# Strengthening, Hiding or Relinquishing Ethnic Identity in Response to Threat: Implications for Intercultural Relations*

Rosita Albert, Adina Schneeweis, and Iva Knobbe
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

## Introduction

Shortly after the 9/11 attack, an East Indian student at the University of Minnesota was harassed because somebody mistook her for an Arab. Recent scholarship in the field of intercultural communication reflects a concern that 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq would result in very serious problems in international and intercultural relations, and difficulties for certain cultural groups.

This article raises the issue of how historical/political events make salient different facets of ethnic or cultural identity, and influences the likelihood that individuals will increase their identification with an ethnic group, not change their degree of identification, "hide" it, or relinquish it. It explores threats to ethnic or cultural identity as well as possible responses to these threats, and raises important issues for future intercultural relations and intercultural research.

Cases of individuals hiding their ethnicity in the face of external events are far from new. A number of individuals have discovered, often unexpectedly, that they had Jewish background that their family had kept hidden. At an international conference on Prejudice, Discrimination and Conflict in Israel in 1991, a Latina from New Mexico who was Catholic and whose family had been in the Southwest for over 400 years, suddenly realized that her old aunt who used to light candles on Friday evening was not crazy, as family members had assumed--the aunt was simply performing a traditional Jewish ritual. Here was a person who suddenly discovered that she had an ethnic background that she knew nothing about, because the family, facing likely death during the Inquisition, had attempted to hide it. She, like many others in the Southwest of the US, are descendants from Jews who had fled from Spain during the Inquisition and settled in the New World. Many of these Jews, known as 'conversos" or "marranos, " outwardly converted to Catholicism to escape persecution, but secretly practiced Jewish traditions.

A well known example of a family who relinquished its Jewish identity is that of the family of Madeleine Albright, former Secretary of State of the US. She had Jewish grandparents who had perished in a concentration camp. Yet she did not know this; her parents relinquished the Jewish identity and brought her up as a Catholic so that she would not suffer discrimination.

It is likely that many groups throughout history have hidden an identity that is seen as undesirable. Two examples are the phenomenon of "passing" by light skinned Blacks in the U.S. and "being in the closet" by homosexuals. Hiding an ethnic identity is an important

phenomenon to study, because it could help us understand that many populations may, in fact, be more diverse than is commonly suspected. This may have important implications for intercultural relations. Later in the article we will begin to explore these implications.

In this article we will focus on responses to threat to an ethnic identity. Hiding or relinquishing the identity are two possible responses. But sometimes in the face of external threat individuals respond by increasing the strength of their ethnic affiliation. For example, Eberstadt (2004) reports that after the worst epidemic of anti-Jewish violence in France since WWII, Stora, an Algerian-born Sephardic Jew,

> "finds herself reconsidering the venerable French assumption that she and her family must be French first and Jewish second. For a thoroughly assimilated Frenchwoman (her husband was at the time deputy mayor of Paris), it is no small turnabout in her self-conception." (p. 50)

Stora states "Because of anti-Semitism, my children feel more radically Jewish than I ever did" (Eberstadt, p. 50).

An interesting set of questions arise: What factors differentiate these responses, that is, increasing ethnic identification, maintaining the identification the same, hiding it, or relinquishing it altogether? What effect does each response have on the individual, on the ethnic group, and on society at large? What implications do these responses have for intercultural relations?

## Ethnic Identity in Intercultural Perspective

Ethnic identity, a specific form of social identity (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) has been defined as "a set of ideas about one's own ethnic group membership. It typically includes several dimensions: (1) self-identification, (2) knowledge about the ethnic culture (traditions, customs, values and behaviors), and (3) feelings about belonging to a particular ethnic group" (Martin & Nakayama, 2004, p. 160). Ethnic identities are dynamic and context related (Martin, 1997), and are reinforced, challenged and negotiated through communication (Breakwell 1986; Collier, 1997; Collier &Thomas, 1988). Abrams, O'Connor and Giles (2002) contend that in intercultural interactions, "ethnic identity is likely to be salient, given that group distinctions are often evoked" (p.225).

Ting-Toomey, Yee-Jung, Shapiro, Garcia, Wright, and Oetzel (2002) conceptualize ethnic identity as "a composite of attitudes, feelings, and perceptions of the degree of affiliation and belonging towards one's own ethnic group..." (p.49). In an empirical investigation of ethnic/cultural identity salience and of the conflict management styles of US ethnic groups, Ting-Toomey et al. (2002) found four dimensions of identity: *ethnic belonging* (the degree to which members feel attached and comfortable with their ethnic group), *fringe* (the degree of clarity or confusion individuals have about their own ethnicity), *intergroup interaction* (the degree of perceived positive/negative intergroup interaction), and *assimilation* (the degree to which individuals identify with the overall US culture). The first two dimensions are similar to Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki's (1989) "traditional-oriented" type and "marginal-oriented" type. The third dimension corresponds roughly to Phinney's (1992) "other-group orientation", and the fourth to Berry et al.'s (1989) "assimilation" type. Ting-Toomey et al. (2000) also found two clear identity dimensions: *ethnic salience* (the extent to which individuals hold their ethnicity to be of importance) and *cultural identity salience* (the

extent to which individuals hold their larger culture to be of importance).

Ethnic group membership is also influenced by the perceived impermeability of group boundaries, positive or negative valence of intergroup comparisons, socialization process, and distinctiveness (Berry et al, 1989). Phinney (1991) contends that ethnic identity salience can be placed in a continuum from strong to weak. Individuals with strong ethnic identity salience identify with their group, evaluate their group positively, are involved in ethnic practices, and are "interested in, knowledgeable about, and committed to the group" (p. 194). The opposite behaviors and attitudes are present for individuals for whom ethnic salience is weak.

As other types of social identity, ethnic identity is complex and fluid, and it is constituted and negotiated through communication (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Hecht, Colier, & Ribeau, 1993; Hedge, 2002; Yep, 2002). Communication scholars emphasize that the means of expression that significantly influence the formation and negotiation of ethnic identities are not limited to language; they include messages sent through a variety of sources such as symbols, non-verbal behaviors, norms or labels (Abrams et al., 2002). This argument is in line with De Vos and Romanucci-Ross' (1975), understanding that the "ethnic identity of a group of people consists of their subjective, symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups" (p. 16).

Some scholars emphasize the importance of historical, contextual and political factors in shaping a person's social identity. Despite some research which documents changes in identity that correspond to changes in political climate or historic context (Fu, Lee Chiu, & Hong 1999; Brewer, 1999; Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins 1999), the underpinnings of how the original identity is *negotiated* have been generally neglected (Abrams et al., 2000). So have the issues of how *ethnic identity*, a particular form of social identity, is maintained or changed, particularly at times when such identities are threatened.

## Arenas of ethnic identity change

In discussing factors that lead to changes in individual identity, Breakwell (1986) indicates that circumscribing the source of change – and therefore of the threat to identity – becomes a matter of limiting the vast array of possible perceived threats. Arenas where ethnic identity is often challenged, and the process of renegotiation and redefinition undertaken, include immigration (e.g., Kliger, 1998); development (e.g., Hettne, 1993); planned environmental change (Matthews, 1983); redefinition of religious affiliation (e.g., Anthony, 2000); politically derived ethnic struggles (e.g., Aydingün, 2002; Fox, 2003; Kook, 2002); and interethnic/interracial difficulties (e.g., Hitch, 1983; Isajiw, 2000; Weinreich, 1983). In the global context serious, and even catastrophic, events such as 9/11, may lead to changes in the social environment, and to challenges to the ethnic identity of some groups.

Some scholars have focused on ethnic identity struggles where the emphasis is on the long-term processes (e.g., Mandelstam Balzer, 1999; Schröder & Schmidt, 2001). Mandelstam Balzer (1999) discusses the tenacity of ethnicity, specifically examining minority ethnic groups in Siberia. She suggests that the tenacity of ethnicity does not necessarily entail the maintenance of specific cultural traits frozen in time. Rather, she views ethnic interaction as creating "reciprocal social-political change, redefinitions of 'traditional' social groups, and disparate personal approaches to cultural heritage" (p. 203). Accordingly, ethnic identity is often interwoven with social, political and cultural factors.

## Threats to ethnic identity

As a fluid concept, ethnicity is subject to influences that are external as well as those that are internal to the ethnic group and culture (Anthony, 2000; Aydingün, 2002). Depending on the interactions between external and internal forces, such changes can occur across time and place. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of ethnic identity change is possible only with an approach that takes into consideration both external and internal factors. External factors generally consist of changes in the social and political environment. Internal factors usually include changes in group membership, or in the individual's position in the social matrix. Some scholars argue that although external and internal factors that shape ethnicity are continuously interacting, external factors are of greater significance (Aydingün, 2002).

Scholars posit several types of social change that may lead to identity renegotiation: (a) a rearrangement of the social context in terms of the composition or organization of groups in the social system (Breakwell, 1986; Ethier & Deaux, 1994); (b) a revision of ideologies (Breakwell, 1986); or (c) a disturbance in the social environment that leads to a disturbance in existing social relations (Breakwell, 1986; Korf & Malan, 2002). Bowman (2001) points out that violence can be a stimulus for identity change, as well as a result of such a change.

Breakwell (1986) suggests that the extent of identity renegotiation in reaction to such changes is likely to depend on **"**a) the degree of personal relevance of the social change… b) the immediacy of involvement in the social change… c) how much revision of the identity is demanded...''; and "d) how negative the required change is perceived by the individual to be**"** (p. 41).

**Threats to the individual's ethnic identity.** Scholars using a psychological perspective maintain that identification with an ethnic category – or any other type of identity --provides the individual with "psychological security, a feeling of belonging," (Aydingün, 2002, p. 191). Furthermore, one's ethnic identity may engender other identities in the social, political, cultural and economic realms (Roosens, 1989). In cases of ethnic discrimination, for instance, all of these related identities may be affected (Aydingün, 2002).

Threats have an impact upon identity by "challenging continuity, distinctiveness or self-esteem" (Breakwell, 1986, p. 51). *Continuity* is an essential part of the concept of ethnic identity, and of identity in general, as it offers internal stability (Erikson, 1968; Gleason, 1983; Korf & Malan, 2002; Lian, 1982; Weinreich, 1983). *Distinctiveness* refers to the fact that individuals value being unique, different and distinct from others (Breakwell, 1986; Korf & Malan, 2002). This distinctiveness has to be enacted in ways that are positively valued, because hyper-distinctiveness can cause more dissonance and conflict (Breakwell, 1986). This element is intimately connected to *self-esteem*, which leads individuals to associate with certain groups in order to increase their sense of self-worth (Breakwell, 1986; Tajfel, 1978). However, in some circumstances, self-esteem may be sacrificed. For instance, Korf and Malan (2002) found that the self-esteem gained from the Afrikaaner identity in post-Apartheid South Africa was sacrificed in times of crisis in favor of the distinctiveness and continuity of group identity. One may conclude, then, that group membership, with all that it entails, may be more important or relevant in times of crisis than personal gratification.

Breakwell (1986) distinguishes between threats to the *content* of an identity – where the details and descriptions of an identity are challenged – and threats to the *evaluation* of an ethnic identity, where an identity that formerly enjoyed a positive evaluation is now evaluated

negatively because of social changes and is, therefore, questioned. In perilous circumstances such as "ethnic cleansing" or 9/11, there is less perceived threat to the content of an identity, which is more stable than to the evaluation of that identity. Breakwell (1986) further suggests that threats to one's identity are "short-lived" because once the peril is perceived, the individual initiates coping.  She states: "Residence in a threatening social position is not coterminous with the experience of threat. Occupancy of the threatening position may be chronic; experience of threat is rarely so" (pp. 77-78). We view this differently: It is possible for individuals and for some groups to experience threat long term, and even long past a particular threatening event. This has been the experience of many Jews throughout history, and of Jews who escaped from the Holocaust. The first author has known Jews who fled to Brazil prior to the Holocaust, but decades later continued to feel that their ethnic group was vulnerable and that they never knew when they might have to move to another country due to anti-Semitism.

        The question then becomes how lengthy – or chronic – the experiences of high threat become in cases of ethnic cleansing, severe anti-Semitism, or the Holocaust.  Breakwell (1986) argues that "since the experience of threat is dependent upon the efficacy of the coping strategies used by the individual, it can be recurrent" (p. 78). She states that "any thought or action which succeeds in eliminating or ameliorating threat can be considered a coping strategy, whether it is consciously recognized as intentional or not" (p. 79). The strategies employed in the process may take place within the individual, in interpersonal, or in intergroup relations (Breakwell, 1986). The choice of which strategy is chosen is a combination of the "type of threat, the social context, the identity structure, and the available cognitive resources" (p. 149). Intra-psychic coping strategies entail (a) assimilation/ accommodation to the situation (encompassing both deflection and acceptance strategies), or (b) modification and renegotiation of one's identity. The latter may lead to a re-evaluation of the existing identity (for example, by increasing one's commitment to the original identity) or by changing to another identity (we suggest that this may be accompanied by hiding the threatened identity).

        Suedfeld (2004) argues that individuals tend to hide their identity "to accomplish a mission or reach a personal goal, to avoid punishment or persecution, to impress or cheat others, to make themselves seem more important, to exert power secretly, and so on" (p. 486). He offers the following examples where concealment of ethnic identity is, in his words, "crucial": "Marranos during the Inquisition, European Jews during the Holocaust, light-skinned African Americans 'passing' for white during the Jim Crow era, homosexuals avoiding homophobic societal ostracism or legal penalties, disguised women serving as soldiers before the late 20th century" (p. 487).  We might ad to the list situations of ethnic cleansing like those that took place in Bosnia or Rwanda in the 1990s.

        Suedfeld (2004) also notes that, under threat, people cope more or less easily, and for various periods of time. He argues that after the threshold of coping has been exceeded, individuals may choose the following resolutions: (a) withdrawing from the threatening situation, (b) allowing the "*pretended*" self to become the "*real*" self (p. 487), and (c) revealing one's true identity. Withdrawing from the threatening situation (the first resolution) seems to us to be the least plausible resolution. As much as this alternative may be preferred, it is often unavailable, at least physically. In addition, if psychological withdrawal leads to loss of hope, it can be fatal. This is known to have occurred to a number of Jews who died in concentration camps.  An example of the allowing the pretended self to become the real self (the second resolution) is provided by Jews who converted to Christianity during the Inquisition. Finally, revealing one's true identity (the last suggested resolution) appears to bring the greatest

psychological relief, yet it may have disastrous consequences. Suedfeld (2004) cites the example of Jews in the 1940s that renounced their false papers and revealed their true identity, thus subjecting themselves to deportation and death. These and other resolutions merit further study.

Scholars have proposed that situations of ethnic identity threat, may lead to different responses. Researchers such as Christian, Gadfield, Giles & Taylor (1976), Grant (1992), or Lee and Ottati (1995), found that in-group identification is strengthened by the perception of threat. Li and Brewer (2004) found that post-9/11 there were "immediate, visibly evident increases in expressions of national identification and unity throughout the United States" (p. 728), suggesting an increase in identity cohesion following a traumatic event. Branscombe and colleagues (1993, 1994), Phinney, Chavira, and Tate (1993) or Smith (1991), have argued that, under threat, strong in-group identification can lead to isolation from negative information about the in-group, thus leading members to experience less threat. Korf and Malan (2002) tried to reconcile these different responses by proposing that "when ethnic identification is not particularly strong, the experience of threat may strengthen it, because threat perception leads to group cohesion. When the ethnic identification is already strong, it may protect individuals from the experience of threat" (p. 153). Marshall (2001) suggests that in situations where an ethnic identity is relinquished or hidden and another identity chosen, the original identity may not matter as much to the individual. In that situation, a person may choose to reveal identities that matter more in that time and place.

The perceived sense of control over the threat is yet another variable that may influence threat perception and its consequences. Milburn and Watman (1981), Breakwell (1986), and Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggest that when people perceive threats to be uncontrollable and unpredictable, they also may view them particularly negatively. Therefore, many social processes and events could potentially be regarded as threats, because the individual usually does not experience a sense of control over that type of change (Korf & Malan, 2002). This may also account for why external factors affecting identity are thought to be more influential than internal ones (Aydingün, 2002).

**Threats to the group's ethnic identity.** Ethnic identity is one of the important social identities of individuals. It can be central to the individual's social relations, influencing membership in the ethnic group and guiding his/her self-conception.

From the perspective of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), groups in society stand in specific status and power relations to one another; thus, social change processes have the potential to alter those relations. Such alterations may in turn lead to the need for individuals to renegotiate their ethnic identity and group membership. Threat perception has been found by research to be a function of the relative status of groups, their history, and the way they traditionally interact with each other (Grant 1992; Milburn & Waltman, 1981).

Bowman (2001) suggests that just like individuals, communities draw boundaries not so much to assert presence, but to mark exclusion of that which is perceived to be threatening. Bowman posits that autonomous communities are "inherently antagonistic to any extra-communal logics of generalized exchange because such logics call on the members of autonomous communities to identify with others beyond the bounds of that community" (p.29). These autonomous communities "see social concourse beyond the demographic limits of their immediate communities as antagonistic to the 'we' in which they find their identities" (p. 29).

Bowman's (2001) focus is on what drives an entity, in the event of an antagonism, to mark out the boundaries of its identity and to defend them with violence. Interestingly though, he further clarifies that one's identity may be far more inchoate than the sense of threat that an antagonism presents; this merely enforces the importance of one's identity and internal stability in the face of an outside force.

The motivation to claim group membership rests on the need for both inclusiveness and uniqueness (Brewer, 1991). This perspective appears in agreement with Breakwell's (1986) proposal of the need for continuity, distinctiveness, and self-esteem. What particular identity is claimed can depend on "situational cues that make an identity salient or that fit with one's own priorities" (Ethier & Deaux, 1994, p. 243). (See also Deaux & Major, 1987; Oakes, 1987.) Within this model, individuals with a strong and positive personal identity perceive a threat to their social identity as less serious than those who rely on their social identity for a sense of self-worth (Korf & Malan, 2002; Tajfel, 1978).

Drawing from social identity and self-categorization theories, contextual change that increases the salience of a particular identity may lead to an increase in group identification (Emler & Hopkins, 1990; Oakes, 1987; Waddell & Cairns, 1986).

One of the major drawbacks of the studies cited above is their focus is on short-term situational changes (Christian et al., 1976; Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty & Hayes, 1992; Waddell & Cairns, 1986). Following major social events, such as an anti-Semitic movement, there may be immediate, short-term ethnic identity renegotiation. But long-term effects and parallel or subsequent large-scale cultural, ethnic, and social changes, are also critical to investigate.

A critical element that may trigger either greater ethnic identification, or the hiding of one's ethnic identity, is social memory. The group's cultural perception gives meaning to present conflicts, evaluating them on the basis of past conflicts stored as "objectified knowledge in a group's social memory" (Schröder & Schmidt, 2001, p. 4). In situations where a group has experienced trauma and hardship due to previous threats to their ethnic identity, as is the case for Jews in the Holocaust, one would expect that the group would be more likely to react to further anti-Semitic remarks or acts (such as the recent ones in France), based in part on their memory of the past experience. Past experience may lead to the strengthening of group bonds, or alternatively, may lead individuals to the hide their affiliation with the ethnic group. Even second-hand experiences, such as learning past stories, are part of the group's symbolic representations; they then guide group members' feelings and behaviors in subsequent traumatic events. The past is decontextualized and recreated in the present moment, "creating an imaginary of internal solidarity and outside hostility" (Schröder & Schmidt, 2001, p. 11).

Kliger (1998) adds that the mass media may also affect the negotiation of threatened ethnic identities by "defining the matrix of issues and concerns that determine the group's ethnic orientation at different points in time" (p. 236). Media effects scholars, particularly agenda setting theorists, concur on this point, granting the media the key role of determining what is salient in the public discourse (e.g., Lowery & DeFleur, 1995; McCombs & Reynolds, 2002). Kliger (1998) further explains that, "although groups may contemplate and ultimately choose their level of commitment to various activities, the perimeters of the deliberations frequently are set by the mass media" (p. 236). Further support for this argument comes from scholars who emphasize the social construction of reality. These scholars grant the media an important role in portraying, maintaining, producing, repairing and transforming identities, suggesting that ethnic prejudices or ideologies are predominantly acquired and confirmed

through various types of communication (e.g., Fairclough, 1992; Hall, 1996; Real, 1996; van Dijk, 1991).

## Concluding Remarks

In this article, we have explored conceptualizations and research on ethnic identity, and threats to ethnic identity. We have raised the question of why in response to threat some individuals respond by hiding or even relinquishing their ethnic identity, while others respond by strengthening their commitment to that identity. It is also possible that some will keep their commitment unchanged. More research is needed to address the broad question and to investigate the factors that lead to each response.

It is likely that both external and internal factors affect the responses of individuals and groups whose identity is under attack. In terms of external factors, official pronouncements, like Jacques Chirac's statement on national television that "an attack against a French Jew is an attach against France" (Eberstadt, 2004, p. 48), may lead to a strengthening of the identity for many, for it legitimizes the ethnic group identity.  On the other hand, when a government attacks an ethnic minority, as was the case in Nazi Germany, then hiding is more likely. Therefore, we would hypothesize that that one factor which would lead to either the strengthening of ethnic commitment on the one hand, or to the hiding of an ethnic identify on the other, is the behavior of government authorities vis-à-vis attacks on the ethnic group.

As we have seen, in addition to external factors, a number of internal factors may affect the response to threat. If the original ethnic identification is weak, will threats lead to strengthening, hiding, weakening, or substituting of the ethnic identity? Continuous hiding may lead to the loss of the ethnic identity, as happened to Marranos whose descendents don't know of their Jewish background. What are the effects of the social memory on the strengthening or weakening of ethnic identity? Research is needed on the effects of these and other factors delineated in this article, as well as on interactions among factors.

As researchers, how close are we to fully understanding the factors that contribute to a given coping strategy? In what situations do threatened minorities strengthen their affiliation with the ethnic group, weaken their affiliation, hide it, or relinquish it altogether? Under what conditions does hiding one's ethnicity in public actually lead to greater private identification with the ethnic group?  Under what conditions does hiding lead to eventually relinquishing the ethnic identity? Such questions require sophisticated theorizing and research.

Beyond the specific factors that may lead to one or another response, it is very important for intercultural scholars to consider how each response may affect future intercultural relations between members of a particular ethnic group and the majority culture in a society. It is also critical to discover how the responses affect an individual's views of other ethnic groups.

As indicated earlier, because hiding appears to happen with some frequency, it is likely that some societies are in fact more ethnically diverse than previously thought. If this is true, it is rather important for society and for the field of intercultural communication. What happens when someone discovers his/her hidden ethnicity? Are they more likely to learn about the ethnic group norms, values, etc., and as such, serve as a bridge between the mainstream and the particular ethnic group? Are they, by extension, likely to become more interested in other ethnicities and cultures?

What happens to those whose response has been a strengthening of their ethnic

identity in response to threat?  We have some anecdotal evidence that many Jews who were in concentration camps give talks to high school students about their experiences. They, like many of us in the intercultural field, feel that understanding and appreciating other cultures is crucial for helping to prevent prejudice, discrimination, and attacks against cultural minorities, and for creating a just world. The responses to ethnic identity threat and the implications of these responses for future intercultural relations are important for society. They deserve the serious attention of researchers and scholars of intercultural communication.

*An earlier version of this article, entitled *Identity shifting in a time of peril*, was presented by R. Albert at the meetings of the International Academy for Intercultural Research, in Taipei, Taiwan, May, 2004

*Authors' Note: The authors want to express their deep gratitude to Sarah Mollet for extraordinary research assistance, and to Danielle C. Allen for her wonderful help with references and editing.*

## References

Abrams, J., O'Conner, J., & Giles, H. (2002). Identity and inter-group communication. In W. B. Gudykunst & B. Mody (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*.  (pp. 225-240). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Anthony, D. (2000). 'Islam does not belong to them': Ethnic and religious identities among male Igbo converts in Hausaland. *Africa, 70*,422-441.

Aydingün, A. (2002). Creating, recreating and redefining ethnic identity: Ahiska/Meskhetian Turks in Soviet and post-Soviet contexts. *Central Asian Survey, 21* (2), 185-197.

Berry, J., Kim. U., Power, S., Young, M. and Bjaki,M. (1989). Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology, 38*, 185-206.

Bowman, G. (2001).  The violence in identity.  In B. E. Schmidt & I. W. Shroder (Eds.), *Anthropology of violence and conflict*. (pp. 25-46). London: Routledge.

Branscombe, N. R. & Wann, D. L. (1994). Collective self-esteem consequences of outgroup derogation when a valued social identity is on trial, *European Journal of Social Psychology, 24,* 641-657.

Branscombe, N. R., Wann, D. L., Noel, J. G., & Coleman, J. (1993). In-group or out-group extremity: Importance of the threatened social identity, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19*(4), 381-388.

Breakwell, G. M. (1986). *Coping with threatened identities*. London: Methuen.

Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*(5), 475-482.

Brewer, M. (1999). Multiple identities and identity transition: Implications for Hong Kong. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 23*, 187-197.

Collier, M. J. (1997). Cultural identity and intercultural communication.  In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (pp. 36-44). San Francisco: Wadsworth.

Collier, M. J., & Thomas, M. (1988).  Cultural identity in inter-cultural communication: An

interpretive perspective.  In Y. Y. Kim & W. B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Theories in intercultural communication* (pp. 94-120). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Christian, J. Gadfield, N.J., Giles, H., & Taylor, D.M. (1976). The multidimensional and dynamic nature of ethnic identity. *International Journal of Psychology*, *11*, 281-291

Cupach, W., & Imahori, T. (1993). Identity management theory: Communication competence in intercultural episodes and relationships. In R. L. Wiseman & J. Koester (Eds.), *Intercultural communication competence* (pp. 112-131). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Deaux, K., & Major, B. (1987). Putting gender into context: An interactive model of gender-related behavior. *Psychological Review, 94*(3), 369-389.

De Vos, G., & Romanucci-Ross, L. (1975).  *Ethnic identity: Cultural continuities and change.* Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Eberstadt, F. (2004, February 29). A Frenchman or a Jew? *The New York Times Magazine*, p. 48-61.

Emler, N., & Hopkins, N. (1990). Reputation, social identity and the self. In D. Abrams & M. A. Hogg (Eds.),  *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances* (pp. 113-131). New York: Springer.

Ethier, K. A., & Deaux, K. (1994). Negotiating social identity when contexts change: Maintaining identification and responding to threat.  *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67* (2), 243-251.

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity; youth and crisis*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Fox, J. (2003). Nationalism versus civilizations: An assessment of alternate theories on the future of ethnic identity and conflict.  *National Identities, 5* (3), 283-301.

Fu, H. Y., Lee, S. L., Chiu, C. Y., & Hong, Y. Y. (1999). Setting the frame of mind for social identity.  *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 23*, 199-214.

Gleason, P. (1983). Identifying identity: A semantic history. *Journal of American History, 69*(4), 910-931.

Grant, P. R. (1992). Ethnocentrism between groups of unequal power in response to perceived threat to social identity and valued resources. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 24*(3), 348-370.

Hall, S. (1996). New ethnicities.  In D. Morley, & K. H. Chen (Eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies* (pp. 441-449). London: Routledge.

Haslam, S. A., Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., McGarthy, C., & Hayes, B. K. (1992). Context-dependent variation in social stereotyping 1: The effects of intergroup relations as mediated by social change and frame reference. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 22* (1), 3-20.

Hecht, M.,L., Collier, M.J., & Ribeau, S. A. (1993). *African American communication: ethnic identity and cultural interpretation.*  Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hedge, R. (2002). Translated Enactments: The Relational Configurations of the Asian Indian Immigrant Experience. In Martin, J., Nakayama, T. K., & Flores, L. A. *Readings in Intercultural Communication: Experiences and Contexts* (pp.259-266). London: McGraw Hill.

Hettne, B. (1993).  Ethnicity and development – An elusive relationship. *Contemporary South Asia, 2* (2), 123-149.

Hitch, P. (1983). Social identity and the half-Asian child.  In G. Breakwell (Ed.), *Threatened identities* (pp 107-127). Chicester: John Wiley & Sons.

Isajiw, W. W. (2000). Approaches to ethnic conflict resolution: Paradigms and principles. *International Journal of Intercultural Approaches, 24*, 105-124.

Kliger, H. (1998). Communication and ethnic identity in Jewish immigrant communities: The role of the voluntary association. In G. Gumpert, & S. J. Drucker (Eds.), *The huddled masses: Communication and immigration* (pp. 221-239). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc.

Kook, R. B. (2002). *The logic of democratic exclusion: African Americans in the United States and Palestinian citizens in Israel*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Korf, L., & Malan, J. (2002). Threat to ethnic identity: The experience of White Afrikaans-speaking participants in Postapartheid South Africa. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 142* (2), 149-169.

Lzarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer Pub. Co.

Lee, Y. T., & Ottati, V. (1995). Perceived in-group homogeneity as a function of group membership salience and stereotype threat, *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 21*(6), 610-619.

Li, Q., & Brewer, M. B. (2004). What does it mean to be an American? Patriotism, nationalism, and American identity after 9/11. *Political Psychology, 25* (5), 727-739.

Lian, K. f. (1982). Identity in minority group relations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 5,* 42-52.

Liu, J. H., Wilson, M. S., McClure, J., & Higgins, T. R. (1999). Social identity and the perception of history: cultural representations of Aotearoa/New Zealand. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*, 1021-1047.

Lowery, S. A., & DeFleur, M. L. (Eds.). (1995). The agenda-setting function of the press: What to think about.  *Milestones in mass communication research: Media effects* (pp. 265-289) (3rd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Mandelstam Balzer, M. (1999). *The tenacity of ethnicity: A Siberian saga in global perspective.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Marshall, S. K. (2001). Do I matter? Construct validation of adolescents' perceiving mattering to parents and friends. *Journal of Adolescence, 24,* 473-490.

Martin, J. N. (1997).  Understanding whiteness in the United States.  In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (pp. 54-63). San Francisco: Wadsworth.

Martin, J. N. and Nakayama, T. K. (2004). *Intercultural communication in contexts*. Boston, MA:McGraw Hill.

Matthews, J. A. (1983). Environmental change and community identity. In G. Breakwell (Eds.), *Threatened identities* (pp. 215-237). Chicester: John Wiley & Sons.

McCombs, M., & Reynolds, A. (2002). News influence on our pictures of the world. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.),  *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 1-18) (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

Milburn, T. W., & Watman, K. H. *On the nature of threat: A social psychological analysis*. New York: Praeger, 1981.


Oakes, P. J. (1987). The salience of social categories. In J. C. Turner et al. (Eds.), *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory* .Oxford/New York: Basil Blackwell & Madrid: Ediciones Morata (1990).

Phinney, J. (1991). Ethnic identity and self-esteem: a review and integration. *Hispanic Journal*

*of Behavioral Sciences, 13*, 193-208.

Phinney, J.S. (1992). The multi-group ethnic identity measure: a new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7,* 156-176.

Phinney, J. S., Chavira, V., & Tate, J. D.(1993). The effect of ethnic threat on ethnic self-concept and own-group ratings, *Journal of Social Psychology, 133*(4): 469-78

Real, M. R. (1996). *Exploring media culture: A guide.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Roosens, E. E. (1989). *Creating ethnicity – The process of ethnogenesis.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Schröder, I. W., & Schmidt, B. E. (2001). Introduction: Violent imaginaries and violent practices. In B. E. Schmidt, & I. W. Schröder (Eds.), *Anthropology of violence and conflict* (pp. 1-24). London: Routledge.

Smith, E. J. (1991). Ethnic identity development: Toward the development of a theory within the context of majority/minority status. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 70*, 181-188.

Suedfeld, P. (2004). Harun al-Rashid and the terrorists: Identity concealed, identity revealed. Political Psychology, 25 (3), 479-492.

Tajfel, H. (1978). (Ed.). *Differentiation between social groups: studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. New York: European Association of Experimental Social Psychology and Academic Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations.* Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Ting-Toomey, S., Yee-Jung, K., Shapiro, R., Garcia, W., Wright, T., & Oetzel, J. (2000). Ethnic/cultural identity salience and conflict styles in four U.S. ethnic groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 47-82.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London and New York: Routledge.

Waddell, N., & Cairns, E. (1986). Situational perspectives on social identity in Northern Ireland. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 25*, 25-31.

Weinreich, P. (1983). Emerging from threatened identities: Ethnicity and gender in redefinitions of ethnic identity. In G. Breakwell (Ed.), *Threatened identities* (pp 149-185). Chicester: John Wiley & Sons.

Yep, G. (2002). My Three Cultures: Navigating the Multicultural Identity Landscape. In Martin, J., Nakayama, T. K., & Flores, L. A. *Readings in Intercultural Communication: Experiences and Contexts* (pp. 60-66). London: McGraw Hill.