaver, 1998). Further, Weaver (1998) also states that membership in a band or a clan (an extended family network) may be seen by some as a more important determinant in ethnic identification. In urban areas, where numerous nations are more likely to be represented, a pan-Indian identity may be more common due to a sense of commonality (Weaver, 1998). As with other ethnic groups, assimilation into the dominant culture does occur and in the Native American population some members have been forced to adapt and take on the values and norms of the White-American culture.

Ethnic renewal has recently become a focus of attention in the study of Native Americans. Nagel (1995) defines ethnic renewal as the “reconstruction of one’s ethnic identity by reclaiming a discarded identity, replacing or amending an identity in an existing ethnic repertoire, or filling a personal ethnic void”(p.947). The process of ethnic renewal is a movement from an adopted dominant group membership to a non-dominant (minority) group. Ethnic renewal, according to Nagel (1995), is evident in the Native American population based upon census data from 1990. The number of individuals who identified themselves as Native American tripled in number from 1960 to 1990, growing from half a million to close to two million people (Nagel). This number represents over 500 different tribes and over 150 different languages (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991). It is also important to note that though individuals may identify themselves as Native American, legal issues also play a role in being able to identify with this specific group. According to the United State Congress, an individual must possess a quarter of Native American blood in order to be legally considered a Native American (Trimble & Fleming, 1989). Such definitions do not exist for other ethnic groups and this continues to be an area of controversy in the Native American community. Overall, the increase in the numbers of those identifying themselves as Native American increases the need for investigation in order to further the knowledge and understanding of this ethnic group.

While ethnic identity fosters a sense of closeness to a specific group, social distance addresses the distance one perceives between oneself and members of different groups. This distance may not only be due to ethnic differences, but also race, sex, age, educational level, economic class, occupation, religion, and regional differences. Social

distance, according to Bogardus (1925a), “refers to the degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other” (p.299). These experiences, states Bogardus (1925b), can fall into one of four categories: (a) traditions and opinions of others; (b) personal experiences while young; (c) disgust due to sensory impressions; and (d) personal experiences during adulthood.

Further, McAllister and Moore (1991), building upon the work of Bogardus, discuss various explanations for the existence of social distance. First, McAllister and Moore (1991) state that personality variables and societal norms can influence an individual’s social distance. Conformity, peer pressure, and group norms can result in creating distance between various individuals and groups. Another factor that can be used to help explain social distance are the various educational experiences an individual encounters. Education, according to McAllister and Moore (1991), helps to open individuals up to taking an objective view of the world and to evaluate people on an individual, rather than group, basis. Economic factors can also influence the amount of distance between groups, as one group tries to gain economic dominance over all others. Thus, according to McAllister and Moore, creating competition for economic resources. Finally, another explanation is the amount of contact one has with others of different groups. Less contact or negative social contact between various individuals may help to further enhance and support stereotypical views of other groups and increase perceived social distance. On the other hand, the more positive social contact that occurs between individuals will result in a decrease in the perceived social distance. Overall, various explanations have been given to assist in understanding the nature and causes of the

existence of social distance between groups.

Conceptual Basis of Ethnic Identity

In her review of the ethnic identity literature from 1972 to 1990, Phinney (1990) found that a quarter of the studies had no theoretical base for their investigation and that the majority were derived from three theoretical concepts: social identity, identity formation, and acculturation.

Social Identity

Lewin (1948) suggested that in order for an individual to have a secure sense of well-being, one would need to have a clear and strong relationship with members of one's identified ingroup, if not, one may deny ingroup membership and develop an overall sense of self-hatred. Therefore, according to Lewin (1948), membership in a group is not the only necessary component in developing a positive ethnic identity. Sherif (1964) discussed the notion of ethnic reference groups as a key issue in understanding how social identity can influence ethnic identity. An ethnic reference group is a group an individual aspires to belong to, therefore, they are likely to believe, feel, think, and agree with members of the group to which they want to belong (Smith, 1991).

Developed from social identity theory, Grant (1993) derived the concept of similarity-differentiation to explain the process of developing a social identity. According to Grant (1993), individuals will strive to develop a self-concept based upon their membership in a specific group. In return, the group will actively strive to maintain its individuality and will view themselves as distinct from other groups. According to Grant

(1993), ethnic groups will strive to maintain some distinction between themselves and other groups in order to develop a positive social identity. However, as groups become more similar in nature, the ability of members to differentiate themselves from others becomes more complicated (Grant, 1993). When it becomes more difficult to maintain a clear distinction, groups may develop a greater social distance from those groups who they view as more similar. Thus, maintaining their groups individuality.

Identity Formation

Problems arise when individuals are faced with a dominant culture that holds negative views of an individual's ethnic group. When the dominant culture views a specific ethnic group with little regard, members are faced with being negatively labeled, which can greatly influence how they view themselves and their ethnic group (Ullah, 1985). This has been addressed in the literature in terms of Black identity, as described by Cross (1978). In discussing his Nigrescence model, Cross (1978) describes the first stage, pre-encounter, as being a time when the Black individual disregards Black culture and tries to take on the roles expected of the White majority. This may include beliefs, values, and attitudes similar to the White culture in order to remain distant from the lower regarded Black group. The solution, according to Cross (1978), is to become more involved in one's group and help to stress the positive aspects of the group and to reinterpret the majority cultures beliefs and attitudes. This issue of confusion can also be solved by the individual deciding whether they can function appropriately within one culture or if they will be able to be a part of two distinct cultures based on the group's acceptance (Phinney, 1990).

Acculturation

Acculturation has also been used to help explain the notion of ethnic identity. However, it must be noted that the two concepts are not synonymous, but there are distinct differences between the two. Acculturation has been defined as the changes that one has to deal with when in close contact with two distinct cultures (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, and Robbins (1995) state that acculturation is the degree to which one is able to accept and adhere to the values, norms, and mores across two distinct cultures. According to Phinney (1990), the concern is not the individual, but rather attention is focused on the group and how they relate to the majority society. Phinney (1990) goes on to state that ethnic identity is a subset of acculturation in that it deals with how individuals respond to their subgroup as a part of the larger societal group.

The use of the acculturation models in studying ethnic identity development is due to what is viewed as a reciprocal relationship between the two concepts. There are two models that are referred to quite often in the literature. The first, the linear model, is based on a linear scale with strong ethnic ties at one end and strong ties to the majority culture at the other (Ullah, 1985). The idea is that as an individual develops stronger ties with the majority culture, a strong ethnic identity is not possible. Thus, acculturation will inevitably weaken the strength of an individual's ethnic identity as one becomes more involved in the majority culture. Therefore, as one gains in strength, the other weakens.

Another way in which the concept and models of acculturation have been used to

investigate ethnic identity development is what Phinney (1990) describes as a two dimensional model. This model states that two different relationships may occur between two distinct cultures, but they need to remain separate relationships in order to ensure a strong ethnic identity. Therefore, as long as an individual maintains contact with both groups, a positive relationship can develop among both the majority and minority cultures. Berry et al. (1986) suggest that this model consists of four ways in which to deal with ethnic identity in an ethnically mixed society. Having a strong identity with both groups (the individuals' and the majority group) can increase integration and lead to a sense of biculturalism. Becoming identified with only the majority group is termed assimilation, identifying with only the minority group is termed separation, and identifying with neither group is termed marginality. In reference to this model, ethnic identity will be greatly influenced on the individual's motivation to identify with the dominant culture, but is also dependent on how accepting the dominant culture is and how welcoming it is in allowing others to identify with it.

Development of Ethnic Identity Models

As with many of the identity theories, ethnic identity development is also considered to occur over time and is changeable based on new experiences. There are not necessarily fixed, pre-determined stages, but there is an overall developmental process that does occur. Marcia (1980) suggested a process, based upon the ego identity work of Erikson, that is dependent upon an individual's level of commitment and exploration of a variety of issues. Again, this is not a stage model, but rather each component is considered a status based upon the individual's level of involvement in the

entire process.

When individuals do not engage in any form of commitment or exploration on various issues, they are considered to have a diffused identity. Thus, they have no clear idea of themselves in regards to their identity and have little interest in exploring such issues. Individuals who make a commitment to or have a sense of their identity, without exploration, are considered to be in a foreclosed status. Here, the main commitment and information comes from family and friends, particularly parents. These individuals have not explored identity issues on their own, but have taken in the values and ideas of those around them. The moratorium status is best explained by an individual who has undergone some exploration of identity issues, but has failed to make a commitment to develop such an identity. This is a period of searching and trying to understand the roles that play a part in identity development. The last status is an achieved identity. The achieved status occurs after one has made a commitment to and has actively explored the essential components of the chosen identity (Marcia, 1980). Though this is not an ethnic identity model, components of Marcia's model appear in the developmental stages of many ethnic identity development models.

Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, and Cota (1993) proposed a model of ethnic identity in children, which, as with the others, is based on exploration of ethnic issues. In their model, they do not describe a period in which the child affiliates with or becomes involved with the majority culture, as with other models of racial and ethnic identity. The process begins with children developing an understanding and categorizing themselves as part of a specific ethnic group. By identifying oneself as part of this group,

the child begins to engage in behaviors that are consistent with the beliefs and values of the ethnic group. The final stage is termed ethnic feelings and preferences and is described as the feelings and beliefs that the child holds concerning one's ethnic group and one's preference in sharing the values of other members.

Along with other racial identity models (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza & Cota, 1993; Cross, 1978; Helms, 1989) the notion of an achieved identity based on exploration is salient. The revised Nigrescence model (Cross, 1995) consists of numerous stages that an individual must go through in order to understand and ultimately internalize a Black identity. As with the model presented by Marcia (1980), the process begins with the minority individual identifying with the majority culture, which according to Marcia, is similar to the foreclosure status. The individual takes on those values and beliefs of the majority culture because they are more salient within the society as a whole. However, through search and exploration, the Black individual is able to make a firm commitment and is able to internalize a sense of Black identity in the long term. Helms (1995), in the internalization status of her people of color model also prescribes to this sense of an achieved identity. In the internalization status, the individual, through search and exploration, has developed a positive sense of ethnic identity and an overall commitment to one's own socio-racial group.

Based on various identity models, Phinney (1989) developed a three stage ethnic identity model, building upon the commonalities in the identity development literature. This model is also based on the need for exploration in order to make a commitment to a specific ethnic identity. The first stage, in the proposed model by Phinney (1989), is an

unexamined ethnic identity. At this stage, individuals, both adolescents and adults, have yet to become exposed to issues relating to ethnic identity. Phinney (1989) proposes that there may be two subtypes, similar to the diffused and foreclosed status in the model suggested by Marcia (1980). They may not necessarily find themselves absorbed in the majority culture, but have little interest in or knowledge of their own ethnic make-up (diffused status). What ethnic knowledge they do have is likely to have come from parents and friends rather than their own investigation (foreclosed status). The second stage is similar to the moratorium status, as proposed by Marcia (1980), and is characterized by the individual's exploration of ethnic issues. This involves becoming interested in ethnic issues that are pertinent to the individual's own identity development. Such activities may include researching ethnic history through reading and attending cultural events and talking with others in the ethnic group. From all these experiences, it is proposed that individuals will come to a deeper understanding of their ethnic identity and therefore reach the last stage of acquiring an achieved ethnic identity.

Literature Review

Ethnic identity research, according to Phinney (1990) appears to have gained momentum during the ethnic revitalization period of the 1960's. The current author, after a thorough review, located less than ten studies, published in psychological journals, concerning ethnic identity before the 1970's. Phinney (1990), in her literature review, located 70 articles that were published in journals from 1972 to 1990 that dealt directly with ethnic and racial identity in adolescents and adults. Thus, the breadth of the research in the ethnic identity area has grown in the past several years, but many gaps

still remain. For one, the current author located less than five articles that directly addressed ethnic identity development in Native Americans. Instead, the main focus with this ethnic group was on the process of acculturation and its influence on the Native American culture. As mentioned earlier, research is also lacking in the study of the White American ethnic group. Instead studies have focused on identified nationalities and religions as a source of ethnic study among White groups whether than making a distinction concerning the existence of a White American ethnic group.

Besides addressing the psychological factors that can influence or be influenced by ethnic identity, some early researchers investigated descriptive features of ethnic groups to determine the role such factors have in the development of an ethnic identity. Christian, Gadfield, Giles, and Taylor (1976) stated that the study of ethnic identity development must be based on a multidimensional process. They contend that rather than looking at one issue and its role in the process of ethnic identity, researchers need to address the numerous features that help to maintain a boundary between groups.

Ethnic Behaviors and Practices

Taylor, Bassili, and Aboud (1973) addressed the issue of ethnic identity by investigating how geography, language, and cultural background assist in the development of an ethnic identity. Their study, based on a sample of English-speaking and French-speaking high school students in the province of Quebec, found that language was a significant factor in the ethnic identity of English-speaking Canadians. The authors hypothesized that this was due to the fact that language was the only salient feature that distinguished the two ethnic groups in Quebec. On the other hand, the

French Canadian participants reported feeling more similar to an English speaking individual than a French Canadian who mainly spoke English. Again, the authors hypothesized that this was due to a more negative feeling toward individuals who had assimilated to the English Canadian lifestyle. Additional findings were that cultural background did play a role in ethnic development in both groups, but geography was found not to be a factor among either.

Giles, Taylor, Lambert, and Albert (1976) addressed the issue of what salient features help to determine the development of ethnic identity in various ethnic groups in a sample of U.S. residents. Their study was, in essence, a follow-up to the one conducted by Taylor et al. (1973), except the sample was drawn from northern Maine and looked at the role language plays in the ethnic development of Anglo-Americans and Franco-Americans. Again, their findings supported those found by Taylor et al. (1973) in that language was the primary component in ethnic identity development. However, Giles, Llado, McKirnan, and Taylor (1979) investigated the role of language in the development of an ethnic identity in Puerto Rico. Surprisingly, they found that language was not a salient feature as it had been in previous studies. In the Puerto Rican sample of adolescents, language was not a salient feature, but rather identity was better explained by a strong relationship with their parents.

Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985), in their study on the ethnic development of Greek-, Italian-, and Anglo-Australian adolescents, found that ethnic identity was based on numerous features and characteristics of the ethnic group. Again, this study supported the multidimensional process, as proposed by Christian et al. (1976), by

addressing language, social activities, cultural traditions and religion, family roles, and physical characteristics. All these dimensions, according to Rosenthal et al. (1985), were essential components in the development of an ethnic identity. However, language appeared to be the most salient. The authors hypothesized that the importance of language is one of the only ways in which to differentiate ethnic membership because most Australians are of European descent and share some physical characteristics. Further, Greek-Australians and Italian-Australians reported having a much stronger identification with their respected ethnic groups than did the Anglo-Australians. However, Greek-Australians viewed assimilation into the majority culture more negatively than the Italian-Australians, who were much more interested in assimilation into the host culture. One major factor, according to Rosenthal et al. (1985), that may have influenced this finding is that Greek-Australians have a very tight ethnic community, with a strong affiliation with the Greek Orthodox religion and an interest in their children being taught in private, Greek schools. On the other hand, the Italian community, according to Rosenthal et al. (1985), does not have as strong a sense of identity and are more spread out around the country.

Positive Ethnic Attitudes and Behaviors

Research on ethnic identity has also addressed the decline of ethnic identity over generations. Wooden, Leon, and Toshima (1988) state that “social psychological research has shown that ethnic identity over generations diminish in intensity” (p.268). Hutnik (1986) reports that the melting pot theory initially proposed that over generations, ethnic groups would assimilate with the majority culture and ultimately

disappear. However, this has failed to occur. According to Hutnik (1986), the maintenance of ethnic groups and ethnic identity are in a constant state of change, yet generations continue to keep their sense of ethnic identity. The study conducted by Wooden et al. (1988) addressed the issue of ethnic decline in Japanese-American youth in Honolulu and Los Angeles. The adolescent sample was divided to represent generations in the Japanese culture: Issei (first generation), Nisei (second generation), and Sansei (third generation). The study looked at how ethnic identity is influenced by generation, location, and gender. Findings showed no differences between these components and ethnic identity. In fact, what Wooden et al. (1988) did find was that the adolescents maintained the same traditional values in both locations.

In addition, Der-Karabetian (1980) addressed the ethnic involvement and ethnic identity of Armenian teenagers who were either born in the United States or were recent immigrants (mean years in residence= 4.67). Findings demonstrated that identity scores on an ethnic involvement scale showed that neither of the two groups differed in their level of Armenian identity. However, those who were born in the United States scored significantly higher on the scale when used to assess American Identity. The author proposes that this is due to the lack of internalization of the majority culture by the recent immigrant. According to Der-Karabetian (1980), the new immigrants are struggling to adjust to the new culture and evaluate their ethnic identity in response to the majority culture. This finding may also be explained by the level of contact the recent immigrant has with the majority culture (Der-Karabetian, 1980). Recent immigrants are more likely to be involved in their own ethnic group, which decreases the amount of

contact they will have with the majority culture. Thus, as contact increases, identification with the majority culture should also increase.

Elias and Blanton (1987) continued the investigation of the development of ethnic identity among recent Israeli Jewish immigrants in the United States. Participants were Israeli Jewish families consisting of parents and children who had all lived in the United States for the past five years. This study addressed three components that make up the identity of this group: Israeli, Jewish, and American. It was found that all three were positively correlated suggesting an overall satisfaction of belonging to all three ethnic components. The adolescents, however, felt that belonging to the American and the Israeli ethnic groups was troublesome and viewed the two as incompatible. The parents did not see such a conflict and believed that there was less conflict when belonging to both groups. Elias et al. (1987) explained that this may be due to the parents being able to integrate the two aspects of the ethnic groups better than the younger participants. Further, results also suggested that the longer the time spent in the United States increased both the American and Jewish identity in the mothers. It was hypothesized that this is due to the fact that Jewish individuals are minorities in the United States which helps to increase awareness of being Jewish and develop an American Jewish identity.

Ethnic Identity Achievement

Research has also addressed how individuals come to achieve an ethnic identity and the exploration and resolution process that accompanies the development of this type of identity. Rosenthal and Cichello (1986), found that Italian-Australian adolescents

reported parental involvement in the Italian community positively contributed to their development of an ethnic identity. Lower levels of psychosocial adjustment in Italian-Australian adolescents was related to the “perception of problems in living and where one’s immigrant status was regarded as a source of conflict” (p. 499). Further, they found that having strong ties to the ethnic community was more important for psychosocial adjustment than having an overall Italian identity. Thus, having the ability to interact with the Anglo culture and perform skills related to that group were indicative of higher psychosocial development levels.

In one of the few ethnic identity studies with Native Americans, Lysne and Levy (1997) addressed ethnic identity development among 9th and 12th graders at two high schools. The authors investigated the levels of ethnic identity, with Native American students, at a high school with a predominately Native American population and one where the student population was mostly White. In the study by Lysne and Levy (1997), 12th grade students from the predominantly Native American school did experience a higher level of ethnic identity exploration than 9th graders from either school setting. Further, for all grades, those students in the Native American school context had greater scores on ethnic identity exploration and commitment than those in the predominately White school. One explanation for this finding is that students who have a lower ethnic identity are more likely to possess less pride in their ethnicity and view themselves as having an identity that matches the mainstream (Rotheram-Borus, 1990). Therefore, students from the Native American school context are more likely to have a Native American peer group and the overall school structure may influence the development of

their ethnic identity (Lysne & Levy, 1997).

Tzuriel and Klien (1977) investigated the effects of immigration on ego and ethnic identity with immigrants to Israel. They looked at adolescents born in Western countries (Europe and the United States) and those born in Asia and the Middle East (North Africa, Middle East, and South Asia) to see if there was a difference in their ethnic identity. Findings demonstrated that those adolescents who scored high in ethnic group identification also scored higher on ego identity. However, the influence of ethnic identification on ego identity was found to be more significant for the Asian/Middle Eastern born adolescents than their Western born counterparts. The authors (Tzuriel & Klien, 1977) make note that Israel is a Western dominant culture and therefore those adolescents born in Western society were considered the majority rather than a distinct group. However, the Asian/Middle Eastern adolescents were considered to be a distinct ethnic group and ethnic identification helped them to deal with pressures and conflicts of being raised as an ethnic minority. The strength of the ethnic identification in order to deal with such pressures, inevitably facilitated a strong and integrated ego identity. Overall, how an individual views themselves in society, whether as a member of the host culture or as a distinct group, can have implications on the development of not only one's ethnic identity, but also the formation of their ego identity.

Martinez and Dukes (1997) addressed ethnicity, self-esteem, purpose in life, and self-confidence among adolescent Native Americans, Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. Using only seven questions from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)(Phinney, 1992), Martinez and Dukes (1997) found that Whites and Native

Americans scored lower on the ethnic identity questions than all the other minority groups studied. Though the difference was not significant, the White participants scored the lowest (below the 45 percentile) on the questions assessing ethnic identity compared to Native Americans (46th percentile), Asians (60th), Hispanics (68th), and Blacks (71st). Across all other measures, the White participants scored at the highest percentile (54th), while the Native American participants were within the 30–40th percentile. Such results suggest that as ethnic identity increases, reports of self-esteem, self-confidence, and having a purpose in life also increases. With the White participants, identification as a distinct ethnic group and the privilege that comes with being White in American may create the opposite effect, as supported by this study (Martinez & Dukes, 1997).

Up to this point, most of the research has focused on the investigation of ethnic identity with adolescents. Granted, Erikson (1968) did state that adolescence is the time in which individuals go through a period of exploration, which leads to decisions concerning one's identity. However, as previously noted, identity is ever changing and development also has great influence in both ego and ethnic identity. Waterman (1982) stated that identity formation is greatly influenced during the college years, but ethnic identity research is based mostly on the process undergone during adolescence.

Phinney and Alipuria (1990) addressed this issue of ethnic identity in college students by looking at four ethnic groups (Asian-American, Black, Mexican-American, and White). Results demonstrated that all groups rated occupation and sex roles as being the most important components in identity development, ethnic identity ranked higher in importance than religion and politics. Further, students in the Black and Mexican-

American groups, according to the results found by Phinney et al. (1990), showed greater levels of ethnic exploration than did their White counterparts. Asian-Americans, on the other hand, demonstrated the least amount of exploration into ethnic issues and were more likely to report wanting to belong to a different ethnic group. Further, Phinney and Alipuria (1990) also investigated how ethnic exploration effected levels of self-esteem among their college sample. Findings demonstrated that self-esteem was positively correlated with a commitment to one's ethnic identity among the minority participants.

White and Burke (1987) addressed the issue of self-esteem and ethnic identity among Black and White college students in the Midwest. This model defines commitment as being based on the type of relationships one has with others, due to one's identity. Self-esteem is defined in this model as a self-evaluation in relation to a particular identity. The hypotheses White and Burke (1987) examined regarding self-esteem were: a) ethnic identity will vary by the level of self-esteem, and b) the greater the commitment to an ethnic group, the higher the individual will evaluate themselves. Their results indicated that ethnic identity did not vary by the level of self esteem, but they did find that commitment was related to self-esteem. For the Black sample, the relationship between self-esteem and commitment was positively correlated, meaning that the more people an individual knows, due to being Black, increases self-esteem. However, for the White sample, the reverse was found. That is the correlation was significant, but negative and, therefore, the more people a person knows, due to being White, results in lower self-esteem.

In a longitudinal study of ethnic identity and self esteem, Phinney and Chavira (1992), investigated the development of ethnic identity and self esteem over a three year follow-up. Participants were from three ethnic groups (Asian-American, Black, and Hispanic) who were first contacted and assessed at age 16 and then again at age 19. Based on the model of ego identity by Marcia (1980), Phinney and Chavira (1992) found that over the three year period, participants did move along the continuum of ego stages, suggesting that developmental nature of identity development. Further, findings also indicated that an achieved ethnic identity is relatively stable over time and that the moratorium stage is the least stable (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Those participants who progressed in their identity development over the three year period had initial high scores on family, peer, and social relations, as well as high self-evaluation scores. On the issue of self-esteem, Phinney et al. (1992) found that a significant relationship did exist between self-esteem and ethnic identity. The authors speculate that a high self-esteem may enhance an individual's exploration of ethnicity or that having a firm understanding of one's ethnicity may help to promote positive views of self.

Social Distance

Research in the area of social distance has looked at numerous components besides just racial issues. Triandis and Triandis (1987) addressed the roles race, social class, religion, and nationality have upon social distance. Findings indicate that the most important component in determining social distance is race. However, social class was also found to be a significant factor compared to nationality and religious affiliation. Triandis and Triandis (1987) report that conformity may be one construct that helps in

understanding the impact race has upon social distance. According to the authors, conformity is the adoption of the norms and mores of the specific reference group. Thus, in order to feel one belongs to a certain ethnic group, one would have to adopt the customs and beliefs of the group, which helps to distance themselves from other people. Another construct, according to Triandis and Triandis, that may influence social distance is cognitive dissonance. Dissonance occurs when an individual feels that they are mistreating others, however, dissonance is reduced when an individual feels that others are inferior to themselves. Thus, increasing levels of social distance between the preferred and the less desirable groups.

Differences in social distance have also been investigated across ethnic groups in the United States and other countries with highly diverse populations. Netting (1991) addressed the relationship Chinese immigrants in western Canada have in regards to the majority White culture. Findings indicated that the Chinese immigrants were more likely to reject the majority culture, as well as other groups, rather than trying to be accepted by them. The White majority, on the other hand, were more accepting of the Chinese immigrants.

A study conducted by McAllister and Moore (1991) addressed the issue of social distance in Australia between Australians and various immigrant groups (groups from Northern, Southern, and Eastern Europe and those from Southeast Asia). They authors did not just set out to measure the extent of social distance, but rather the factors that appear to be related to increased distance. Findings indicate that for native born Australians, education and having a spouse born overseas lead to a decrease in social

distance from immigrant groups. For the immigrant groups, the use of the English language greatly decreases the amount of social distance perceived between themselves and the majority Australian culture. McAllister and Moore (1991) conclude that social distance may not be entirely due to experiences in the dominant society, but rather may be based and acquired through the culture of the immigrant group.

The social distance between Whites and Blacks has also been investigated in two studies with children and adults in the Southern portion of the United States. Muir and Muir (1988) addressed the issue of social distance with Black and White middle school children. What they found indicated the White children maintained a basic civil acceptance of the Blacks, but rejected them socially. Thus, increasing the perceived social distance of the White students to their Black counterparts. Black students, on the other hand, were more accepting and tolerant of their White classmates, both socially and publicly.

Muir (1989) continued the investigation of Black and White social distance with adults at a large southern university. This study went beyond just addressing current levels of social distance, but looked at how social distance had changed from 1968 to 1988 among the Black and White groups. Data, which was initially collected during the period of desegregation in the 1960's, was acquired from surveys utilizing the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Findings indicated that social distance had decreased among these two groups over the course of the study. Whites, in 1988, were more willing to sit, walk on campus, eat, and room with Blacks. Compared to the 1972 data, a decline did appear in the White students' willingness to date a Black individual in the information obtained

in 1988. Further, Muir (1989) makes note that White students were more accepting of their Black counterparts as they progressed from their Freshman to Senior years at the university.

Brown (1973) investigated the social distance of Mexican-Americans to both the majority White culture as well as other minority groups. Findings did indicate that Mexican-Americans reported less social distance between their own group, as well as Mexican and Spanish ethnic groups. Brown (1973) reports that the Mexican-Americans rated the majority White culture as just behind Mexican and Spanish groups. Thus, it can be inferred that they do not perceive a significant amount of distance between themselves and the White group. On the other hand, the White majority reported greater levels of social distance between themselves and Mexican-Americans by placing this group in the lower third on a list of thirty groups. The author contends that this may have been influenced due to the sample being drawn from a Texas-Mexico border town, where there are more emotionally charged feelings in the White majority on the plight of Mexican individuals.

Conclusion

Ethnic identity development consists of a period of exploration in order to make a commitment to a specific ethnic identity. The process is not static, but changes due to societal experiences that help individuals progress through the various steps in the developmental model. Factors that have been shown to have an influence on the development of an ethnic identity include language, geography, social activities, and family roles. Psychological factors, such as self-esteem, have also been shown to be

influenced by the level of ethnic identity an individual possess. In addition, the level of ethnic identity achieved is not only influenced on the individual level, but it also is effected by how accepting the dominant culture is of others. Thus, the ethnic individual's motivation to identify with the majority culture, as well as the majority culture's acceptance, will influence the perceived social distance between the two groups.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the relationship between ethnic identity development and regard for other ethnic groups. According to Phinney (1990), a critical issue for exploration in the area of ethnic identity is on attitudes toward the dominant as well as other minority groups. By assessing ethnic identity and perceived social distance in White and Native American ethnic groups, this study will be able to add valuable knowledge to the ethnic identity literature by addressing how ethnic identity influences an individual's affiliation with the White American and the Native American cultures. Further, most of the research on the topic of ethnic identity have focused on adolescent samples. The current study, utilizing an adult sample, will help to promote knowledge on the process of ethnic identity development in adults. In addition, with research lacking in the area of ethnic identity development of Native Americans, this research will also help further understanding and knowledge on this population.

Hypotheses

1. Native American individuals who score higher on the overall ethnic identity measure will report greater social distance between themselves and the dominant White American ethnic group.
2. White American individuals who score higher on the overall ethnic identity measure

will report greater social distance between themselves and the Native American ethnic group.

3. Those with low scores on the ethnic identity achievement subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), will report less social distance between themselves and the other group.

4. There will be a significant difference on MEIM scores between the White and Native American ethnic groups.

Method

Sample

The sample will consist of 100 participants who are attending a university sponsored event in the southwest. Approximately 50 participants will comprise each of the indicated ethnic groups (Native American and White American).

Instruments

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) (Appendix A) is a 20 item instrument that address three components of ethnic identity: (a) positive ethnic attitudes and a sense of belonging (5 items); (b) ethnic identity achievement (7 items); and (c) ethnic behaviors and practices (2 items). A fourth component, other-group orientation (six items) is also included. Scores range from a 4, indicating high ethnic identity, to a 1, indicating low ethnic identity. Overall reliability of the MEIM is .90. Reliabilities for three of the scales range from .74 to .86. No reliability information is available for the ethnic behaviors and practices subscale as it only consists of two items. Respondents are also required to identify their ethnicity as well as the ethnicity of

both their parents.

A revised version of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925a) (Appendix B) will be used in this study. Statements were developed based upon the information available in the original instrument. Four questions were embedded in a shortened version of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale (in order to assess for social distance in four situations: as a citizen of a country, a friend, a neighbor, and related by marriage). Split-half reliability of the original instrument was reported at .90 (Hartley & Hartley, 1952). Currently, studies utilizing this scale have been based upon revisions of the instrument. Few studies have employed the instrument, as developed in 1925, in its entirety,

A demographic questionnaire (Appendix C) will also be administered to all participants in order to gather simple demographic information.

Procedures

Participants will be individuals attending a university sponsored event in the southwest. Native American participants will be administered the instruments while attending a university sponsored tribal event. White American participants will be sampled before attending a large sporting event. Instruments will be administered to interested individuals in a packet containing the instruments and a pencil. Upon completion of the instruments, participants will be able to enter a drawing to win a prize for their participation.

Analysis

Utilizing a power of .80, an alpha level of .05, and a large effect size, a sample of

26 participants for each group under investigation will be needed (Cohen, 1992).

However, a total of 50 participants in each group is anticipated. An ANOVA statistical procedure will be utilized for the hypothesis testing that will be conducted in this study.

In addition, descriptive statistics will be included in the analysis to define the demographic characteristics of the sample.

Discussion

The discussion will focus on the differences in ethnic identity between the two ethnic groups and the amount of distance each group reports between themselves and the other. Native American issues, related to ethnic identity development, will also be addressed. Further, the findings will assist in adding additional information on the developmental stages associated with ethnic identity. Limitations of the current study will be discussed as well as directions for future research in this area will be presented.

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Appendix B

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or *ethnic groups* that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Mexican-American, Black, Asian-American, American Indian, and White. Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups, but people differ on how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

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. Write the number of your answer on the line before each question.

**1: Strongly
disagree**

**2: Somewhat
disagree**

**3: Somewhat
agree**

**4: Strongly
agree**

_____ 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 group, 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 to be friends with people from other ethnic groups.

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

_____ 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 towards 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.

For the following, write in the number that gives the best answer to each question.

21. My ethnicity is _____

- (1) Asian, Asian American, or Oriental
- (2) Black or African American
- (3) Hispanic or Latino
- (4) White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
- (5) American Indian
- (6) Mixed; parents are from two different groups
- (7) Other (write in): _____

22. My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above) _____

23. My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above) _____

Appendix C

Bogardus Social Distance Scale

Native American Version

(Highlighted items are those of the Bogardus Scale, inserted into the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, which will be the only items used in the analysis.)

Instructions:

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered A or B. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you would like to be true.

This is a measure of personal belief; obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one.

In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Also, try to respond to each item independently when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

Circle the letter that matches your choice:

1. A. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
B. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. A. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to hard luck.
B. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
3. A. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
B. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
4. A. In the long run, people get the respect they deserve in this world.
B. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he/she tries.
5. A. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
B. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
6. A. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
B. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
7. **A. I would not mind having a relative marry a white man/woman.**
B. I would be against my relative marrying someone outside my cultural group
8. A. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
B. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
9. A. Heredity plays a major role in determining one's personality.
B. It is one's experience in life which determines what they're like.

10. A. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
B. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
11. A. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
B. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
12. A. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
B. This world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
13. A. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
B. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
14. **A. I would not be bothered by having a white friend.**
B. For my friends, I only choose those who are just like me.
15. A. When I make plans I am almost certain that I can make them work.
B. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
16. A. There are certain people who are just no good.
B. There is some good in everybody.
17. A. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
B. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

18. **A. In my case, I would prefer not to have a neighbor who is white.**
B. The race of my neighbor does not concern me.
19. A. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place.
B. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability luck has little of nothing to do with it.
20. A. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
B. By taking an active part in political and social affairs people can control world events.
21. **A. If I could develop my own country, I would have no problem letting white people live there.**
B. My country would only include those of my heritage.
22. A. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happening.
B. There really no such thing as luck.
23. A. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
B. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
24. A. Is it hard to know whether or not a person likes you.
B. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
25. A. In the long run, the bad things happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
B. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

26. A. A good leader expects people to decided for themselves what they should do.
B. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
27. A. Many times I feel that I have little influences over the things that happen to me.
B. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
28. A. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
B. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

Bogardus Social Distance Scale

White American Version

(Highlighted items are those of the Bogardus Scale, inserted into the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, which will be the only items used in the analysis.)

Instructions:

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered A or B. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true rather than the one you would like to be true.

This is a measure of personal belief; obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one.

In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Also, try to respond to each item independently when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

Circle the letter that matches your choice:

1. A. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
B. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
2. A. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to hard luck.
B. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. A. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
B. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
4. A. In the long run, people get the respect they deserve in this world.
B. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he/she tries.
5. A. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
B. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
6. A. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
B. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
7. **A. I would not mind having a relative marry an American Indian man/women.**
B. I would be against my relative marrying someone outside my ethnic group
8. A. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
B. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
9. A. Heredity plays a major role in determining one's personality.
B. It is one's experience in life which determines what they're like.

10. A. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
B. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
11. A. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
B. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
12. A. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
B. This world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
13. A. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
B. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
14. **A. I would not be bothered by having an American Indian friend.**
B. For my friends, I only choose those who are just like me.
15. A. When I make plans I am almost certain that I can make them work.
B. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
16. A. There are certain people who are just no good.
B. There is some good in everybody.
17. A. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
B. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

18. **A. In my case, I would prefer not to have a neighbor who is an American Indian.**
- B. The race of my neighbor does not concern me.**
19. A. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place.
- B. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability luck has little of nothing to do with it.
20. A. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
- B. By taking an active part in political and social affairs people can control world events.
21. **A. If I could develop my own country, I would have no problem letting American Indian people live there.**
- B. My country would only include those of my ethnicity.**
22. A. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happening.
- B. There really no such thing as luck.
23. A. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
- B. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
24. A. Is it hard to know whether or not a person likes you.
- B. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

25. A. In the long run, the bad things happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
B. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
26. A. A good leader expects people to decided for themselves what they should do.
B. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
27. A. Many times I feel that I have little influences over the things that happen to me.
B. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
28. A. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
B. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

Appendix D

Demographic Information

1. What is your gender?
 - A. Male
 - B. Female

2. What is your age?
 - A. 18-25 years
 - B. 26-35 years
 - C. 36-45 years
 - D. 46-55 years
 - E. 56+ years

3. How much interaction do you have with members of your ethnic group?
 - A. Daily interaction
 - B. Weekly (one or several days a week)
 - C. Monthly
 - D. Yearly
 - E. Rarely, if ever

4. What is the best description of your family's social/economic class?
 - A. Upper Class
 - B. Upper Middle Class
 - C. Middle Class
 - D. Lower Middle Class
 - E. Lower Class

5. Which of the following best describes the level of education you have received?
 - A. Less than a high school education
 - B. Graduated high school
 - C. Trade school
 - D. College
 - E. Post college
(med/law/grad)

Appendix E

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA-NORMAN CAMPUS
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT
(for the White American sample)

This is to certify that I voluntarily agree to participate in the research project entitled: "Ethnic Identity and Social Attitudes". This study is being conducted by Thomas D. Brooks, MA, Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Oklahoma. I understand that the researcher can be reached at (405) 325-5974.

The purpose of this study is to assess my ethnic identity and my attitudes concerning various issues and events in society. The term Ethnic Identity refers to the cultural group in which I view myself belonging to (i.e. Native American, Hispanic, African-American, etc) and how close I feel I am to this group. My involvement in this study will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Upon completion, I will be given the opportunity to enter a raffle for a chance to win a gift certificate (approximately an \$30.00 value) for my participation.

I understand that there are no known risks associated with the task asked of me. By participating, I am helping to further the knowledge concerning the issues under investigation which may, in turn, improve the social climate of this community as well as others around the United States.

I understand that I may withdraw or refuse to participate at any time. However, I am aware that my failure to complete the instruments will prevent me from entering into the raffle.

I also understand that all information will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the office of the researcher. I realize that only demographic information will be asked. Consequently, there will be no information collected that could be used to identify me. Therefore, all my responses will remain anonymous and only group averages will be reported (age, gender, etc.). I understand that if I have any questions or am concerned about my participation, I can contact Thomas Brooks at the number stated above. Further, if I have any questions concerning my rights as a research participant, I can contact the Office of Research Administration at the University of Oklahoma at 325-4757.

Signature _____

Date _____

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA-NORMAN CAMPUS
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT
(for the Native American sample)

This is to certify that I voluntarily agree to participate in the research project entitled: "Ethnic Identity and Social Attitudes". This study is being conducted by Thomas D. Brooks, MA, Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Oklahoma. I understand that the researcher can be reached at (405) 325-5974.

The purpose of this study is to assess my ethnic identity and my attitudes concerning various issues and events in society. The term Ethnic Identity refers to the cultural group in which I view myself belonging to (i.e. Native American, Hispanic, African-American, etc) and how close I feel I am to this group. My involvement in this study will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Upon completion, I will be given the opportunity to enter a raffle for a chance to win a Pendelton blanket (approximately an \$80.00 value) for my participation.

I understand that there are no known risks associated with the task asked of me. By participating, I am helping to further the knowledge concerning the issues under investigation which may, in turn, improve the social climate of this community as well as others around the United States.

I understand that I may withdraw or refuse to participate at any time. However, I am aware that my failure to complete the instruments will prevent me from entering into the raffle.

I also understand that all information will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the office of the researcher. I realize that only demographic information will be asked. Consequently, there will be no information collected that could be used to identify me. Therefore, all my responses will remain anonymous and only group averages will be reported (age, gender, etc.). I understand that if I have any questions or am concerned about my participation, I can contact Thomas Brooks at the number stated above. Further, if I have any questions concerning my rights as a research participant, I can contact the Office of Research Administration at the University of Oklahoma at 325-4757.

Signature _____

Date _____