

The Effects of a Diverse Campus on Ethnic Identity

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The United States has been accepting large numbers of immigrants from Asia and Latin America after the passage of new immigration laws in the 1960's. California, as one of the major immigration gateways to the U.S., has a rapid growing non-white population in which whites are no longer in majority. The controversy has grown out concerning whether ethnic diversity will help create a harmonious society, or whether it brings the U. S. into a state of ethnic conflicts. This paper raises an important question in time of increasing diversity: what determines the effects of diversity in a campus environment upon ethnic assimilation or polarization? The data of a panel study of UCLA undergraduates show that one's social context significantly influences his strength of ethnic identity. The pre-entry identity is determined by immigration background, language use, and the ethnic composition of high school friends. Yet, the strength of ethnic identity in college is further supported by the numbers of ingroup and outgroup college friends. Ingroup friendship helps increase the strengths of ethnic identity in all groups. Outgroup friendship only decreases the ethnic identities in Asians and Latinos, but has no significant effects on whites and blacks. My results confirm the hypothesis that campus context does have additional effects on students'

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strength of ethnic identity, and also suggest that people would self-select their social contexts to maintain or strengthen their ethnic identities. This may bring a warning to those who believe in the fact that more intergroup contact can ease identity barrier. Intergroup contact may be able to erase the ethnic identities of new immigrants, but not those of whites and blacks.

Keywords: American study, ethnic identity, social context, Social Identity Theory, multi-ethnic campus

As the U.S. has undergone a process of ethnic diversification in recent decades, the controversy has grown out concerning whether ethnic diversity will help create a harmonious society, or whether it brings the U. S. into a state of ethnic conflicts. Even though U. S. has few signs of ethnic conflicts like those in Sri Lanka, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia, objections to immigration and cultural diversification can still be heard in the society. Huntington (1997) argues that only creed and culture can unify the U.S. He concludes that, given the increasing ethnic diversity, a common culture is the only mean to unify America. He worries that ethnic awareness may strengthen specific identity, thereby destroying the very foundation of an integrated nation.

The research on ethnic identity provides a fundamental way to understand one's attitudes toward his ethnic group and others', and the psychological basis for ethnic-related issues. Thus, the study of ethnic identity not only has important application on intergroup relations but also has broad political significance. Research has found that the feeling of belonging to one group can significantly affect political behavior, including favoritism toward ingroup members, stereotyped judgment toward outgroups and support of policy preference to one's own group.

In light of the population increase among Asians and Latinos, academic attention has gradually shifted from a black-and-white paradigm to a multi-ethnic scope. One of the foci is the change of ethnic identity, which is often presented as the theories of assimilation, melting pot, and multiculturalism. Yet the occurrence of each scenario depends in large part upon the demographic context in which the research is conducted. Scholars have suggested that naturally occurring contexts such as colleges can increase interracial interaction, thereby diminishing racial conflicts by reducing ethnic identity. College years are considered to be the critical period of identity formation (Saylor and Aries, 1999). Once people are able to share common identity, they will no longer calculate their interests based on a "we vs. they" framework. In other words, college experience may be able to create a common sense of belonging for every ethnic group as

a start of shared identity.

The college years, from the late teens to the mid-twenties, are years of maturation and growth. One may leave home for the first time, meet people from various backgrounds, come upon unfamiliar ideas, and have opportunities to define oneself for who he is (Kibria, 1999). Yet college campuses also have been important arenas for debating racial issues. From course content to extracurricular activities, from faculty hiring to student admission, almost every area of campus life has been the site of racial controversies. No matter being whites or minorities, students are confronted with the challenges offered by the complex racial environments of the U.S. college campuses.

However, not every campus has already caught up with the rapidly diversified ethnic makeup in contemporary America. Some campuses are composed of one major ethnic group, which eliminates the exposure to intergroup contact and racial controversies. Thus, truly to comprehend whether the change of ethnic identity would occur in a multi-ethnic context, it is crucial to have research conducted on a campus that provides real interactions among all major ethnic groups and enough discussion and attention on ethnic issues. UCLA is a campus that meets all these criteria.

In terms of ethnic composition, none of ethnic groups enjoys an absolute majority at UCLA. Asians comprise slightly over 38% of the student population, while whites make up only 32%. Blacks and Latinos comprise roughly 4% and 13% respectively on average after the abolition of affirmative action programs in 1996.¹ Even though the UC Regents proclaim that this abolition had no negative effects on minority acceptance rates, ethnic activists doubt these statistics and desire to restore the affirmative action programs. Besides, because of UCLA's claim to be a diverse but equal opportunity campus, almost all the campus issues at UCLA have to draw opinion from representatives of ethnic

1. The total of the percentages does not add up to 100% because American Indians and those who decline to report their ethnicities are excluded. Sources: UCLA ethnic statistics on new entering from high school, 1991-1999.

groups, which makes racial awareness one of the subjects to which everyone is continuously exposed.

Therefore, entering a diverse environment as UCLA may bring challenges to a student's preexisting ethnic identity. But the effects can come from both sides. On one hand, UCLA stands for ethnic diversity in both its admission policies and curriculum. UCLA guarantees equal opportunity in academic advancement and encourages color-blind extracurricular activities. The diverse campus serves as an ideal environment to increase mutual understanding, thereby possibly weakening students' specific ethnic identities as "blacks", "Hispanics", or "Asians".

On the other hand, UCLA has a fair number of ethnic activists making demands and advancing ethnic agendas. Some student associations are ethnically-based and focus on promoting ethnic-specific interests. Besides, various ethnic studies programs might well strengthen students' ethnic identity. Although these ethnic studies programs aim at investigating and resolving intergroup-related issues fairly, such efforts may promote cultural awareness as well enhance ethnic identification among minority students, especially among the newly immigrated. As a result, entering an ethnically diverse campus makes students start to be aware of the "ingroup vs. outgroup" distinction and the dominant nature of white-European culture. Minority students could come to feel their ethnicities more intensely on a day-to-day basis owing to the experiences in campus activities, ethnic studies courses, and dorm life.

This paper starts by examining the identity change in all the major ethnic groups, namely Asians, Latinos, blacks and whites, to extend the scope of previous research that mostly focused on only one or two minority groups. Secondly the paper shows that the context variables indeed significantly predict the strength of ethnic identity upon the entry to UCLA. Especially interesting is that ingroup friendship strongly affects the strength of ethnic identity in all groups. The third part investigates the influence of campus context on a student's identity after two years' exposure to a diverse environment.

The regression analysis supports the hypothesis that campus context does have additional effect on ethnic identity, even after controlling for the entry identity. Yet the friendship variables mediate the context variables' effects, which attenuate the significance of the campus context. The final part of the paper will investigate a follow-up question about the fact that whether different patterns of identity change occur among the four ethnic groups.

Ethnic Identity and Context Change

Perhaps one of the most controversial debates in this decade is whether an increase of ethnic diversity will bring in a positive future for the United States. Along with the diversification, ethnic studies have already moved from a black-white paradigm to a more comprehensive model that pays attention to all the ethnic groups residing on the land. However, research still focuses more on the black-white relationship and attempts to generalize the findings to other ethnic groups (Phinney, 1990). Not until recently have some scholars begun to explore the attitudes of minority members, especially the attitudes toward racial or ethnic issues. Ethnic identity becomes one of the most studied topics that deal with the psychological aspects of minority members toward their own groups and the consequent influence on intergroup relationship.

Although the study on ethnic identity attracts much academic attention, there is no widely agree-on definition of ethnic identity. This reflects different understandings regarding what ethnic identity means. The "ethnic identity" in this paper employs the definition from the Social Identity Theory, which defines ethnic identity as one of the social identities being ascribed to the individual based on his sense of belonging and commitment (i.e., a belief in the same creed, common ancestry, or joint destiny) (Tajfel, 1981). In addition, self-identification is the crucial aspect in forming ethnic identity. Ethnic identity does not refer merely to acknowledging one's group membership, but also

to becoming politically aware or adopting an ideology or a group consciousness, even being impelled toward collective action to achieve the group's goal (Doane Jr., 1997; Miller et. al., 1981; Rhea, 1997; Shamir and Arian, 1999). Specifically speaking, ethnic identity is considered to be supported and sustained by a network of relationships. During time of identity transition, the relationship between one individual and his environment also changes. The individual must adapt to those changes in some way, which may reflect to his identity (Either and Deaux, 1994).

Ethnic identity, as one of the social identities, is a multidimensional construct defined by involvement in the cultural practices of one's ethnic group. Studies have shown that ethnic identity can change over time and context and is achieved through a process of self-exploration (Phinney, 1990; Saylor and Aries, 1999). Since each context differs in ethnic composition, language use, religious affiliation, socioeconomic status, political ideology, and other cultural activities, moving to a new context may cause one individual to search for a new support of identity. Thus, researchers are able to trace the impact on identity based on the change in context.

However, in a context of no differences, ethnic identity is meaningless. Only when two or more groups interact over a period of time does ethnic identity become salient to group members (Phinney, 1990). Social Identity Theory predicts that a person will become more identified with a group when identity is made salient. Physical differences and cultural practices are often the first clues to make minorities aware of their specific identities.

Surprisingly most minority students do not become aware of their ethnicity before entering colleges or workplaces (Doane, Jr., 1997; Thai, 1999). Some of them grew up in white communities and perceived themselves as white. Others grew up in ethnically homogeneous communities where self-perception was not even an issue. However, entering a college environment exposes them to their ethnic distinctiveness and forces them to reevaluate their own identities.

Ethier and Deaux (1994) studied 45 Latino first-year students at a predominantly white college. They found that although strength of ethnic identity is related to the students' family background at the entry year, involvement in ethnic activities has replaced family background as the major predictor of ethnic identity by the end of the year. Ethnic organizations and activities on campus have become sources of psychological support for minority students, especially in a predominantly white college. Such involvement has been shown to be associated with strength of ethnic identity. Students who are more likely to become involved in ethnic activities are found to have stronger ethnic identity (Saylor and Aries, 1999).

Even in a diverse campus environment, scholars still have similar findings to Either and Deaux (1990, 1994). Saylor and Aries (1999) trace the strength of ethnic identity on 422 college students from the beginning to the end of the first year. They find that the entry identity was predicted by family participation in cultural practices and school involvement with ethnic organization. At the end of the year, ethnic friendship and ethnic activities on campus contribute to the prediction of identity more than do the background variables. They argue that joining ethnic organizations provides support for ethnic identity, which causes a significant increase in strength of ethnic identity at the end of the freshman year.

Portes and MacLead (1996) present a similar finding. They find national origin, length of U. S. residence, knowledge of English, and uses of foreign languages have a moderate to strong relationship with ethnic identity. However, they argue that strong ethnic identification is associated with lower college expectation, lower self-esteem, and greater discrimination experience. In other words, accepting ethnic identity does not come from self-awareness or ethnic pride, but rather from lacking capability to reject the label.

Ethnic studies programs, on the other hand, are mostly rooted in promoting cultural awareness and positive identity to minority students. These programs seek to recover and

to recognize the contribution of minority groups that may have been neglected by American history. Some researchers argue that ethnic studies programs promote specific group interests rather than increasing all students' exposure to diversity, which may have little contribution to intergroup harmony (La Belle and Ward, 1996).

However, lacking involvement in ethnic organizations and ethnic studies programs does not necessarily imply weaker identity. Informal relationship is still able to support minority members in forming positive attitudes toward their ethnic groups. For example, ingroup friendship plays a crucial role in maintaining or strengthening ethnic identity. Studies have found that minority students consider ethnic friendship as easy and comfortable. Shared culture and experience provide a common ground to establish friendship. A positive relationship exists between degree of perceived similarity and degree of intimacy between one's self and close friends. Ting-Toomey (1981) finds that people who have a predominantly ethnic friendship network tend to have stronger ethnic identity than those who do not. Outgroup friendship is usually unstable and hostile because of racial stereotypes. Unreceptiveness by outgroup members may only strengthen the bonds of ingroup friendship, which in turn contributes to an increase in ethnic identity (Kibria, 1997, 1999).

In addition, informal institutions such as churches serve to preserve cultural tradition and ethnic attachment for recent immigrants. Yang (1999) confirms the role of transplanted religious institutions in preserving ethnic culture and identity. His study on second-generation Chinese Americans shows that social reality of racial classification in American society makes many adult Chinese Americans stayed in ethnic Christian churches, rather than involved in integrated churches. These churches generally promote the Chinese language, set up Chinese schools, and celebrate traditional festivals. Consequently most Chinese Americans live in a social context more favorable to their ethnic culture, which helps them retain their ethnic identity.

On the other hand, whites also develop a heightened sense of ethnic identity in a

diverse environment. Being the dominant group in the U. S., whites feel less intensely about their ethnic role because their culture and normative status have been built into the “mainstream” values of the society. Whites are also less likely to face social or cultural differences that may result in prejudice or disadvantage. Doane (1997) attributes whites’ weak identity to the phenomenon called the “hidden ethnicity,” a lack of awareness that is not normally asserted to intergroup relations. Only when their interests are challenged by other groups does whites’ identity start to surface.

A diverse campus provides such challenges to white students. For example, in informal student cultures, UCLA is referred to “University of Caucasians Living among Asians.” Asian students are resented for generating competition in the struggle for grades (Kibria, 1999). For UCLA students, no matter what their ethnicity is, remaining distant from formal ethnic activities and courses does not prevent their college years from being a time of encounters with ethnic issues and reflection about what it means for identity. Thus, a diverse campus like UCLA is expected to bring significant impact to students’ ethnic identity.

According to Social Identity Theory, one may change his strength of ethnic identity when he moves to a new context. Because most students move from a home environment to a diverse campus, it is expected that students’ identity will be affected by this context change. Therefore, the following hypotheses are formed and will be examined in this paper. The hypotheses are: 1. Ethnic identity is embedded in social context. The strength of ethnic identity can be predicted by such factors as demographics, culture backgrounds, and ethnic composition of neighborhood and friends. 2. Ethnic identity can change over context, even though it is generally stable over time. Thus, it is expected that entering a diverse campus may influence students’ strength of ethnic identity. And the campus context has an additionally significant effect, even after controlling for the entry identity. 3. It is expected that minority groups, Asians, blacks, and Latinos, will decrease their strength of ethnic identities. The exposures to a context with a greater number of

outgroup members and a higher intensity of dominant culture will significantly decrease their strength of ethnic identity and accelerate assimilation. On the other hand, whites are exposed to a context with a greater number of minority members that highlights their ethnicity. Thus, an increase in white identity is expected since the exposure to minorities makes whites' ethnicity salient.

Method

Data

The data of the research come from a three-wave panel study titled "Studies in Intergroup Conflict: A University Context."² The subjects were incoming freshmen at UCLA who attended the 1996 summer orientation program. The panel data were first collected through mass administration of a written questionnaire at the beginning of the summer in 1996. Approximately 95% of these incoming freshmen (3,672 students) attended the summer orientation and were eligible to participate. Because 923 students were under 18 years of age and did not have the written consent of their parents, 78% of the eligible population (2,157 students) completed the Wave 1 questionnaire.

The sample frames of Wave 2 and Wave 3 were drawn from those who responded in the previous wave. Wave 2 and Wave 3 data were collected through telephone interviews in Spring of 1997 and 1998. These telephone interviews averaged 20 minutes in length and were conducted using the Computer-Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) system run by the Institute for Social Science Research at UCLA.

Because this study focuses on the change of ethnic identity within a two-year span, the eligible subjects are those who have participated in both Waves 1 and 3 from the four

2. The research was funded by the Russell Sage Foundation and the UCLA office of the Chancellor.

major ethnic groups, which include 515 Asians, 192 Latinos, 48 Blacks and 449 whites. Bi-racial subjects are excluded in the following analysis.

Measurement

Strength of ethnic identity. The measurement of ethnic identity is formed by three items rated on a seven-point Likert scale (1=not at all, 7 =very strongly) : 1. “How important is your ethnicity to your identity?”, 2. “How often do you think of yourself as a member of your ethnic group?”, and 3. “How close do you feel to other members of your ethnic group?”³ The sum of the three items is divided by three to keep the scale consistent.

Immigration background. According to ethnic studies, immigration background is closely related to strength of ethnic identity. Thus I select the following variables to evaluate their impacts on ethnic identity. These variables are: 1. Were you born in the U. S? 2. How many of your parents were born in the U.S.? 3. How many of you grandparents were born in the U. S.? 4. What is the highest level of education your parents completed? 5. What language is spoken by your family at home? 6. How religious are you?

Ethnic context. In Wave 1, the ethnic composition of the subjects’ neighborhood and that of closest high school friends were measured by a five-point scale (1=none, 5=all): “How many of the residents of the neighborhood where you grew up most of the time before age of 16 were A. Latinos, B. Blacks, C. Asians, and D. Whites.”, and “In high school, how many of your closest friends were A. African American, B. Latino, C. Asian American, and D. Caucasian.” The outgroup neighborhood and friendship is created by dividing the sum of the measures of the different ethnic groups by three. By

3. All three indicators were ranged from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very important). The reliability of the indicators was tested using a factor analysis. The results clearly demonstrated that the indicators did capture the concept of ethnic identity. The average explained variances by the factor were 78.9% among the three waves.

doing this, the scale is kept consistent with the ingroup friendship variable.

In Wave 3, campus context is measured in four ways, including dorm diversity, the number of ethnic classes taken, ingroup friendship and outgroup friendship. Dorm diversity is measured in a seven-point scale (1=not at all, 7=very diverse) by asking how diverse is the dorm. Thus, it is a general impression of dorm diversity without specifying the ratio of each ethnic group. The number of ethnic classes taken is measured by the real number of the classes taken by the subject.

The friendship variables are measured by five-point scales (1=none, 5=all). The wording is: "At UCLA, how many of your closest friends are African American?" and repeat the question three times by replacing African Americans with Asian, Latino, and Caucasian Americans. The measurement of outgroup friendship is created by dividing the sum of the measures of friends from different ethnicities by three, while the ingroup friendship is the variable that the subject belongs to the same ethnicity of the closest friends.

Results

To examine the influence of the diverse campus, I begin with presenting the average strength of ethnic identity before formally entering UCLA and after two years of study at UCLA. Table 1 shows the means of ethnic identity across the four major ethnic groups in Wave 1 and Wave 3. Asians and Latinos decreased their strengths of ethnic identity after two years study of UCLA while whites and blacks increased their strength of ethnic identity. All the changes are statistically significant at the .05 level.

It is obvious that recently immigrated and long-residing students present different patterns when confronting a diverse campus. Confronting an incongruent context in the university may cause an increase in identity in long-residing blacks and whites. Although whites start with the lowest strength of ethnic identity, the increase is still significant.

Whites are the group that is least likely to be reminded of cultural and physical difference, and therefore their identity is usually latent (Doane, 1997). Besides, the means in Table 2 shows that whites also live in a more congruent context than the other groups before entering universities.⁴ Whites tend to make friends with whites and live within white communities. Once whites enter an environment in which issues are full of ethnic flavor, the context makes whites aware of their “difference.” (Following the same logic, blacks should have the strongest ethnic identity because they are constantly reminded about their ethnicity.) However, for Asian and Latino students, the decreasing trend may signal a gradual acculturation into the mainstream identity and culture.

Table 1 The means of ethnic identity in wave 1 and 3

Means of Ethnic Identity	Asians	Latinos	Blacks	Whites
Wave 1	5.28	5.18	5.62	3.76
Wave 3	5.03	5.02	5.89	3.86
Mean difference (W3-W1)	-.25***	-.16***	.27***	.10***
Correlation coefficient between the two waves	.60***	.62***	.45***	.53***

*** $p < .001$

Even though students in all ethnic groups show significant changes between Waves 1 and 3, it is not sufficient to conclude that these changes result from a diverse campus environment. Ethnic identity has long been considered a complex of processes changing over time and context. Research has shown that the formation and development of ethnic identity are related to the social involvement and cultural practices of one’s ethnic group, such as language, religious affiliation, ingroup friendship, and area of residence.

4. The mean of ethnic close friends in high school for whites is 3.76 and that of ethnic neighbors is 3.84. They are the highest across all the groups.

Additionally, immigrants' ethnic identity is associated with immigration background and intergroup relationship. The strength may gradually decline in later generations and with more intergroup contact (Phinney, 1990).

Therefore, it is possible that these changes found in Table 1 are merely the continuing effects of precollegiate experience, the composition of family culture practices and intergroup relationship. But it is also possible that a diverse campus environment does affect students' strength of ethnic identity. The campus may provide an ideal environment of offering constant intergroup contact for those who came from a diverse context, as well as setting up new challenges for those who reside in a congruent community.

To distinguish the effect of precollegiate experience from that of a diverse campus context, I first present the influences of the demographic factors on strength of ethnic identity at entry into college (Wave 1's identity). It is expected that entry identity is closely related to one's ethnic context (Sears et. Al, 1997, 1999; Ting-Toomey, 1981). The next step is to evaluate the relative effect of the campus by controlling the entry identity. If exposure to a highly diverse campus does have additional influence, the composition of the campus factors, such as friendship, ethnic courses, and dorm experience, should show significant effects on the change of ethnic identity.

Before further analyses, I first present the ethnic contexts across the four groups in Table 2. The result confirms the common impression that Asian and Latino students are mostly recent immigrants while black and white students come from long-residing families. In contrast to the other ethnic groups, Asians are the most recent immigrants. Only 49.9% of the Asians were born in the States; many of the other half have personal memories of living abroad. Additionally, 90.8% of the Asians were born to two immigrant parents. Yet 83.1% of the Latino counterparts were born in the U. S. and only 34.1% of them had at least one parent born in the U. S.

Despite the differences, Asians and Latinos have similar degree of language

assimilation. Roughly half of the Asians and Latinos speak English primarily or exclusively at home. However, the percentages are still much lower than those for blacks and whites. Over 93% of the blacks and whites use English as their primary language, while almost half of the Asians and Latinos still adopt other languages in their communication. The language use reveals a major gap between long-term residents and recent immigrants.

Table 2 The ethnic context of the subjects

(%)	Asians	Latinos	Blacks	Whites
Born in the U. S. (Yes)	49.9	83.1	90.5	90.5
(Mean)	(.50)	(.83)	(.90)	(.90)
The number of parents born in the U. S.				
None	90.8	65.9	18.4	13.3
One	2.8	15.8	4.8	10.1
Two	6.4	18.3	6.9	76.6
(Mean)	(.16)	(.52)	(1.58)	(1.63)
Language spoken at home				
English only (1)	10.4	19.2	87.1	86.5
Mostly English (2)	41.8	30.8	10.9	6.9
Mostly other languages (3)	40.5	38.5	2.0	4.7
Only other languages (4)	7.3	11.5	--	1.9
(Mean)	(2.45)	(2.42)	(1.15)	(1.22)
Mother's education (Mean)	5.04	3.12	5.42	6.16
Father's education (Mean)	5.67	3.37	5.57	6.74
Close friends in high school coming from the same ethnicity (Mean)	3.54	3.31	3.35	3.76
Close friends in high school who are not the same ethnicity (Mean)	1.85	2.03	2.40	1.82
Neighbors in high school period coming from the same ethnicity (Mean)	2.63	3.14	2.85	3.84
Neighbors in high school period who are not the same ethnicity (Mean)	2.12	1.90	2.04	1.63
Total cases	515	192	48	449

As indicated earlier, numerous studies have found that social context contributes to

strength of ethnic identity. The result of the regression analysis in Table 3 supports this argument. The composition of those variables accounts for sizable variances of strength of ethnic identity in the four groups. Especially, these variables can best explain the strength of blacks' identity ($R^2=.393$).

Contrary to my expectation, most of the demographic variables have no significant effects, even for recently immigrated Asians and Latinos. It is suspected that friendship and neighborhood may mediate the effects of demographic variables because the ethnic composition of the community determines the possibility of ingroup vs. outgroup friendship in high school. To test the argument, I rerun the regression analyses without the friendship and neighborhood variables (see model 1 in Table 3). The results show that the inclusion of friendship and neighborhood variables indeed absorbs the effects of the context variables.

Generally speaking, ingroup friendship is the most influential variable for Asians, Latinos and blacks, but second to foreign language use for whites. The more close high school friends from the same ethnicity, the stronger one's ethnic identity. However, outgroup friendship seems to have no significant effect on identity, except among Asians. The coefficient of blacks shows a substantively big effect although it is not significant at the .05 level. The insignificance may be only due to the small sample size ($N=48$), rather than having no theoretical significance. Additionally, blacks have more outgroup friends in high school than Asians did (Table 2), and therefore outgroup friendship should affect their identity significantly.

Language has been the most widely assessed cultural variable in studies of ethnic identity, especially for whites that emigrated from non-English speaking countries (Phinney, 1990). Retaining ethnic language becomes an option for preserving cultural roots. The result in Table 3 confirms that use of foreign language is an influential variable, especially for whites. For whites, one unit increases in foreign language use, such as from "speaking primarily foreign languages" to "speaking only foreign languages," increases

strength of white identity .577 unit, which is twice as strong as the second most influential variable “high school closest friends from the same ethnicity”.

Table 3 The determinants of ethnic identity in wave 1

	<i>Asians</i>		<i>Latinos</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Whites</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Constant	4.156*** (.304)	2.946*** (.466)	4.259*** (.614)	2.125 (.869)	1.436 (1.679)	-2.021 (1.965)	2.672*** (.470)	2.100 (.688)
Number of grandparents born in the USA (1~4)	-.030 (.123)	-.041 (.118)	-.253* (.118)	-.205# (.117)	-.427 (.505)	-.191 (.464)	-.129 (.061)	-.126* (.060)
Number of parents born in USA	-.054 (.190)	.047 (.183)	.245 (.204)	.149 (.204)	1.511 (1.062)	.823 (.981)	.082 (.151)	.047 (.147)
Mothers' education (1~7 high)	.052 (.036)	.047 (.035)	-.003 (.059)	.048 (.058)	.074 (.174)	.119 (.161)	-.027 (.037)	-.031 (.036)
Fathers' education (1~7 high)	-.056 (.034)	-.036 (.033)	-.089 (.056)	-.056 (.055)	-.050 (.146)	-.047 (.137)	.013 (.038)	.007 (.037)
Self born in USA (1: yes, 0:no)	-.072 (.113)	.007 (.109)	.121 (.261)	.033 (.5254)	1.232 (.769)	.946 (.744)	.324 (.244)	.328 (.245)
Foreign language spoken at home (1~4 only foreign language)	.342*** (.084)	.300*** (.082)	.413** (.151)	.228 (.153)	1.283* (.643)	.978 (.591)	.571*** (.139)	.577*** (.570)
Religiosity (1 ~ 7 high)	.051*** (.013)	.039** (.013)	.029 (.028)	.029 (.027)	.047 (.058)	.087 (.057)	.068*** (.014)	.067*** (.014)
High school closest friends not from the same ethnicity (1~5 all)		-.195* (.101)		.013 (.195)		.277 (.386)		-.045 (.111)
High school closest friends from the same ethnicity (1~5 all)		.345*** (.052)		.375*** (.095)		.499* (.202)		.241*** (.073)
Number of neighbors not from the same ethnicity (1~ 5 all)		.141* (.066)		-.081 (.130)		.465# (.266)		.012 (.073)
Number of neighbors from the same ethnicity (1~ 5 all)		.046 (.046)		.045 (.087)		.223 (.238)		-.050 (.064)
R square	.073	.165	.165	.241	.168	.393	.099	.124

Note: Standard errors of estimated effects are in parentheses.

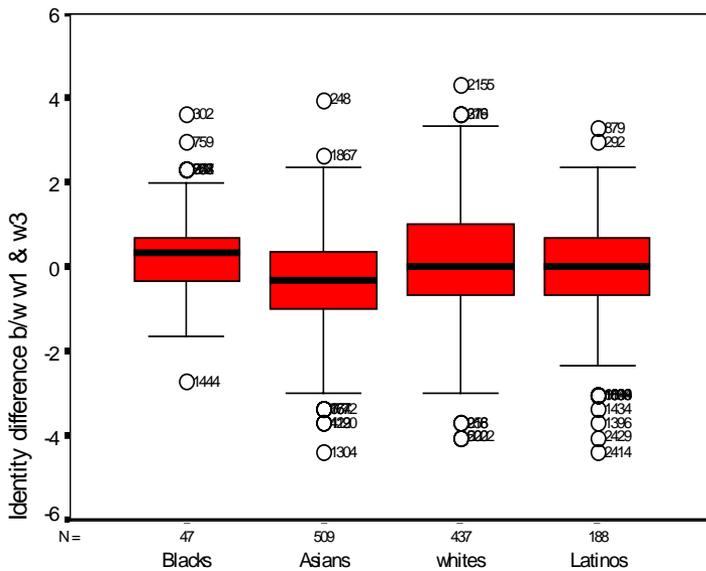
$p < .1$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Overall, contextual variables do not seem to have significant influence on the entry identity. Comparing the coefficients between model 1 and mode 2 in Table 3 shows that ingroup friendship apparently mediates the effect of demographics. Demographics may produce a preference toward ingroup friendship. For example, similar values and fewer

language barriers make ethnic friendship easier and comfortable, especially for those who live within an ethnic environment. However, this mediation effect does not seem to take place in whites. It may be explained by the fact that most whites live in predominantly white communities and make white friends (as can be seen in Table 2). Their values and beliefs have already been internalized as the “American value,” which makes whites feel less need to find support from ethnic friends. Thus, friendship does not mediate the effects of demographics.

On the other hand, several factors, such as use of foreign language, religiosity, outgroup friendship, and outgroup neighborhood, have significant effects on ethnic identity. The finding is similar to those in Either and Deaux (1990) and Henry and Sears (1998). These studies suggest that strength of ethnic identity is significantly predicted by such factors as the language spoken at home, the ethnic composition of the neighborhood, and the percentage of a student’s friends who were in the same ethnic group. Yet these contextual factors that used to support ethnic identity may no longer be available in a new environment. Since research has found that ethnic identity can change over time and context, it is reasonable to expect that the significant identity changes between Wave 1 and Wave 3 is caused by the new environment. However, the changes are not identical across groups even though students are exposed to the same environment. Figure 1 presents the identity difference between Waves 1 and 3 in all groups, by subtracting Wave 1’s from Wave 3’s. A positive numbers indicates an increase in identity between wave 1 and wave 3.

Figure 1 The change of ethnic identity in the four ethnic groups



The four major ethnic groups

	Blacks	Asians	Whites	Latinos
Mean	.326	-.290	.127	-.140
Median	.333	-.333	.000	.000
Standard Deviation	1.28	1.15	1.35	1.27
F=10.496 (p<.001)				

As seen in Figure 1, blacks are the group that had most members increasing their strength of ethnic identity. Roughly 70% of the blacks increase their strength of ethnic identity after a two-year period. Additionally, their identity change is more concentrated than the other groups'. This indicates that blacks' attitude does not fluctuate much between the two waves. The majority of blacks reveal a more loyal attitude to their ethnicity after entering a diverse campus.

Comparing to blacks, roughly 50% of the whites and that of the Latinos increase their strength of ethnic identity. However, whites present a more diverse identity change than the other groups. Although whites have the lowest mean in identity in both waves (see Table 1), the range of their identity change is the widest, which indicates that whites react more “heavily” to the context than the other groups.

Asians and Latinos are the groups showing a declining trend in ethnic identity. More important is that the majority of Asians reveal a sharper decrease than that of Latinos (The mean of identity difference in Asians is -.290 and that of Latinos is only -.140). Although mostly recently immigrated, Asians seem to assimilate more quickly than Latinos. Some scholars attribute this phenomenon to “voluntary immigration vs. involuntary immigration.” The argument claims that voluntary immigrants, such as Asians, came to this country for better living environment and brighter future.⁵ They usually have higher education level and better economic status. Thus, they are more willing and able to adapt the new context. On the contrary, involuntary immigrants, mostly referring to Latinos and blacks, came to this country either by force or by poor living conditions in their native countries. They tend to sustain their ethnic identity and original context as a result of lower self-esteem.

As seen in Figure 1, the recently immigrated groups tend to decrease their identity while the long-residing groups tend to sustain or increase their identity. Recent immigrants are able to decrease their ethnic identity by constant intergroup contact. On the contrary, long-residing groups may sense the new competition brought by immigrants, thereby increasing their strength of ethnic identity. However, it is still too early to judge the cause of the identity change at this moment. The identity change may be due to the

5. Notice that the pan-ethnic label “Asians” refers to a very wide range of nations of origin. So-called “voluntary immigrants” in this argument refers to those Asians who came to the U. S. in their free will, such as Japanese, Chinese, and Korean. Some Asians, such as Vietnamese refugees and Hmong, did not come to this nation by their choice and thus they do not fit into the “voluntary immigrant” category.

exposure to a diverse environment. Or perhaps the change is only a continuing effect of precollegiate experience. If a diverse campus does have additional effects, the campus factors should have significant influences even controlling for the entry identity.

As indicated earlier, the influence of a diverse campus can be two-sided. A diverse campus such as UCLA provides real intergroup contact, which in turns helps students respect different cultures. On the other hand, ethnic studies programs and ethnic activists on campus may heavily promote specific identities. Therefore, students who take ethnic studies classes would be exposed to an environment that encourages maintaining or even strengthening ethnic identity. On the contrary, students who live in integrated dorm and make outgroup friends are more likely to be exposed to an environment where intergroup contact helps decrease strength of ethnic identity.

Table 4 The means of the campus factors in the four groups

	<i>Asians</i>	<i>Latinos</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Whites</i>
Ethnic courses taken (1~10)	0.92	1.31	1.57	0.69
Dorm Diversity (1~7)	5.1	4.84	4.7	5.1
Ingroup close friends at campus (1~5)	3.38	3.16	3.35	3.35
Outgroup close friends at campus (1~5)	1.85	2.13	2.07	2.00

Table 4 presents the means of the university context variables. In terms of the level of dorm diversity, Asians and whites consider the dorm more diverse than do Latinos and blacks. Besides, Asians and whites take fewer ethnic studies courses than do Latinos and blacks. On average, whites take 0.69 ethnic studies classes while blacks take 1.57 classes. This difference is huge, especially taking the enrollment percentages into consideration. For example, blacks have the highest percentage of enrollment. 77.5% of blacks have taken at least one ethnic studies course. Among other ethnic groups, 60.3% of Latinos,

45.9 % of Asians and 38.8% of whites have taken an ethnic studies course. Among those who have taken ethnic courses, many only take one to two courses.

On the other hand, there is little variance taking place in the means of ingroup friendship among the four groups. Yet, the means of outgroup friendship look very different. On average, Asians have the fewest closest outgroup friends while Latinos have the most. Asians seem to be more conservative when making outgroup friends. Generally speaking, all groups tend to make friends among members of their own ethnicity, not vice versa.

Table 5 The determinants of the identity in wave 3

	<i>Asians</i>		<i>Latinos</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Whites</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Constant	1.798*** (.295)	1.630** (.425)	.607 (.647)	2.651* (1.026)	4.040*** (.849)	2.555# (1.345)	2.445*** (.388)	1.149 (.700)
Dorm diversity (7 very diverse)	-.036 (.036)	-.018 (.035)	.148# (.088)	.204* (.080)	.180# (.096)	.169# (.082)	-.028 (.057)	-.030 (.058)
Number of ethnic classes taken (1~10)	.080* (.040)	.073# (.039)	.210# (.113)	.110 (.104)	.196 (.148)	.221 (.135)	-.014 (.087)	-.026 (.087)
Ethic Identity in wave 1	.627*** (.044)	.565*** (.045)	.637*** (.097)	.562*** (.098)	.142 (.138)	.115 (.117)	.411*** (.062)	.413*** (.061)
Number of closest friends not from the same ethnicity (1~5 all)		-.246* (.125)		-1.092** (.323)		.090 (.357)		.199 (.205)
Number of closest friends from the same ethnicity (1~5 all)		.253*** (.067)		.233 (.159)		.568** (.179)		.273* (.114)
R square	.377	.416	.479	.598	.266	.532	.193	.218

Note: Standard errors of estimated effects are in parentheses.

p < .1 *p < .05 **p < .01 *** p < .001

The test of exposure to diverse campus is shown in Table 5. If the hypothesis is correct, it is expected that the campus context variables will have additional effects on

Wave 3's identity, even after controlling for wave 1's identity. If intergroup contact does weaken strength of ethnic identity, the coefficients of those context variables, such as dorm diversity and outgroup friendship, should be negative in a regression, which indicate a decrease in ethnic identity. On the same token, the variables of sustaining ingroup preference, such as ethnic courses and ingroup friendship, should have positive coefficients that show an increase in identity.

However, friendship at campus may also result from one's context self-selection. One could remain in a self-screened ethnic context within a diverse campus. Therefore, I specify model one, to exclude variables such as ingroup and outgroup friendship, as I do not wish to "control away" the effects of the other context variables, such as dorm diversity and ethnic courses. Model two is then estimated, including those variable left out in model one, to see whether there is any mediation effect.

In model one, I find ethnic studies courses significantly affected Asians identity and dorm diversity has a semi-significant effect on Latinos identity ($p=.06$). Wave 3's identity is heavily influenced by Wave 1's identity. A stronger ethnic identity in Wave 1 would predict a stronger identity in Wave 3. However, none of the variables has significant influence on blacks. Only dorm diversity has a nearly significant effect on Wave 3's identity ($p=.07$). Again, the small sample size of 48 may affect the significance of the variables. The coefficients in fact indicate strong influences on Wave 3's identity and are substantively meaningful.

In model two, the composition of the variables on average explains 44.1% of the total variance in all groups. For Latinos, it explains 59.8% of the variance, which is twice of that of whites ($R\text{ square}=.218$). The coefficients support my hypothesis that context does have additional effects on ethnic identity. Ingroup friendship dominates the strength of black identity and also had a significantly positive influence. However, it was not significant in Latinos. Latinos' identity, on the contrary, is dominated by outgroup friendship, whose influence is even beyond Wave 1's identity. The negative coefficients

of outgroup friendship in Asians and Latinos also supports the hypothesis that intergroup contact can help decrease the strength of ethnic identity⁶.

The strength of Wave 1's ethnic identity retains a sizable influence on Wave 3's identity. For Asians and whites, the entry identity is the strongest predictor. The positive coefficients indicate that stronger identity at entry into UCLA (Wave 1) leads to stronger identity in Wave 3 when all others are held equal.

As expected, friendship contributes much to Wave 3's ethnic identity. The other context variables in model two seem to have no significant effect. However, when comparing model two with model one, it is very clear that the effects of those variables were absorbed by the presentation of friendship variables. That is to say, friendship indeed mediates the effects of the context variables and supports the argument that friendship is a result of a self-selected environment.

Regarding to the different patterns of identity change across ethnic groups, the result in Table 5 provides an answer. Asians and Latinos have negative coefficients in the variable of outgroup friendship, which indicates an ongoing assimilation effect. Yet such effect is not seen in blacks. The coefficient of blacks indicates an increase in ethnic identity by intergroup contact, which is against my hypothesis. That is to say, given the same conditions, an increase in outgroup closest friends can help decrease Asians' and Latinos' strength of ethnic identity while blacks conversely increase their identity.

Searching for a reason of the contradiction, I argue that the level of the contrast

6. One initial reader suggested that it might be the exposure to whites helps decrease minorities' ethnic identities, rather than intergroup contact. To test this hypothesis, I reran model two in minority groups by replacing "the number of closest friends not from the same ethnicity" with "the number of closest friends who are whites". The rerun model not only explained lower percentages of the variation, but also presented much lower coefficients in the white-exposure variable in both Asians and Latinos. On the contrary, for blacks, the rerun model increased the explained variation (R squared=.566) and showed a negative coefficient of white-exposure (-.227). Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the decrease of Asians' and Latinos' identities may be due to contacting other ethnic groups, while blacks' decrease of ethnic identity is mostly due to the exposure to whites.

between the previous context and the campus context decides ethnic identity's saliency for blacks. For the blacks coming from segregated communities, they might not have thought of any ethnic issues before. After entering UCLA, they are exposed to a context with lots of the dominant members and ethnic debates. The contrast of the contexts makes these blacks more likely to be aware of the saliency of their ethnicity. More exposure to whites will result in higher saliency of the ethnic difference, thereby creating an increase in ethnic identity. On the contrary, for the blacks coming from integrated communities, they would not experience such a contextual contrast and are more likely to be assimilated as Asians and Latinos. Thus, it is expected that the blacks coming from the most segregated communities, either predominantly white or predominantly black neighborhood, will present bigger changes of ethnic identity between Wave 1 and Wave 3, while the blacks coming from integrated communities will show smaller changes. If the hypothesis is true, the change of black identity should look like a concave distribution along the X axis, the degree of neighborhood segregation, running from predominantly white to predominantly black neighborhood.

To test the hypothesis, I create a new variable called "the exposure to whites (ETW)" by adding up "the number of white closest friends in high school", "the number of white neighbors in high school", and "the number of white closest friends in college". Then I run the regression: $\Delta\text{ethnic identity} = b_0 + b_1 * \text{ETW} + b_2 * (\text{ETW})^2$. The result shows that $\Delta\text{ethnic identity} = 3.819 - 1.155 * \text{ETW} + .086 * (\text{ETW})^2$ and the coefficients are all significant in the .05 level. The regression result supports my hypothesis that the change of blacks' identity is indeed a concave distribution. The contradictory findings in Table 5 are resulted from the different levels of the contextual contrast among blacks. Since most blacks come from segregated communities, the huge contextual contrast makes blacks more likely to be aware of their ethnicity, thereby increasing their strength of ethnic identity.

Discussion

In this paper, I examine the contextual impact on ethnic identity in college students over two academic years as they moved through a significant change in context. Although there is a debate in the literature over whether culture practices in a particular context are a good indicator of strength of ethnic identity (e. g. Phinney, 1990), my findings suggest that the campus context does have significant effects on strength of ethnic identity.

One key hypothesis in this paper is based on Social Identity Theory, which assumes that people will adjust their identity to adapt contextual changes. If no changes occur, identity remains quite stable over time. Whenever context changes, people will find new supportive basis in a new environment. Because of this adaptation to a new context, identity may correspondently strengthen or decline. Studies have found that family cultural practices, high school friends, and neighborhood context support a strong ethnic identity. When moving to a new environment, people who wish to maintain their identity need to link themselves with the contextual elements that can form a new supportive base (Either and Deaux, 1994).

In the present study, I trace the change of strength of ethnic identity on a total of 1,204 students at UCLA. My findings are consistent with those of Either and Deaux (1990, 1994) and Henry and Sears (1998). When entering UCLA, students' strengths of ethnic identity are found to be related to their previous contexts, such as the uses of ethnic languages, religiosity, friendship, and ethnic composition of neighborhood. Table 3's results show that ingroup friendship variable was the most significant variables on strength of the entry identity. Generally, the more close high school friends come from the same ethnicity, the stronger ethnic identity becomes. This effect is especially salient for Latinos and blacks because it is the only significant variable. The strengths of Latinos' and blacks' identity are strongly supported by closest friends of the same

ethnicity, whereas Asians' and whites' identities are based on more contextual elements. In addition, the combination of friendship and neighborhood variables mediate the effects of the other context variables.

After a two-year of study at a diverse campus, a significant change in strength of ethnic identity takes place in every group. Asian and Latino students reveal a declining trend of ethnic identity while black and white students present the opposite way. My question focus on whether the campus context has some additional impact on ethnic identity and whether the different patterns across groups result from different reaction to the same campus context.

Social Identity Theory predicts a change of ethnic identity occurs when an individual moves to a new context. Additionally, an increase in salience will also lead to an increase in identification. A diverse campus such as UCLA keeps students constantly exposed to a highly racial sensitive environment. Not only do students and faculty members come from various ethnic backgrounds, but also numerous ethnic organization and activities on campus make student aware of their ethnicities.

The findings in Table 5 support the hypothesis that the campus context does significantly affect students' strength of ethnic identity. When other variables being equal, students tend to increase their strength of ethnic identity after two years of study. This tendency indicates that a diverse campus may in some ways expose students to a highly ethnically sensitive environment, in which students become more aware of their ethnic distinctiveness. When controlling for the entry identity, contextual variables remain significant to Wave 3's identity. Among them, friendship apparently mediates the effects of the other contextual variables. More ingroup closest friends is associated with an increase in ethnic identity, which is also the most significant factor in predicting wave 3's identity. On the other hand, it is expected that outgroup friendship should result in a decrease in ethnic identity in minority groups. Yet there is no such effect on blacks. My explanation is that most blacks have experienced a huge contextual contrast between their

previous context and the campus context. Since most of the blacks came from segregated communities, they are more likely to be aware of the salience of their ethnicity at UCLA. Thus, it is not surprising to see an increase in blacks' identity.

Meanwhile outgroup friendship is the most influential variable for Latinos and the effect is even greater than that of the entry identity. Especially interesting is that dorm diversity influences Latinos' identity in an unexpected way. The positive coefficient ($\beta=.204$) indicates that a significant increase in dorm diversity results in a stronger Latinos' identity, which does not take place in the other groups. Although the coefficient of blacks is not significant at .05 level ($p=.08$), it points a positive direction. As Social Identity theorists suggest, a salient context will make one individual become increasingly identified with his group. One of the salient conditions bases on a clear contrast between one's self-definition and the current context (Either and Deaux, 1994). Thus, people who belong to minority groups are more likely to be aware of their ethnic distinctiveness than those who are a majority in one context. Latinos and blacks are obviously the minority groups at UCLA. The context should make them especially aware of their ethnicities. This argument could explain the finding that Latino students revealed a strengthening tendency as dorm diversity increased.

Examining the longitude data of 1,204 students confirms the hypothesis that the campus context does have additional effects on students' strength of ethnic identity. Although ethnic identity remains fairly stable between the two waves, it is still found that some contextual variables have significant influences above and beyond that of the entry identity. The findings confirm that people would find new supportive bases to maintain or even strengthen their ethnic identity. The only difference is that the strengths of minorities' identities, such as Asians and Latinos, are significantly influenced by outgroup friendship which weakens their ethnic identity. Yet the same phenomenon does not take place in whites. This result may be a warning to the believers of intergroup contact. Intergroup contact may be able to erase ethnic-specific identity of minorities, but

not that of blacks and whites. Even though UCLA provides a quite diverse campus with much of group interaction, the ethnic composition has already prepared a salient stage for ethnic awareness.

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美國多元校園環境 對學生族裔認同之影響

傅明穎*

自 1965 年移民法案通過之後，美國開始大量接受來自世界各國的移民，而做為移民入口之一的加州，州內少數族裔人口比例逐年上昇，使白人在 2000 年人口普查中人口比例首次低於 50%，如此多族裔的人口組合不禁使人擔心是否易於發生族裔衝突，進而危害美國社會的穩定。本文根據 Social Identity Theory 探討社會網絡（social context）對於族裔認同（ethnic identity）的影響，認為多元族裔的社會網絡（如校園）應可增進各族裔的相互瞭解、降低族裔認同，進而營造和平共處的氣氛。在分析 1996、1998 年針對 UCLA 大學生的連續調查後，證實學生個人社會網絡的組成，如語言使用、居住環境、交友族裔組合與宿舍族裔組合等，對其族裔認同的強度有顯著的影響。本文發現學生如結交同族裔朋友會相對增加對該族裔的認同，而結交其他族裔朋友有助於降低族裔認同，但對黑人和白人學生來說，結交其他族裔朋友對降低他們的族裔認同並沒有顯著影響。因此，雖然美國致力以政治力保證校園的族裔多元性，給予各族裔在校園中公平的代表性，鼓吹「美國認同」以取代各族裔的族裔認同，希望減低族裔衝突的可能性，但研究發現學生往往在校園中自我篩選社會網絡、交往對象，其影響力超乎於外在營造出的多元環境，成為維持學生族群認同強度的基本因素。

關鍵字：美國研究、族裔認同、族群認同、社會網絡、社會認同理論、多元族裔校園

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