QUALITATIVE AND NARRATIVE ASSESSMENT OF SELF-CONCEPT AND IDENTITY:

A GROUNDED THEORY ON ETHNIC AND RACIAL LABELING IN AMERICA

By

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of Juan M. Alvarez, find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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Abstract

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The purpose of this study was to research the construction of self and identity using qualitative and narrative methods, with a focus on racial/ethnic identity. The ultimate goal was to assess a diverse group of Americans through a multicultural framework that elicited multiple aspects of identity. Five research questions (RQ) addressed participants' definitions, descriptions, and stories about: (a) their self and personal identity; (b) their ethnic identity within society; (c) other ethnicities in society; (d) multicultural relationships among diverse individuals from various ethnic groups and/or races in society; and (e) how personal and ethnic identity, and ethnicity, relate to inter-ethnic group relations.

Participants were 16 undergraduate students at Washington State University from various departments. The diverse sample consisted of four African Americans, four Asian Americans, four European Americans, and four Latino or Hispanic Americans. Two males and two females were sampled from each of the four groups. The participants completed the semi-structured Self and Culture Questionnaire (SCQ), which was developed for this study. The SCQ consists of a demographics questionnaire and a 40-question narrative identity/ethnic identity questionnaire.
The data analysis involved a qualitative Grounded Theory approach using open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. The core category that emerged from this analysis revealed that the participants differentially used racial and nationality terms as labels of ethnicity. Conclusions of the study included the following: current racial categories, which are social not biological constructs, appear to be insufficient as markers of genetic identity; ethnicity among (U.S.) Americans appears to be unclearly defined; differential ethnic labeling may adversely imply that members of some ethnic groups are more “American” than others; and the inconsistent and interchangeable use of race and ethnicity is confusing and confounds these constructs. Implications for the assessment of race and ethnicity are discussed.
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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to all the people that have helped feed me, including my employers at Washington State University, my parents, and the Moscow Food Co-Op and Farmers Market.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the fields of psychology and sociology, the construct of *self* has been a central topic of interest to counselors, therapists, social psychologists, and other academics. In the field of counseling psychology specifically, there exist many theories about the nature of the self and one’s personality (e.g., phenomenological, psychodynamic, humanistic, and existential). Counseling psychologists practice using these theories about the self, personality, and identity to understand clients. While many of these approaches are used in professional practice in the field of psychology, relatively few empirical studies have been conducted on the self and identity using qualitative approaches. Most efforts to measure reflexive aspects of self (e.g., self-esteem, self-concept, and self-clarity) have emphasized quantitative approaches rather than qualitative approaches. Quantitative methods typically prescribe answers for participants, while qualitative approaches allow participants more freedom of response through their spoken word or written narrative.

I searched for studies that assessed the self-concept or identity and did not find many studies that utilized qualitative methodology to assess the self or identity. Indeed, Haitte (1992) estimated that only 5% of self-concept research had made use of “spontaneous” or open-ended methods as opposed to “reactive” or objective methods. A survey study of counseling psychology programs in North America indicated that only about 10% of all dissertations completed in an average year used qualitative approaches (Ponterotto, 2005). Even fewer studies have used a multicultural or contextual framework to assess the self-concept or identity.
Researchers have called for studies that integrate personal identity and cultural identity or ethnicity within the same study (Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Weisskirch, 2008).

The construction of self has been extensively researched in the field of social psychology referred to as social cognition. Studies on social cognition have typically aimed at understanding self-evaluative and self-regulatory processes in comparison with focusing on descriptive self-concepts (Mischel & Morf, 2005; Sedikides & Gregg, 2007). In sum, there is a gap in the literature that focuses on the self and identity using qualitative methodology or emic approaches. Such research is needed because it may provide new responses and perspectives to new and old questions about the self, culture, and identity.

Given that the USA is a heterogeneous nation, research on the self, culture, and identity in the U.S. needs to be understood according to various dimensions of diversity. Thus, understanding individuals within U.S. society requires addressing multiple aspects of identity. The information assessed in this study is relevant to the multicultural understanding of individuals in the field of psychology. The studies that I reviewed in Chapter Two provide a glimpse into how the self, culture and identity can be assessed using qualitative and narrative means. In this introductory chapter I describe how the constructs of self and identity are defined and related. I then provide a general overview of the prominent qualitative methods that can be used to assess the self-as-conceptualized and identity.

The Phenomenal Self, Self-Concept, and Identity

The term "self" has many meanings and can be used for a variety of purposes. Katzko (2003) distinguished two main uses of the term self. The connotative usage of the term self concerns the relationship between the term and ideas or concepts, while the denotative usage of
the term self refers to phenomena. “Clearly, the *self* as a global concept is not phenomenally observable, although behaviors or actions representing functions of self are observable and measurable” (Johnson, 1985, p. 106-107). In Western philosophy the denotative usage of the term self refers to a particular person. Moreover, the self is viewed as being both a subject (“I”) and object (“me”). In Hindu philosophy there are different levels of self, ranging from the innermost self, ātman or consciousness as an experience and phenomenon, to the ego or executive/voluntary functions of the mind, and more obvious layers of self, such as the body and behavior or jīva (Bharati, 1985). In some Eastern cultures the self is not conceptualized as an isolated entity, but as an integrated part of a whole, from the family to larger society, environment, and universe. The aim of this study was to review various conceptions of self and identity, and apply qualitative and narrative methods to assess individuals’ self-concepts and identity.

A person’s identity is comprised of a collection of self-concepts that are often integrated into stories about the individual and his or her life. A person’s narrative identity is viewed as a continually evolving construct that develops with experience—while it also continues to resemble one’s previous identity (Weinreich, 2003). McAdams and Pals (2006) defined a narrative identity as “an internalized and evolving narrative of the self that incorporates the reconstructed past and the imagined future into a more or less coherent whole” (p. 209). A self-narrative configures an individual’s life into a story of personal identity. Thus, a more complete assessment of identity and the self as conceptualized includes who one was in the past, is in the present, and will be in the future (McAdams, 1996). Researchers hold that an individual’s identity is developed and maintained through narrative and interaction with others (McLean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007).
It is important to note that individuals create discursive accounts of themselves for different audiences and purposes (e.g., telling a story at a party versus “selling” one’s self at a job interview). In addition, self-reports may be “spontaneously construed” or reconstructed from memory in the present. Nonetheless, according to Weinreich (2003), empirical evidence indicates that individuals use certain discourses with stable evaluative connotations to express central features of their identities in a consistent manner. Individuals can communicate through written and spoken self-report who they are (e.g., Abraham Lincoln), how they behave, why they behave in certain ways, when and where they behave, and what they know about themselves, others, and the world.

**Overview of Inductive and Deductive Qualitative Methods**

Prominent qualitative methods used to assess aspects of the self-concept and identity in the literature include narrative research, phenomenological research, grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies. Narrative research is a broad term that encompasses many approaches that use narrative data in the inquiry and analysis of the individual. In general, according to Hoshmand (2005), a narrative can take the form of:

(a) a descriptive report of a privately constructed self-account in its original narrated form;

(b) a recounting of a dialogically generated narrative or set of narratives in a story form;

and (c) a storied account of an experience constructed from interviews, written reports, observations, and artifacts. (p. 181)

Narratives can be studied by integrating various aspects of a narrative to produce a holistic interpretive account of events or experiences through a narrative mode of understanding (Hoshmand). Narrative modes of understanding are inductive in nature and “grounded” within
the data. Other inductive forms of narrative research include autobiographies, biographies, life histories, personal experience stories, and oral histories (Creswell, 2007). Narrative research includes both descriptive/discovery-oriented inductive approaches as well as paradigmatic/hypothetico-deductive approaches. The latter types of approaches are called deductive approaches.

In deductive types of narrative approaches, narratives are principally analyzed through a priori content coding schemes and by quantifying the presence, frequency, and degree of the content categories and concepts. In contrast, inductive approaches typically do not define starting categories that the data can fit into. Rather inductive approaches analyze the data and then create the categories. Inductive studies, typically, do not limit or pre-identify the responses. Deductive procedures for analyzing open-ended data are performed according to explicit rules and schemes that make up what are referred to as narrative indices. A narrative index can be described as some predefined criterion that will be looked for in the narrative. For example, a narrative that describes who an individual person is could be coded for the presence of personality traits, social identities, and other aspects of the self-concept (del Prado et al., 2007). Narratives can be content analyzed for more than the frequency of certain words or types of words. That is, narratives can also be coded for the presence and degree of certain themes, such as agency, emotional tone, and imagery (McAdams, 1996).

Another prominent form of qualitative inquiry that can be used to study the self is phenomenological research. Phenomenological approaches “reflect on the lived world [i.e., cognitions, affect, and behavior] of other persons in order to apprehend the meanings of the world as they are given to the first-person point of view” (Wertz, 2005, p. 168). For example, a phenomenological study could focus on what life is like for individuals living at the intersections
of certain multiple identities (Schwartz, Donovan, & Guido-DiBrito, 2009). Phenomenological methods can take the form of interviews and questionnaires. Phenomenological researchers aim to provide concrete descriptions that reflect the details of lived situations.

Grounded theory approaches are generally inductive and attempt to move beyond description to generate or discover theory (Creswell, 2007). Researchers could begin with a set of domains before viewing the data. For example, starting domains could be created from interview questions or the literature. Typically, however, coding categories are “grounded” or derived from the data in an a posteriori fashion by identifying properties, concepts, and categories within the qualitative data. Additionally, the data can be coded for specific dimensions (e.g., past, present, and future) and relationships (e.g., causal). From these coding procedures one or more categories emerge as core categories. Core categories are those that are either frequently mentioned across participants or that are connected with many other categories. The data analysis proceeds with selective coding by choosing one core category and theoretically relating other categories to the core category in order to derive a storyline that interrelates categories in the model. The primary goal is to generate a theory or conceptual model that is “grounded” in the qualitative data. Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) uses similar techniques as the grounded theory approach, but requires the use of several judges to discuss and arrive at consensus about the meaning of the data and to code the derived domains and core ideas (Hill et al., 2005).

Ethnography is an inductive approach that aims to observe and describe a cultural group by describing and interpreting their shared patterns of language, beliefs, values, and behavior. The ethnographic approach is well-suited to assess collective self conceptions or group identity. Studying a socio-cultural group can lead to findings that apply to individuals within the group. The researcher often immerses in the lives of the group and studies members through participant
observation and interviews. Autoethnographic approaches involve autobiographical writing that connects the personal to the cultural. Participation is reciprocal, that is, not directed entirely by the researcher, as the participants create the study through their descriptions of themselves and their culture. Creswell (2007) recommends that individuals who want to study themselves and their own experiences use autoethnography.

Lastly, case studies involve the study of an issue or problem explored through one or more cases within a setting or context. Case studies can be exploratory and explanatory. A case can be studied over time through detailed in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information. The product of a case study could be a descriptive report with case-bound themes. A case study can focus on one or many individuals within a setting. A case study can consist of a written report and case conceptualization about a particular individual and his or her life. These inductive and deductive methods use varying strategies, but they also share much in common, and they all rely on qualitative data.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter I review empirical literature on the assessment of self and identity that used inductive and deductive research methodologies. I focus on multiple aspects of the self-concept and emphasize multicultural aspects of identity. Subsequently, I review research on the psychological effects and outcomes of writing, thinking, and talking about one’s self and identity in different narrative ways. I also critique how the self and identity have been operationally defined, analyzed, and related to constructs such as personality, psychological well-being, depression, life-satisfaction, affect, and physical health.

Inductive Approaches in the Assessment of Self-Concept and Identity

In general, inductive approaches are studies that analyze the data and draw inferences from the data in an a posteriori manner. Phoenix and Sparkes (2009) applied narrative methods to explore the ontological narrative of a man in late adulthood named Fred. Fred was identified from a newspaper article about how he organized and played in a football game on his 70th birthday. Data for this case was collected over 10 months through interactive interviews to establish rapport. Four semi-structured formal interviews at the participant’s home enabled Fred to tell descriptive stories about his past and present life. These four interviews provided important episodes and events of his life, which were referred to as ‘big stories.’ Less structured and mundane conversations with Fred provided the ‘small stories,’ which were recorded as field notes, collected after conversations between the interviewer and Fred. For example, field notes were derived from brief phone conversations, short car journeys, and meetings with Fred at a
local café for breakfast. Fred’s discourse was analyzed by the researchers to construct perspectives on Fred’s identity through themes about how he lived his life.

Overall, the researchers reported that Fred viewed life as being “what you make of it.” This view acknowledged “the notion that the responsibility for making the most of life [and one’s experience of reality] rests largely with the individual” (Phoenix & Sparkes, 2009, p. 226). This view was inferred from the plot structure of working hard to make the most of life. To illustrate, despite encountering setbacks such as periods of illness, Fred continued to physically do the most he could given his health condition. More clearly, he reported a story about how he was adapting well to having a catheter, as evidenced by reports of how he continued to play football, table tennis, and jog.

The researchers found Fred to be an active older adult who embodied the identity of being fit and healthy. Small stories captured through informal interactions revealed that he was practicing yoga and reading a yoga book. Fred also reported reading fitness publications, such as *Men’s Health* and *Runner’s World*. Such periodicals illuminated his knowledge of health and exercise. He also talked about the latest diets and exercise regimes. These small stories demonstrated Fred’s engagement with health and fitness. Additionally, he reported ‘laws of living’ which included not smoking, not drinking much alcohol, maintaining a regular bedtime routine, eating properly, being “regular,” and cross-training. This demonstrates how he lived his life congruently with the identity of being fit and healthy. Related to making the most of his life, Fred’s way of being demonstrated that he lived his present life in a leisurely manner by slowing his pace and taking his time to live in the present. In conclusion, Fred’s views on aging allowed the researchers to observe some of the meaning that he gave to his life. His narratives also
demonstrated emotional and behavioral components. This study reinforces the notion that self-narratives represent the lived and embodied phenomenal experience.

Schwartz, Donovan, and Guido-DiBrito (2009) used a variety of qualitative techniques, including narrative and phenomenological approaches, to understand the meaning ascribed to the experience of self-identified Mexican male college students at the intersections of social class and ethnicity. The researchers worked from a constructivist world view that acknowledges and validates the individual’s unique perception of reality as relative truth. They also used a critical interpretive lens that examines and critiques society and culture. The researchers used purposeful sampling to recruit undergraduate Latinos willing to discuss social class. Participants were drawn from cultural centers, Latino student organizations, and Latino fraternities. No women volunteered to participate in the study. Four of the five participants were juniors, and one was a sophomore. Participants were from middle to lower-middle class and working class families. Four were first-generation college students, and at least three participants were second-generation Mexican Americans. The participants identified with a “Mexican” identity, rather than a “Hispanic” or “Latino” pan-ethnic label. Participants identified strongly with their ethnicity.

Data were collected in story form. The first interviews lasted 60-90 minutes. Open-ended questions were used as a guide for the discussion. These questions were about how money was viewed in their family of origin; how they identified students who had come from families with different views of money than them; and what it meant to them to be Latino in their social class. The researchers read transcriptions from the interviews and discovered patterns and emerging themes within the narratives. Data were categorized by pattern and theme, highlighting areas of commonality, anomaly, and emphasis. The researchers first analyzed the data separately and then
collaboratively. Focus groups were constructed based on the participants’ responses during the initial interviews. The second individual interviews were conducted after the focus groups. The second interviews helped confirm and clarify the identified themes found by the researchers during the first interviews and focus groups. Member validation was accomplished by sharing the themes, patterns, discrepancies, and anomalies that the researchers were inferring in order to receive feedback and to co-construct the participants’ meaning of social class.

The data produced thick (rich, elaborate) descriptions of participants and their cultural contexts. Many of the participants told stories about striving to be positive role models so as to improve their “people’s” identity and representation in society. Participants believed that education was central to social and economic advancement and upward mobility for their ethnic group. One participant expressed his determination to not be a “statistic” or school dropout because he wanted to represent Latino men well. This same participant reported changing majors so that he could be in classes with those who “looked like him and to whom he could relate” (Schwartz et al., 2009, p. 57).

These participants also talked about middle class rules of behavior. Such rules and norms included knowing how to talk properly with others from the middle and upper classes. One participant reported that this included knowing how to speak at the “same level” as administrators, teachers, and “other people that may think less of you for some reason” (Schwartz et al., 2009, p. 58). This study suggests that proper diction and pronunciation are skills needed to interact effectively with others in the middle and upper classes. Participants also reported that differences between persons of working and middle class could be inferred by the clothes they wear. Some participants felt a divide between themselves and others whom they perceived as dressing in more expensive clothes and coming from wealthier families. They
reported that knowing the different dress codes for various events was important, such as knowing how to dress professionally for a job interview. This study highlights aspects of the lived experience of individuals living at these intersections of social class and ethnicity.

Staiger (2005) used an ethnographic approach that included naturalistic observation, participant observation, and sixty-five open-ended interviews with selected peer groups from four racially-diverse ethnic groups at a high school in California. Consistent with the findings from Schwartz et al. (2009), a group of working class Latino students reported that they were antagonized by their middle class peers for not wearing more expensive name brand clothes and expensive shoes. Participants reported that there were certain styles of dress that were socially desirable and other styles that were stigmatized. In this same study, Staiger interviewed a peer group of middle-class African American high school students for whom expensive clothes and accessories “were critical for image making and commanding respect” (p. 413). The author discussed how these students created their identities, and in some cases transcended negative ascribed statuses through their fashion style, image, and persona. Researchers have reported that identity can be created through consumption of things such as clothes and affiliations with popular media and images (Ryan & Deci, 2005).

Stewart (2009) used narrative research and grounded theory methods to assess multiple aspects of identity among Black college students. The researcher adopted a social constructionist framework in which identity is constructed through relationships with others and social institutions such as church and school. Stewart inquired about how African American students understood and articulated their multifaceted identities, and also about how these students perceived the role of spirituality in the formation and development of their identity. Stewart sampled a heterogeneous sample of Black students that differed in institutional affiliation,
background, campus involvement, and gender. Thirteen Black and African American college students participated in this study; all were juniors or seniors.

Stewart (2009) individually interviewed participants using a semi-structured protocol that included a wide range of questions about identity. The protocol assessed childhood experiences, schooling experiences, meaning of education and career, campus involvement, spirituality and the self, and identity and the self-concept. The data were coded once by the author and a second time by a trained graduate assistant. After both had openly coded the interviews they reviewed their coding together and further refined the codes, concepts, and categories. The subcategory of "spirituality related to identity" provided the core phenomenon for the data analysis.

Stewart (2009) reported a few significant findings. First, Black college students viewed their identity as multifaceted, dynamic, fluid, and evolving. That is, participants used considerable depth and breadth to describe their identities, including personal and social identities and roles. Second, all aspects of one’s identity were viewed as forming the person’s unique identity like pieces of a puzzle. However, not all aspects of one’s identity were expressed in every situation. That is, participants reported that their identities shifted across contexts and individuals or groups. For instance, one participant said that she sometimes had to wear “different faces,” and said that her identity was segmented according to the crowds she was in. One participant emphasized how people from “back home” viewed him and that those in college viewed him “another way.” It appears that the person may express his or her self differently and be known differently across persons and context. The researchers theorized that Black college students may view race, gender, sexuality, and age as salient aspects of identity, but also as outward manifestations of an inner true self or spiritual essence.
Chaudhari and Pizzolato (2008) conducted a grounded theory analysis to assess ethnic identity and the epistemological development of identity. They assessed both race and ethnicity in their study. The purpose of the study was to understand how multiracial or multiethnic students identified themselves in terms of race and ethnicity. Twenty-two multiethnic college students participated in the study. Seventy-seven percent were female, 27.3% identified as multiracial and multiethnic Asians, 9.1% identified as monoracial multiethnic Asians, 27.3% identified as being multiracial and multiethnic Blacks, 4.5% identified as monoracial multiethnic Blacks, 22.7% identified as being monoracial and multiethnic Caucasians, and 9.1% identified as being multiracial and multiethnic Caucasians ($M$ age = 20.1, $SD$ = 1.79).

Participants were interviewed in a one-hour, one-on-one, semi-structured interview. Participants were asked questions such as “[h]ow do you identify ethnically on an official document, with your peers, and family?” (Chaudhari & Pizzolato, 2008, p. 447). Participants were also asked about how they processed their ethnic identity through experiences (e.g., “[w]hy do you identify with this ethnic or racial identity?” p. 447). They provided responses to questions about how they processed events that called into question their ethnic identities. For example, “[c]ould you describe a positive or negative experience that you may have had throughout your life” that was related to race and ethnicity? (p. 447). The taped interviews were transcribed and used to investigate the reasons behind their ethnic self-concepts.

The researchers examined the participants’ stories and experiences centrally related to ethnic identity and its development. Through open coding the researchers discovered three “planes” on which ethnic identity emerged. This coding lead to the identification of "identity claims," "induced feelings about identity," and "cognitive identity." Identity claims were operationally defined as what individuals stated their ethnic identity to be (e.g., “I identify as
Asian”). Induced feelings about identity were defined as the emotional components or reactions participants had regarding their interactions with others and their ethnic identity. Cognitive identity was the third “plane” to emerge. Cognitive identity was expressed through a narrative about how past experiences and internal reflection on these experiences led to the self-definition of one’s ethnicity. This cognitive dimension dealt with the epistemology of how participants formulated their ethnic identities. Participants were theorized to go through the developmental process of learning about who they are from external definitions of who they should be, to self-authored definitions of who they are based on internal reflection of their selves and their life experiences.

Of particular interest to the researchers were participants with situational ethnic identities. These individuals claimed different identities within different contexts, such as Asian when interacting with Asian people, but White when interacting with other groups of individuals. All students classified as having situationally-based ethnic identities were Asian and Caucasian racial mixes. Furthermore, these individuals mainly identified as being multiple monoethnic, which indicates that these participants’ had bicultural orientations that integrate cultural aspects of two or more ethnic groups. The most important factor for students with a situational identity was their personal appearance and their peers. Chaudhari and Pizzolato (2008) concluded that ethnic identity was influenced by phenotype (physical characteristics), cultural orientation (e.g., knowing how to speak one’s native tongue), contextual environment, and one’s unique construction of self.

Jones (2009) investigated the complexities of identity development within sociocultural contexts. Jones used an autoethnographic approach integrated with the theoretical perspective of intersectionality. Intersectionality refers to the multidimensional and layered nature of identity
(e.g., a person can identify as a teacher, a mother, and a wife) existing within larger sociocultural systems. Jones sampled a diverse group of “information rich” participants from a doctoral program in education in order to draw consensual interpretations about multiple identities from individuals of different backgrounds. Five women and three men participated in the study, including four persons of color—a Korean American, a Latino, and two African Americans—and four Caucasians. Three participants self-identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transsexual. Participants also differed in socioeconomic status, faith, disability, and generation status. Participants’ ages ranged from 28-52.

Data were collected in the form of autobiographical narratives and dialogical conversations. The first phase of data collection focused on self-perceptions of one’s multiple and intersecting identities. Participants were asked to think about their multiple aspects of identity, including race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion/faith, and social class. They were then asked to describe who they were as persons using these categories. In phase two, all of the participants shared their narratives with others in the group. Subsequently, participants wrote about what stood out about each others’ stories. Phase three consisted of 10 focus groups used to analyze and generate themes within the narratives, and to reflect on the social contexts in which these identities were constructed.

All participants reported stories about where they grew up, including their cultural environment. These narratives suggested that participants’ identities were influenced by their enculturation experiences. Specifically, this included how participants were raised by their families of origin. Micro and mesosystems (Berk, 2008) such as one’s neighborhood and schooling experiences were found to influence identity. Social class and socioeconomic status were other factors that had implications for one’s lived experience and opportunities. Participants
drew a distinction between visible identities, such as race and ethnicity, and invisible identities, such as sexual orientation and religion. Ethnic minority participants reported that the experience of being visibly different was a persistent aspect of their life from an early age. Moreover, different identities have different meanings attached to them. For instance, one participant noted that some identities are “privileged” and others “marginalized.” The process of identity formation for those with visible identities was more externally influenced than the reported process of identity formation for those with invisible identities. Invisible identities associated with sexual orientation and religion were more often developed through an internally discovered process.

The results of this study suggest that identity is not solely a self-authored process. Rather, some aspects of identity are ascribed, and others develop over time and are achieved. These findings demonstrate how participants identified with a variety of socially-prescribed identities. The self’s identity can be multifaceted, and these aspects have varying levels of salience or centrality depending on the individual and his or her situation. This study addressed a comprehensive set of categories of identity and the development of identity within socio-cultural contexts.

Summary and Critique of the Inductive Studies

The aforementioned studies demonstrate how self and identity can be observed through inductive qualitative approaches. Although each person has only one self, one’s identity is multifaceted and composed of various aspects, such as social roles and status (Katzko, 2003). Most of the studies assessed multiple dimensions of identity and attempted to integrate them to
provide a comprehensive representation of the subject(s). The studies also suggest that cultural environments influence and provide multiple suggestions for how to be.

None of the inductive approaches are better or worse in themselves, but their applications may better enable researchers to reach desired goals. For example, if researchers want to study the life of an extraordinary individual their aim may best be achieved through the use of the narrative research approach. If the aim of a study is to understand the experience of playing basketball as a professional athlete, the study would be well suited for a phenomenological approach. Alternatively, if the aim is to study a theory or process, such as how individuals develop an identity, the study may employ a theory generating approach such as grounded theory. If the aim is to study and describe the values, practices, and ways of life of many individuals within a particular cultural group, an ethnographic approach would be appropriate. Lastly, if the intent is to study critical cases, such as persons diagnosed with narcissistic personality disorder or depression, these inquiries are well suited for a case study approach. Depending on what one wishes to study, there are a variety of approaches that can be used.

Selection of the participants is central to qualitative inductive approaches because they typically sample a small number of individuals. The sample is chosen for reasons related to the research questions and aims of the study. In choosing the sample, demographic variables such as socio-economic status, religion, and so forth can be used to help identify the uniqueness of the sample. The sample sizes in these inductive studies ranged from 1 to 22. The goal of most qualitative research is to understand the specific and particular, and the findings do not aim or need to be generalized to other people, places, or times. However, the findings may be transferable to others through the thick description of participants (Creswell, 2007). For example, while the study of a person such as Fred may not be typical of a 70-year-old, his story serves as
an example of how one can live life to the fullest, which may transfer to others who live like him. When more than one person is studied the researcher(s) can search for commonalities among the participants. The researcher(s) may wish to select a group of heterogeneous individuals to provide the study with diverse perspectives, where common patterns, as well as divergent themes can be identified.

These studies used various forms of data collection within each of the studies, such as ‘big stories’ derived from unstructured and semi-structured interviews (e.g., an autobiography); ‘little stories’ collected as field notes; field notes taken as a participant observer; non-participant observation; and focus group interviews. The dependability of the methodological procedures depends on how closely a standardized approach was followed, or by how a unique approach was constructed and carried out.

A clear delineation of the research methods allows for the transferability of the methods and findings. Thick descriptions of participants and their words are key elements in many of these studies. Researchers should include the interview questions used in the study, so that other researchers can better evaluate the face validity of the study. Member validation increases the credibility of the findings, as the researcher(s) are not interpreting the narratives without checking with the participants about how accurate their interpretations are. The credibility or validity of a study can also be increased through prolonged engagement in the field or by increasing the time spent with participants (Schwartz et al., 2009).
Deductive Approaches in the Assessment of Self-Concept and Identity

Of the deductive approaches available, I emphasize studies that used the life-story technique because of its standardized protocol that has generated a substantial amount of research in the area of personhood and identity. I focus on the specific content analysis methods associated with this method and review how narrative indices have been related to non-narrative measures, such as personality inventories and measures of well-being. After reviewing studies using the life-story technique I address other sets of open-ended questions used by researchers to assess the self and identity.

Life Story Technique

The Life-story technique by McAdams (1996) consists of a set of questions that are used to collect narrative accounts of specific events in individuals’ lives. In general, narrative identity is operationally defined as an integrated account of the personal past, present and future. The life-story technique assesses multiple chapters or “episodes” of one’s life. McAdams contends that narrated life-stories or reconstructed episodes of the past, as well as episodes of the present and future, depict who a person is. Participants are first asked to think about their life in terms of chapters and then they are asked to describe certain scenes from the life-story protocol. Participants are then asked to write or talk about the following events: a high-point in their life, a low-point, a turning point (i.e., when their life changed in some way), an earliest memory, an important childhood scene, an important adolescent scene, an important adult scene, and another important scene (McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten, & Bowman, 2001). The participants are also asked to include what happened, who was involved, what he or she was thinking or feeling,
and what the story says about the participant. Life-story narratives were content analyzed according to theoretical and quantitative coding methods.

McAdams, Diamond, de St. Aubin, and Mansfield (1997) content analyzed life stories for a commitment story, or narrative about certain life experiences and ways of being. As operationalized by the researchers, a commitment story (a) describes the narrator’s childhood as having an early advantage, (b) describes the individual as being empathic to the suffering of others, (c) demonstrates moral steadfastness, (d) describes how a decidedly negative past turned into a positive outcome, and (e) contains pro-social goals for the future. The definition of a commitment story was based on the portraits of moral exemplars by Colby and Damon (1992) and on the delineation of the commitment script by Tomkins (1987). These coding categories were also inductively derived by analyzing 10 life-story narratives from participants who were not included in this study.

Forty midlife adult participants ($M = 43.1, SD = 10$) were selected to form a high generativity group based on their status as either a teacher or a well-known volunteer. Individuals in this group had to score at least one standard deviation above the mean on two scales of generativity that measured one’s concern and commitment to establishing and guiding the next generation (Erikson, 1963). Thirty more midlife adult participants (age $M = 43.2, SD = 11.4$) were selected from newspaper advertisements to be in the contrasting group. Participants in the contrasting group were excluded if they were employed as school teachers or if they were currently engaged in volunteer work. Additionally, individuals in the contrast group had to score at least one standard deviation below the mean on the two generativity scales. For each coding procedure, two independent coders who were unaware of the participant classification rated the 70 cases. Coding reliability estimates ranged from .65 to .92 for the various coding categories.
This study found significant differences between the high and low generativity groups on their levels of the commitment story. On average, the highly generative group wrote life stories that manifested commitment story themes more often than did the life stories of the comparison group. One factor that was not controlled was marital status; higher percentages (62.5%) of participants in the highly generative group were married, as compared to the comparison group (36.7%). Marriage status may have contributed to the highly generative group’s greater proportion of commitment themes within their narratives. Nonetheless, commitment stories were found significantly more often in highly generative adults.

Adler, Kissel, and McAdams (2006) compared the ability of two content analysis methods to predict depression and life-satisfaction. The first method was based on the Content Analysis of Verbatim Explanations (CAVE) by Peterson, Schulman, Castellon, and Seligman (1992). This coding scheme delineates causal attribution processes related to depression. Viewing negative life events as being caused by internal (e.g., “it’s my fault”), global (e.g., the belief that everything will go wrong), and stable (e.g., the negative will endure always) factors is associated with depression. Adler et al. used this CAVE technique to create bipolar coding scales that were used by the researchers to rate the participants’ causal attributions. Seventy adults participated in the study (age range 35-64, $M = 49.78$, $SD = 8.71$). Thirty-two participants were African-American and 38 were Caucasian.

In the first step of the CAVE method, causal events were identified in the life-story narratives if they met the following three criteria: (a) they were about a specific event or experience with a discernible beginning and end; (b) the event was experienced by the self in an undesirable way; and (c) a causal statement about the event was made (i.e., the narrator used the word “because,” “since,” “as a result of,” “this led to,” etc.). Coder agreement that a causal event
was present exceeded 90%. If the event or experience was attributed by the story-teller to an external cause it received a score of 1, and if it was attributed to an internal cause it was given a score of 5. The meaning of more intermediate scores was not reported, but such scores likely represented lesser degrees of the internal or external poles. For example, a 3 could mean a complete lack of either causal attribution, or a combination of the two. In the same manner scores of 1 were given to events that were attributed to specific and unstable causes, and 5’s were given to attributions of global and stable causes. A composite score was created by combining unstable/stable and specific/global scores to represent a depressogenic attributional style total score. Interrater reliability was established for the CAVE coding technique by using two raters who independently coded 12 interviews. Intra-class correlations were as follows: .89 (internal), .78 (stable), .78 (global), and .80 (depressogenic attributional style composite).

The CAVE technique was contrasted with a second coding scheme referred to as a Contamination Sequence (CS). A CS was operationalized as a story that begins positively, but ends negatively. Each of the eight life-story scenes was coded for the presence of a CS. If one of the eight scenes contained a CS it received one point and a composite score (range 0-8) was created for the eight scenes. Intra-coder reliability was .79.

The researchers used multiple regression analysis to predict depression scores on the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977). Depressogenic attributional style was only marginally predictive ($\beta = .25, p = .055$), whereas contamination sequences were a stronger predictor of depression ($\beta = .46, p < .05$). Depressogenic attributional style was not significantly predictive of depression when entered into a simultaneous regression with the personality trait of Neuroticism from the Big Five Inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999). In contrast, CS scores continued to predict depression when entered into a regression
equation with Neuroticism ($\beta = .28$, $p < .01$), although Neuroticism was a better predictor ($\beta = .61$, $p < .001$). Both the CAVE and CS scores significantly predicted Life Satisfaction (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffin, 1985) ($\beta = -.30$ for the CAVE and $\beta = -.33$ for CS, $p < .05$ for both). However, only CS scores significantly predicted for life satisfaction when entered into a regression equation with Neuroticism ($\beta = -.19$, $p < .05$).

A possible limitation of the depressogenic attribution coding scheme was its bipolar scale. A score of 3 on the CAVE dimensions might not represent either pole very well. In particular, if the modal response was around 3 the CAVE method may not have assessed either pole of the three attributional styles clearly. In contrast, the CS scale was unipolar, ranging from 0 to 8. For the CAVE technique it might have been preferable to create three separate unipolar scales to assess the extent to which global, stable, or internal attributions were present in the stories. Alternatively, one could merely code the presence (1) or absence (0) of each of the three attributions. These scaling issues may account for the insignificant results of the CAVE method.

In another study, McAdams et al. (2001) coded life-story narratives for contamination sequences (CS) and redemption sequences (RS). A redemption sequence (RS) was operationalized as a story about the self in which the subject suffered in some way by experiencing pain, fear, sadness, or anguish from a past event. Moreover, a redemptive sequence was one in which the participant reported how a negative situation changed into a decidedly positive situation, or produced a positive outcome. If a story received a point for this redemptive imagery then raters assessed three supplementary subcategories, each of which received one point for its presence and no points for its absence. These three subcategories were derived from Tedeschi and Calhoun’s (1995) conceptualization of posttraumatic growth. One extra point was given if the story demonstrated enhanced agency, which was coded if the participant explicitly
reported enhanced self-efficacy, strength, confidence, or self understanding as a result of the change from negative to positive. An additional point was given if the story demonstrated enhanced communion, which was coded if the participant explicitly reported feeling a sense of community with others or enhanced interpersonal intimacy, love, friendship, and caring. One additional point was given for stories that exhibited ultimate concerns, which were coded if the participant described transcendent or spiritual meaning associated with the change from negative to positive outcome, or if the participant reported a confrontation with existential issues. In the first study, intercoder reliability was .84 for RS scores and .79 for CS scores. In study two the intercoder reliability was .84 for RS scores and .79 for CS scores.

RS and CS scores were related to indicators of psychosocial adaptation in midlife adults in study one and in college students in study two. In the first study, 74 midlife adults were classified into generative and non-generative groups using the same procedures employed by McAdams et al. (1997). The generative adults reported significantly more redemptive sequences than the non-generative group. Contamination sequence scores were significantly correlated in the expected direction with life satisfaction (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffin, 1985) ($r = -.40, p < .001$) and depression (CES-D) ($r = .49, p < .001$). Redemption sequence scores were also significantly related to life-satisfaction ($r = .37, p < .01$), and negatively related to depression ($r = -.32, p < .001$). It was not listed how many narratives exhibited ultimate or spiritual concerns, but these were not significantly related to any of the well-being or depression measures in study one. Furthermore, certain questions of the life-story technique were more prone than others to elicit the RS and CS responses. Turning point episodes elicited the highest number of redemption sequences, followed by high-point episodes, and low-point episodes. Earliest memory episodes elicited the smallest amount of redemption sequences. Contamination
sequences were rarely observed across the eight scenes ($M=1.20, SD = 1.12$). Indeed, redemption sequences were much more common than contamination sequences ($M = 2.92, SD = 2.88$). It would have been interesting to know the descriptive statistics of ultimate or spiritual concerns to better understand why this category was not related to the outcomes in study one.

In the second study, the researchers obtained a convenience sample of 125 undergraduates. Redemption sequence scores were related to satisfaction with life and Ryff’s (1989) psychological well-being measure. In this second study, total redemption sequence scores were significantly related to psychological well-being ($r = .35, p < .001$) and satisfaction with life ($r = .42, p < .001$). Redemption imagery and its subscale, agency, showed the strongest relationships to overall psychological well-being ($r = .32, r = .32$, respectively, $p < .001$) and life satisfaction ($r = .38, r = .35$, respectively, $p < .001$). Scores for communion and ultimate concerns were not significantly related to well-being. Communion scores were mildly related to the relationship, purpose, and self-acceptance subscales of Ryff’s Psychological Well-being Scale ($r = .19, .18, .18$ respectively, $p < .05$), as well as the Satisfaction with Life Scale ($r = .21, p < .05$). The subcategory of ultimate concerns was only related to the Purpose subscale of psychological well-being ($r = .19, p < .05$) and satisfaction with life ($r = .24, p < .001$). The inability of the ultimate concerns scores to predict the non-narrative measures may have resulted from the low ability of the questions in the life-story technique to elicit ultimate concerns. For example, no question in the life-story technique targets spirituality directly.

Overall, redemptive imagery and narrative themes of agency, but not communion and ultimate concerns, were strong predictors of well-being. The question of causality remains, as this is correlational research. Nonetheless, it makes sense that individuals who report that their life went from bad to good would also have higher levels of well-being and lower levels of
depression. Life narratives that include redemptive sequences provide rich accounts of what a person has gone through and how he or she has experienced and handled life situations. Such stories portray a person’s self and identity.

In another study that used the life-story technique, McAdams et al. (2004) related four narrative indices to scores on the Big-Five personality traits (John & Srivasta, 1999). The first narrative index to be assessed was agentic-growth, which was coded for stories emphasizing achievement of valued outcomes, power, self-mastery, status, and prestige. The researchers also coded for communal growth, which focused on friendship/love, dialogue or connection with others. Both agency and communion themes were derived from Bakan (1966). Emotional tone was the third index, with ratings addressing the extent to which each scene was unhappy or happy. A conceptual or integrative complexity index based on theory by Suedfeld, Tetlock, and Streufert (1992) was used to examine the extent to which narratives expressed differentiation or integration of thoughts, motives, and self images. These indices were coded from the narratives and correlated with Big-Five scores in two parallel studies using 125 college students and 51 community adults. Coder reliability was $r = .89$ for emotional tone, $r = .83$ for agency, and $r = .88$ for communion. Conceptual/integrative complexity was rated by a single trained coder who had an $r$ greater than .80 for agreement with expert coding of practice stories. The researchers presented only one set of reliability estimates, presumably applicable to both studies.

The results demonstrated that college age students reported significantly higher levels of communion than midlife adults, which is consistent with the developmental stage of intimacy and isolation that is normal for individuals at this age (Erikson, 1963). Additionally, older adults in study two scored significantly higher on Conscientiousness and lower on Neuroticism than younger adults in study one. Furthermore, within the older adult group, agency and Openness to
Experience were positively related to age. Age was also negatively related with Neuroticism in study two. The authors concluded that “[o]verall, older adults described themselves as friendlier and less anxious in trait terms and they recounted important experiences in their lives that tended to highlight recognized accomplishment to a greater extent than did younger adults” (McAdams et al., 2004, p. 775).

The results showed that dispositional traits are sometimes correlated with narrative indices of identity. Individuals who had more complex narratives had higher levels of Big-Five Openness to experience. Openness is related to being innovative and cognitively complex, which seems to have been reflected in the narratives. Descriptive statistics, however, revealed that only about one-fourth of the sample integrated more than one specific point of view within each of the episodes. Big Five Agreeableness was significantly correlated with themes of communion in both studies. That is, warm and caring people gave accounts that highlighted communal themes. Negative emotional tone was significantly related to Neuroticism. Extroversion was related to communion themes in both studies. It makes sense that outgoing individuals would highlight themes of friendship, love, and togetherness in their narratives. Contrary to the researcher’s prediction, Conscientiousness was not consistently related to themes of agency. However, in study two, agency themes of achievement and responsibility were strongly related to Agreeableness ($r = .44, p < .001$). This indicated that warm and caring adults were more likely to describe experiences in which they took on new responsibilities and achieved instrumental goals. This study demonstrates how personality traits can be related to narrative indices.

Few studies have tested the stability of narrative indices over time. In the study by McAdams et al. (2006), the researchers used the life-story technique to assess the stability of themes of agency, communion, personal growth, emotional tone, and integrative complexity.
Coding indices for personal growth were derived from Deci and Ryan’s (1991) self-determination theory. Points were given for personal growth if the narrative exhibited self-determined personal growth, or if the narrator described an event that explicitly promoted the positive development of the person. These indices were used to code for the narratives of college students at three different time points. Intercoder reliability for emotional tone, agency, communion, and personal growth were $r = .84$, .82, .86, and .81, respectively. Narrative complexity was coded by one coder who exhibited good agreement ($r = .80$) with available codes for practice stories. As in the previous study, integrative complexity of each scene was low ($M = 2.41$), indicating that on average 2.41 of the 10 scenes contained more than one integrative point. Most of the scenes contained only one integrative point. Narrative complexity increased across time in both samples, and it was associated with number of words per sentence, as those who wrote more words had more complex narratives. Personal growth themes also increased with time. All narrative indices showed significant correlations between time 1 and time 2, and all indices except communion were significantly correlated from time 1 to time 3. Communion did show stability when communion at time 3 was correlated with communion at times 1 and 2 combined. Narrative complexity demonstrated the most continuity from time one to time two and from time 1 to time 3 ($r = .59, .53$, respectively), followed by emotional tone ($r = .59, .43$), agency ($r = .35, .45$) and personal growth ($r = .35, .35$). Additionally, this study found that only about one autobiographical event, out of the five, that was written by participants was repeated in subsequent testing situations—that is, people wrote about different events.

While emotional tone and conceptual complexity showed the highest levels of continuity, continuity for these narrative themes was still less than was found for dispositional traits. This may be expected because narrative identity is assessed in a less structured manner than with an
objective inventory. Nonetheless, these indices of narrative identity did show significant correlations over time. The lower level of stability of these narrative indices is likely impacted by the different life-story narratives that participants reported across the three times. It may be that the different events reported by participants across time had different levels of the narrative indices measured in this study. If so, then perhaps writing about the same exact event over time, versus writing about just the same type of event, may contribute to higher reliability of these indices over time.

The life-story has also been coded for logical coherence. Baerger and McAdams (1999) constructed a logical coherence coding scheme with four indices, each scored from very low to very high. The first coherence index was "orientation," which was defined as a narrative that provided the background or milieu of the story, including the central characters and location of the story in a specific temporal, social, and personal context. The second index was called "structure," which required the autobiographical account to display an initiating event, an internal response to the event, an attempt to meet a goal, and a consequence of the goal attempt. The third index was called "affect," which measured the extent to which an evaluative point was made in the scene. This index was marked by the explicit use of tension, drama, humor, or pathos to communicate a point. The last index of coherence was called "integration." This index addressed the extent to which the narrative communicated information in an integrated manner. In this study these indices were collected from the narrative accounts of 50 adults ages 35-65 ($M = 50$). These narrative indices were correlated with each other and with measures of depression (CES-D; Radloff, 1977) and life satisfaction (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffin, 1985). Interrater reliability was .77 for orientation, .79 for structure, .84 for affect, and .82 for integration.
The results indicated that affect and integration were strongly correlated \((r = .56)\), as was structure and integration \((r = .47)\), and structure and orientation \((r = .36)\). These results suggest that affect and integration may be intimately dependent upon one another to make a narrative’s evaluative point. Further, total scores on life-story coherence were significantly related to depression \((r = -.49)\) and life-satisfaction \((r = .29)\). Of the four facets of coherence, integration, affect, and structure were strongly negatively related to depression, but orientation was not \((- .46, - .49, \text{and} - .58, \text{respectively,} \ p < .001)\). Participants who had less coherent life-stories had higher levels of depression.

**Summary and critique of the life-story technique and its deductive coding.** The Life-story protocol elicits a narrative story about the person’s life episodes, which provides a comprehensive set of qualitative data. In contrast to the inductive approaches, deductive approaches pre-specify what they will be looking for in the narratives. The goal of this research is not to essentially summarize a presentation of the participant’s life story. Rather, it is to identify certain components of the story, quantify them, relate them with various objective measures, and compare them across groups. The list of narrative indices that can be created and used to code the Life-story responses is possibly endless.

The Life-story protocol elicits a holistic story about one’s life experiences and memories. Unfortunately, not all narrative indices appeared sensitive to some or all of the questions on the Life-story protocol. The results of the studies in this section indicated that certain questions were systematically related to certain narrative indices. For example, the researchers found that some coding constructs, such as redemption sequences, were infrequently found for some episodes of the life-story, such as earliest memories (McAdams et al., 2001). In contrast, significantly more redemption sequences were found in descriptions of turning point episodes. As another example,
contamination sequences were rarely observed in life-story narratives, but contamination sequences may still hold considerable predictive value within narratives. Further, I suspect that ultimate concerns, such as philosophical and spiritual/existential beliefs, were reported in too few cases or with too little intensity to correlate with other measures in the study by McAdams et al. This suggests that the questions on the Life-story protocol are not targeting these narrative indexes, or that the latent theme underlying these indices were not present in the lives of the population samples.

The life-story technique by McAdams (1996) is one of the most researched methods for assessing narrative identity. However, questions about one’s identity are not asked directly. From a narrative identity perspective, questions such as nuclear episodes elicit stories about one’s lived experience, identifying the person within a plot structure. Such narratives reflect one’s ontological way of being in the world (Phoenix & Sparkes, 2009). The life-story protocol assesses one’s past, present, and future, but there are other areas of narrative identity that could be assessed by using other questions. The authors of studies that used the life-story protocol have acknowledged this in their discussion of limitations. The life-story method as operationalized by McAdams “could be critiqued for focusing on but a few aspects of narratives. . . and neglecting the critical issues of culture and social context” (McAdams et al., 2004, p. 781).

Other Deductive Approaches to the Assessment of the Conceptualized Self and Identity

This section focuses on deductive approaches in the assessment of the self as conceptualized and identity that did not employ the life-story technique. Bauer, McAdams, and Sakaeda (2005) examined personal narratives of life-changing decisions by asking participants in two studies to describe a particular event in their lives when they made an important decision.
Responses were to include what happened, when it occurred, who was involved, what they were thinking and feeling, and what the event says about their personality. These narratives about a life changing event were analyzed for two narrative indices that represent approach versus avoidance goals: crystallization of desire (CD) and crystallization of discontent (CDIS). In CD narratives, the life-changing decision was primarily based on moving towards a desired or positive goal. In CDIS narratives the life-changing decision was based on the urgency to move away from an undesired circumstance. If the primary reason for arriving at his or her decision (after considering all the various desires and discontents within a narrative) was primarily based on CD, a score of 1 was given. A zero was given if it was based on CDIS. This discrete variable had an intercoder agreement rate of 86% (kappa = .65).

These indices were used in two similar studies. The sample in the first study was comprised of 51 adults with a mean age of 51.7 (SD = 10.0). The student sample included 125 participants (M age = 19.8, SD = 1.0). Across both studies participants who emphasized CD versus CDIS responses had higher levels of life satisfaction and lower levels of Neuroticism, but not higher levels of Extraversion. Furthermore, the relationship between CD responses and life satisfaction was not attributable to strivings or traits. These findings suggest that subjective “decision-making” processes have a significant impact on peoples’ lives. People who based their decisions on moving toward something desirable were happier than people who based their decisions on escaping something negative. Thus, it seems that future and growth-oriented thinking and behaving—particularly when confronting major life transitions—is strongly related to well-being and adjustment. In contrast, aiming to avoid what you do not want is related to Neuroticism.
In another study, Bauer and McAdams (2004) coded narratives for four personal growth themes in personal accounts of transition from one career to another or from one religion to another. Participants were 67 adults (40 career changers and 27 religion changers) with an average age of 41 ($SD = 10$). Participants were asked to write about their transitions through narrative, for each of the following six episodes: (1) the decision to make the transition, (2) a turning point in making the change, (3) a conflict event, (4) an encounter with another person who played a role in the transition, (5) the projected future of the transition, and (6) a reflection on the relationship between the transition and personal identity. These narratives were coded for the presence or absence of four themes: integrative, intrinsic, agentic, and communal.

Integrative themes were derived from social-cognitive theories of personality development. Integrative themes emphasized the importance of learning, integrating, or coming to a new understanding about the self or another. The intrinsic theme was based on self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Intrinsic responses emphasized the importance of interpersonal relationships, personal growth, and happiness in one’s life—as opposed to extrinsic values, such as money, physical appearance, status, and approval. In agentic growth responses, participants emphasized impacting others or their environment, achieving valued outcomes, personal competence, and self-mastery. Finally, in communal growth responses, participants focused on friendship, love, dialogue, sharing, connections with groups or a higher power, and helping or caring for others. Interrater reliabilities (kappas) were .53 (86% agreement) for integrative themes, .67 for intrinsic themes (87% agreement), .64 (81% agreement) for agentic-growth themes, and .69 (86% agreement) for communal growth themes.

The results indicated that integrative growth themes were positively correlated with levels of an ego development measure that ranged from immature or “impulsive” levels to more
mature levels such as “conformity,” “conscientiousness,” and “autonomy.” The combination of integrative and agentic growth themes was related to ego development. Intrinsic and communal themes were related to psychological well-being and satisfaction with life. The researchers also examined a cluster of participants’ who had high levels of both ego development and well-being, which the researchers viewed as two factors of the “good life.” These participants had either (a) high levels of integrative and intrinsic themes, indicating that they learned something that was intrinsically meaningful, or (b) high levels of integrative and communal growth themes, indicating a conceptual understanding of self and relationships.

Wang and Conway (2004) asked 54 Chinese and 54 American middle-class participants, ages 38-60 (M = 49), to write 20 autobiographical accounts reconstructed from one’s memory of specific one day events that took place anytime over the course of their lives. They coded these accounts according to three themes: personal experiences, social events, and historical events. The memories were also coded for specificity/generality, emotionality, autonomous orientation (i.e., references to personal preferences/evaluations and reference to independent action), other/self mention ratio, social interaction scenario, and reflective comment. Product-moment correlation coefficients or inter-rater reliability indices ranged from .77 to 1.00. The researchers tested hypotheses about the levels of autonomy and relatedness in cross-cultural samples. They predicted that Americans would report more personal experiences and define themselves more through personal attributes than their collectivistic counterparts, who were predicted to report more social identities and memories of social interactions and social roles.

As predicted, Americans’ stories emphasized individuality, agency, and autonomy, whereas the stories from Chinese participants placed a greater emphasis on group activities and social relationships (Wang & Conway, 2004). Specifically, Americans reported more personal
memories than the Chinese participants, while the Chinese reported more social and historical memories than Americans. The Americans also reported more discrete, one-moment-in-time events unique to the individual, and made more references to their personal feelings than did the Chinese. In contrast, the Chinese reported more general memories about events that took place regularly (e.g., family outings every Saturday), they focused more on social interactions and the roles of other people, and they reflected more and scrutinized their past behavior.

The contents of these memories reflected differences in autonomous and relatedness orientations in the two cultures. Chinese culture emphasizes group solidarity and interdependence, which prioritizes one’s self to be attuned to significant social roles, duties, and responsibilities within the kin group. It follows that autobiographical events would place a greater emphasis on the self in relation to others. In contrast, the self and person in America tend to function in a more autonomous or independent manner, which may be why American identities have been found to be more individualistic than Chinese culture. Americans consume substantially more than individuals in other countries, so the middle-class American in the 21st century may not be, economically speaking, equivalent to a Chinese middle-class individual. This implies that middle-class Americans may be able to afford a lifestyle with a salient level of independence. Furthermore, conformity and obedience may not be a value of middle-class American parents. Indeed, in a study of 4,000 American adolescents, 37% of the parents were viewed as uninvolved and even uninterested in their children’s development. In addition, 32% of parents were viewed as authoritative, meaning that they provide their children with choices and options to exercise autonomy (Arnett, 2004). In sum, both individualist and collectivist cultures view themselves using similar categories of the self-concept. However, they seem to emphasize
certain identities more than others, reflecting their cultural orientations toward the self’s relation with others.

One last study by del Prado et al. (2007) deserves to be reviewed in this section because it compared two distinct methods of self-concept and identity assessment. One of the methods used in this study was the Twenty Statements Test (TST; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), a single response, open-ended questionnaire that has been used to assess the question “who am I?” across cultures (Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001; Rhe, Uleman, Lee, & Roman, 1995). In the del Prado et al. study, participants were given a sheet titled “Self-Description Task” and asked to provide self descriptive responses to 15 sentence stems beginning with “I am . . . .” The non-specificity of such a question allows the TST to elicit a spontaneous self-construal.

The second open-ended approach used in the del Prado et al. (2007) study consisted of a single sheet of blank lined paper titled “Writing about Yourself” (WAY). For this approach, the participants were asked to write one or more paragraphs about themselves. Participants were instructed that their responses should be complete enough so that others who read their narratives would have a good understanding of who they are. This format is fundamentally different from the TST method as the TST method assesses isolated aspects of one’s self-concept, while the WAY allows the participant to tell a story to define oneself. Both the WAY and the TST were given to 178 college students from the United States, 112 college students from Australia, 157 college students from Mexico, and 138 students from the Philippines.

Participants’ responses from both assessments were coded according to the same set of self-concept category types. According to Cousins (1989), there are four basic categories of self-percepts that represent different levels of abstraction, ranging from the innermost phenomenal
self, to the outer most physical self. The first three levels include physical references (e.g., “I am 5’7” tall”), social identities (i.e., references to social role or socially defined status, such as a “college student”), and attributive references (i.e., personal styles and ways of acting, feeling, and thinking). Specifically, attributive references include pure and qualified traits (e.g., “outgoing”, and “outgoing when with friends”, respectfully), preferences (e.g., interests, values, likes), aspirations (e.g., hopes, goals, and who one wants to become), and activities (e.g., physical things an individual does, such as partake in cultural practices). Other researchers have added to the list: cognitive attitudes and beliefs; competencies (skills, abilities); emotional states; and peripheral states (e.g., tired) (del Prado et al., 2007; Kanagawa et al., 2001; Rhee et al., 1995). Global self references is the forth category according to Cousins. In this category are existential and spiritual conceptions of the self, and universal self conceptions, such as those found in Hindu and Eastern philosophy. These categories provide a comprehensive framework for understanding how to view a person.

In the del Prado et al. (2007) study, the proportion of agreement between pairs of coders for the TST across the four samples was as follows: United States ($M = .90$; range = .87-.98); Australia ($M = .83$; range = .80-.91); Mexico ($M = .80$; range = .74-.91); Philippines ($M = .89$; range = .89-.90). The results indicated that pure traits were elicited at significantly higher rates when assessed with the TST (.39-.54) compared with the WAY (.09-.13). Qualified traits were also significantly more reported with the TST, as were competencies and emotions. In contrast, the WAY elicited significantly more preferences, aspirations, activities, and attitudes than the TST (range = .30-.41 for WAY vs. .08-.19 for TST). Additionally, significantly more social identity responses were elicited in all four cultures with the self-descriptive narratives (WAY) than with the sentence completion task (TST) (Wilks’ $\Lambda = .83$, $F[1, 575] = 121.74$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 =$
Furthermore, qualified traits (.01-.15), competencies (.02-.05), physical descriptions (.04-.07), emotional states (.01-.04), peripheral information (.00-.04), and individuating self-references (.00-.03) were all minimally elicited by either of these two assessments. There were low convergent correlations between the TST and WAY for various categories (range .03-.38).

The results of the study by del Prado et al. (2007) indicate that the TST’s “I am” stem biases responses towards pure- and qualified traits (e.g., “I am smart”), competencies (e.g., “I am good at math”), and emotions (e.g., “I am happy”). Research from other studies using the TST also indicates that the TST is prone to eliciting trait-like terms. In contrast, the narrative approach elicited more responses about activities in which participants engaged, things they liked (e.g., music), who they hoped to become, their beliefs and attitudes regarding various subjects, and about their social identities. These results suggest that the TST questionnaire is less well suited to elicit responses from a majority of the self-concept categories than the narrative method. Both the TST and WAY code narratives according to the various self-concept categories, but they do not assess all the dimensions equally. The original intent of the TST was simply to assess what categories individuals used to describe themselves. However, if the intent is to assess many of the TST’s self-concept categories then the mono-operation bias of the TST is a drawback. The coding scheme of the TST method is a definite strength because it provides a systematic and encompassing approach to catalogue the self-concept and identity.

Summary and critique of non-life-story deductive approaches. Non-Life-story deductive approaches use similar methods to assess the person as the previous deductive studies, but they do not assess one’s whole life history. Rather, the studies in this section asked about specific life instances, such as important decisions and life transitions. Such specific instances were coded specifically for themes related to the inquiry questions, which is a strength of these
studies. The stories that participants told in the first two studies (Bauer & McAdams, 2004; Bauer, McAdams, & Sakaeda, 2005) were descriptive and perhaps explanatory regarding the decisions and motivations behind making life transitions. Again, quantitative coding schemes allowed the narrative indices to be related to objective measures to examine convergent and construct validity. These approaches have the same limitations as all deductive approaches in that they circumscribe the coding categories in an *a priori* fashion. This limits the coding categories and participants’ idiosyncratic meanings. However, these coding categories are typically based on theory and literature, and they make the study replicable.

As demonstrated by the last two studies in this section (del Prado et al., 2007; Wang & Conway, 2004), cross-cultural studies can be conducted using qualitative deductive methods. These studies treated the cultural groups as independent by aggregating and comparing group means and variances. One study compared how individuals in two cultures viewed themselves in their autobiographical memories. This study revealed that individuals across cultures use similar self-concept categories to describe themselves, but there were predictable cultural differences in the view of self as an isolated or independent being versus interconnected with others. Lastly, narrative formats allow one to elaborate an open-ended description about one’s self, which allows for more integrated descriptions, rather than the more isolated attributes elicited by the Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954).

**Narratives about the Self and Identity as Interventions**

The studies in the previous sections used inductive and deductive qualitative methods to assess the self, person and identity. In these studies, all participants responded to the same questions. In the following studies, not all participants were given the same questions. In
contrast, the studies in the current section examined the psychological impact of written narratives as interventions. This section fits into a paper focused on self-concept and identity assessment because it demonstrates how writing about one’s self and identity can impact the person’s psychological well-being.

Writing about certain topics has been associated with different psychological outcomes. For example, writing about traumatic events is related to improved health after writing about the event (Pennebaker & Seagal, 1999). King (2001) tested whether the same health benefits could be found by writing about positive, or neutral events. The researcher compared the health benefits associated with writing about (a) one’s best possible future (i.e., a future where life worked out as well as possible), (b) a traumatic event or loss, (c) both one’s best possible future and about trauma or loss, and (d) neutral events (i.e., the plans for one’s day). Eighty-one psychology students participated in the study (\(M \text{ age} = 21.04, SD = 3.15\)).

In comparison to the other groups, individuals who wrote about their best possible future had significantly higher increases in mood after writing. Participants who wrote about traumatic experiences scored marginally lower than the other groups on positive affect. Further, participants in the best possible future, combination, and neutral conditions were significantly happier than those who wrote about trauma only. The control or neutral group rated the writing intervention as less important than did the other three groups who did not differ in their importance ratings. The trauma group and the best possible self group rated the writing experience as more difficult and emotional than did the control group, while the combination group did not differ significantly from any other group on ratings of writing difficulty or emotionality. Writing about a traumatic event was rated as more upsetting than the other three conditions. Writing about one’s best possible self was rated as less upsetting than writing about
the control topic. Writing about a trauma alone or in combination was generally rated as being more emotional, negative, and less optimistic.

There was a main effect for the best possible future condition. Participants who projected their selves into a story about a positive future scored higher in satisfaction with life than the other groups. There were no differences among the groups in visits to the campus medical center in the three months prior to the study. However, the best possible future group, trauma group, and combined group had significantly fewer medical visits than the control group when assessed five months after the study. Thus, both the best possible future condition and the trauma interventions were related to better health. However, writing about one’s best possible future and self was less upsetting for participants, and it made them happier, as observed through affect ratings after writing. These results suggest that the benefits of writing may be due to writing about something meaningful, engaging, and even challenging.

Lyubomisky and Dickerhoof (2006) examined how writing, talking, and thinking about positive and negative life events impacted positive and negative affect (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), satisfaction with life (SWLS, Diener et al., 1985), and physical health. In their first study, they randomly assigned 96 undergraduate psychology students to write, talk, or think about their worst life experience for 15 minutes a day, for three consecutive days. The researchers found that participants in the thinking condition reported significantly lower life-satisfaction relative to those in the writing and talking conditions. No significant group effects were found on the affect scale. Students who thought privately about their worst life experience reported significantly more physical health symptoms and diminished overall physical health relative to those who wrote or talked about their worst life experience.
The second study was conducted with 111 undergraduate students. The procedures were identical to study 1 except that the participants were asked to write, think, or talk about the best or happiest experience of their life. The researchers found that the thinking group reported greater life satisfaction relative to the writing and talking groups, and relative to both groups combined. In contrast to the results from study 1, the thinking condition in study two was related to greater, not lower, life satisfaction.

To further investigate these findings, Lyubomisky and Dickerhoof (2006) conducted a third experiment. One hundred and twelve undergraduates were randomly assigned to one of four conditions that focused solely on the happiest moment of their life. One group was asked to replay the event over and over in their thoughts. Participants in the second condition were asked to analyze how or why the event occurred using only their thoughts. The next condition had participants write what had happened over and over (replay). The participants in the last condition were asked to analyze the positive life event through writing. The life satisfaction measure that was used in study 1 and 2 was replaced with the Psychological Well-Being Scale (PWB; Ryff, 1989). The results of study 3 indicated that the think-replay group had the highest long-term positive affect relative to all the other groups. Psychological well-being as a unitary construct was not significantly different across any of the conditions. However, three of Ryff’s subscales were related to the conditions. A planned contrast indicated that the analyzing-by-writing group reported less personal growth relative to the think-replay group and relative to the three other groups combined. No significant group differences were found for the planned contrasts between the think-replay group and the other three groups. The researchers also found that the participants in the analyzing-by-writing group had significantly lower scores on the self-acceptance subscale of psychological well-being than the other three groups. Furthermore, lower
levels of overall health, as assessed by a health survey, were reported four weeks later for the analyzing-by-writing group compared to all the other groups combined. Lastly, the analyze-by-writing group reported decreased physical functioning relative to the other groups combined.

Lyubomisky and Dickerhoof (2006) concluded that writing and talking are external ways of processing information, while thinking is an internal process. The external processes of writing and talking may facilitate the integration and construction of new knowledge. That is, one is more readily able to manipulate information on paper than in the mind, which becomes clear when one thinks of how much more difficult it is to do math in one’s mind than on paper. Thus, it seems likely that writing about negative life events may have enabled participants in study 1 to arrive at a new realization about an old event. In counseling psychology, the creation of new and self relevant meaning can be therapeutic and this may have been why the participants in study one who wrote about their worst life experience reported the highest levels of life satisfaction when assessed at time 2. In contrast, when mentally processing negative life experiences, the repetitive, circular and less organized nature of thinking may not be as effective in helping one understand their situation as writing or talking about it. Moreover, thinking about negative events may lead to rumination and this is a possible explanation for why the thinking group reported reduced life-satisfaction in study 1. However, due to the inherently organized and analytic nature of writing, writing may not always lead to better outcomes, especially when writing about good experiences. The results suggested that writing about events that were experienced as emotionally positive (e.g., the happiest experience of one’s life) may ascribe new meaning to events which were previously imbued with positive affect. Analyzing and ascribing meaning to these positive memories may have had the effect of creating a more rational and less emotional perception of the event. In contrast, replaying a positive experience through imagery
and affective sensation may have allowed participants to relive the experience without adding new meaning to the event, which may have led to higher levels of reported life satisfaction.

**Summary and Critique of Narratives as Interventions**

In these studies the participants wrote, talked, or thought about certain life experiences and imagined futures of their selves. It appears that writing and talking have similar effects compared to thinking. The authors of these studies concluded that writing and talking may be more efficient ways of processing information that may facilitate the creation of new information. Furthermore, writing about one’s self as seen in the future elicits possible selves in the future, an important aspect of one’s narrative identity. It can be ill-advised to ask participants to only think about negative life experiences, although writing about them is beneficial to their health in the future. Researchers who study the self, person, and identity should be aware of these intervention effects so that they do not unknowingly due harm to participants through the questions they use in their studies. The systematic interactions between the method of assessment and the topic of inquiry are factors that should be taken into consideration.

**Summary**

The phenomenological self cannot be measured directly, but the construction of self can be conceptualized according to many dimensions, categories, and processes. Elements of the self-concept can be integrated into narratives about a person and his or her life. Perspectives about the self and person represent point-in-time constructions of one’s perceived reality. Authors give meaning to their narratives through their words and conveyed emotions. Subsequently, it is up to the researchers to empathically understand and interpret a person’s
discourse or narrative. Participants’ responses to researcher questions can be viewed as dialogical accounts that are formed by the interaction of questions and answers in the study.

Through inductive approaches researchers gather narrative data and attempt to understand and organize it in a descriptive and interpretive manner. Much of this research involves the accurate reflection and interpretation of participants’ words. Subjects’ presentation, discourse, and narrative accounts express their life experiences. Inductive studies may also attempt to assess a process, such as how people arrive at an ethnic identity. Inductive studies may study culture or the commonality among members of a group, thus assessing the groups’ collective values, norms, customs, traditions, mores, roles, and more. Inductive approaches can be combined strategically in a qualitative study. Alternatively, inductive methods can be used first to generate themes. Subsequently, these themes can be used in a deductive approach with another sample.

Deductive methods typically pre-specify categories. Coding categories can be derived from empirical data or be based on literature and theory. Narratives can be examined for the presence, absence, and level of various self-concepts and narrative indices, such as communion and agency. If a researcher wants to assess narratives for clinical indices, such as cognitive distortions, dysfunctional beliefs, and attributional style, a deductive approach would be useful. Deductive methods observe the data but their aim is not to present a story-form reproduction as the outcome of the study. With deductive approaches, researchers can quantitatively code for various indices to measure their levels and correlate these with objective measures. It should be noted that studies can employ both inductive and deductive methods within a study.

Depending on how many individuals are studied, different information can be gained. Inductive studies usually have fewer participants. Perhaps this is due to the more intensive
process of narrative modes of analysis, as compared to the deductive and pre-ordained methods of content analysis. Deductive approaches look for commonalities and trends across individuals. The deductive studies used homogeneous samples more often than the inductive studies. Deductive studies need large sample sizes so that they can correlate and test variables. Deductive studies have also focused on the differences across individuals, and related these differences to well-being and personality outcomes. No approach is better or worse in itself. Rather, some approaches are more appropriate for certain applications than others depending on what researchers wish to study.

The questions asked in studies about the self and identity have been found to have lasting psychological and physical health impacts on well-being. How subjects talk or write about their lives is an example of how they view reality, or at least what they say the truth about their reality is. What people write or say about their perceived reality, inclusive of self and others, is systematically related to certain outcomes. The literature review revealed that participants who talked about life as going from good to bad (i.e., contamination sequences) had negative outcomes (e.g., depression, neuroticism, and reduced life satisfaction). Having participants only mentally reflect on negative experiences was related to physical health symptoms. Writing stories about moving towards a desired outcome (i.e., crystallization of desire) was associated with better outcomes (i.e., life satisfaction) than stories about moving away from a negative situation. Writing about one’s best possible future was related to satisfaction with life. Talking about how one’s life went from bad to good was related to positive outcomes as well. Accounts that demonstrated agency were related to psychological well-being and life satisfaction. Coherent stories were positively related to life satisfaction and negatively related to depression. In summary, the stories participants told were predictably related to their overall health.
Overview of the Present Study

Based on my review of the literature, I concluded that there is a need to research multicultural aspects of identity. Furthermore, the self and identity should be studied within the contexts of time, place, and society, but such studies have rarely been conducted. I believe there is much new ground to explore in these areas and questions to be answered. My study should shed light on new questions about ethnic identity. The populations I assessed need more representation in the literature, specifically, ethnic ‘minority’ groups within the United States. The purpose of my study was to assess the person as an individual, as well as a person within the context of culture and society.

Briefly, my study can be defined as an auto-ethnographic study because it asks several participants to write about themselves and because it focuses on culture and ethnicity. Given that there is no one set of analytical procedures that can be used in an auto-ethnographic study (Ellis & Bochner, 2003), I chose to use a three-stage grounded theory approach to qualitatively analyze the data. My study is descriptive and interpretive, and it attempts to discover a theory from close examination of the data. My study is largely exploratory and based on the following research questions.

Research Questions (RQ)

RQ 1. What are participants’ self-reported descriptions of their self and identity?

RQ 2. How do participants describe aspects of their ethnic identity and its place within society?

RQ 3. How do participants describe the socio-cultural environments from which they came and the people they grew up around?
RQ 4. How do participants view the multicultural relationships among individuals within their communities?

RQ 5. How do participants’ personal and ethnic identities (answered by RQ 1 and 2) and cultural backgrounds (answered by RQ 3) relate to participants’ views on the relationships among people within their communities (answered by relating RQ 1, 2, & 3 to 4)?
CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Sample

The sample included 16 college students (8 men, 8 women) at Washington State University. The mean age of the sample was 22.19 years ($SD = 2.95$). Nine participants reported being college seniors, five were juniors, one was a freshman, and one participant did not report this data. Participants reported being of the following generations of college students in their family: seven first-generation, five third-generation, and four second-generation. The researcher purposely sampled for ethnic diversity because the study is focused on inter-ethnic group relations and ethnic identity. The researcher used non-proportional quota sampling (i.e., relative to their proportions in the general U.S. population) to obtain an equal number of men and women from four predominant ethnic groups in the U.S. This study theoretically sampled for representation of voices from White or European Americans, Black or African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino/Hispanic Americans.

Parents’ ethnic identification, as reported by participants, included the following: Mexican (n = 3, 18.75%), Hispanic (n = 1, 6.25%), African-American (n = 1, 6.25%), Chinese (n = 1, 6.25%), Filipino (n = 1, 6.25%), Irish (n = 1, 6.25%), Vietnamese (n = 1, 6.25%), Black and Filipino (n = 1, 6.25%), African-American and Native American (n = 1, 6.25%), and Irish, German, Danish, and English (n = 1, 6.25%). Four participants reported that their parents did not identify with any ethnic group. The numbers of parents born in various countries were as follows: U.S. (n = 15, 46.88%), Mexico (n = 8, 25.00%), Philippines (n = 3, 9.38%), Vietnam (n = 3, 9.38%), and China (n = 3, 9.38%). All 16 participants spoke English and reported being American citizens. Other languages spoken included the following: Spanish (n = 4, 25.00%),
Vietnamese (n = 1, 6.25%), Tagalog (n = 1, 6.25%), Chinese (n = 1, 6.25%), Cantonese and Mandarin (n = 1, 6.25%).

Participants reported the following skin tones: light tan (n = 4, 25%), white (n = 3, 18.75%), light brown (n = 3, 18.75%), brown (n = 3, 18.75%), dark (n = 1, 6.25%), fair (n = 1, 6.25%), and tan (n = 1, 6.25%). Participants reported the following hair colors: black (n = 8, 50.00%), brown (n = 3, 18.75%), dark brown (n = 2, 12.50%), blonde (n = 1, 6.25%), auburn (n = 1, 16.25%), and light brown (n = 1, 6.25%). Participants reported the following eye colors: brown (n = 10, 62.50%), blue (n = 3, 18.75%), hazel (n = 1, 6.25%), green (n = 1, 6.25%), and light brown (n = 1, 6.25%).

Participants reported the following gender orientations: masculine (n = 8, 50.00%), feminine (n = 7, 43.75%), and masculine, transgender, and questioning gender (n = 1, 6.25%). Twelve participants identified as heterosexual (75.00%), one as asexual (6.25%), one as bisexual (6.25%), one as gay and bisexual (6.25%), and one did not report (6.25%). Based on participant reports, only one participant (6.25%) reported having a disability (i.e., a speech impairment). Participants identified their perspectives on religion and spirituality as the following: three none (18.75%), three Christian (18.75%), three Catholic (18.75%), two religious and spiritual (12.50%), one spiritual and pagan (6.25%), one spiritual (6.25%), one agnostic (6.25%), one Buddhist (6.25%), and one undecided (6.25%).

Overall, these results support the diversity of the sample as regards to ethnicity of participants and parents and selected physical characteristics. About half of the participants were bilingual and the majority was raised in the state of Washington.
Narrative Identity Questionnaire

A 40-question survey that assessed demographic characteristics and narrative identity was used to collect data from each participant. The narrative identity portion of the questionnaire assessed their personal identities during their early years, their adolescent years, and emerging adulthood years. The complete questionnaire is shown in Appendix B. The questionnaire was administered in the English language and participants were asked to respond in English. Participants responded to an electronic version of the questionnaire using a computer. The questionnaire included both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The open-ended questions allowed participants to write responses using their own words, sentences, and paragraphs. The closed-ended questions mainly addressed demographic characteristics. The demographic questions were adapted from Hays’ (1996) ADDRESSING model. The questionnaire assessed a broad range of areas addressing self-concept and identity. The narrative questions were inspired by the literature review and, in some cases, the researcher's understanding of culture and society. The narrative questions were also influenced by the Life Story interview of Dan McAdams (1996) and the Racial Life Story interview of Helen Neville, which, in turn, was adapted from McAdams’ work. Additionally, some aspects of the questionnaire protocol were adapted from James Pennebaker’s suggestions for running a “confession” study. The face validity and comprehensibility of the questionnaire was critiqued and edited by four graduate students in counseling psychology at Washington State University. The feedback from the graduate students was used to modify any unclear questions before administering the survey to participants.

The questionnaire was composed of 16 groups of similar questions. The 16 question groups assessed the following areas: Personal Identity (or personal attributes) (questions 1, 8, and 21), Family Composition and Ethnicity (question 2), Socioeconomic Status (questions 3, 4,
10 and 22), Social Identity (questions 5, 11, and 23), Surrounded by ‘X’ Ethnic or Cultural Groups (questions 6, 18, and 32), Friends’ Ethnicity (questions 7, 19, and 33), Activities and Behaviors (question 9), Music (questions 12, 13, 24 and 25), Dress (questions 14, 15, 16, 26 and 27), Views and Feelings about their Ethnic Identity (questions 17, 28, 29, 30 and 31), Intercultural Group Relations (questions 20, 34 and 35), Identity Challenges (question 36), European American Membership in Society (question 37), African American Membership in Society (question 38), Latino/a Membership in Society (question 39), and Asian American Membership in Society (question 40).

In lieu of quantitative reliability, qualitative studies focus on dependability. Dependability depends on the accuracy of the researcher’s interpretations during the grounded theory analysis as well as the transparency with which the results are presented as grounded in the data. Dependability also refers to how well the researcher(s) describe the data collection and analysis methods, and whether the methods are derived from acceptable approaches in the qualitative literature. Ethnographic, narrative, and grounded theory approaches are well known and accepted qualitative research procedures.

Procedure

Data collection. Participants were solicited from student groups and multicultural student centers at Washington State University. Contact information was collected, such as email addresses and phone numbers that were kept confidential and only used to contact participants for appointments. Participants were scheduled to complete the questionnaire individually in a private office in the College of Education. Upon their arrival participants were informed that the study focused on ethnic identity and their experiences with diversity, and they were asked for their consent to participate (see Appendix A). All participants typed their responses into an
electronic version of the questionnaire using a computer. All of the 16 participants' questionnaires were typed into Microsoft Word files. The questionnaire took participants approximately 1.5 to 3 hours to complete.

**Ethical considerations (Human subjects protections).** The ethical safeguards that were put into place to protect human subjects included asking participants to use an 'alias' or pseudonym. In addition, the results are presented in a way that prevents identification of participants. The researcher did not expect any harm to participants from writing or talking about themselves and their identity and how it relates to their culture and society. As noted in Chapter 2, studies have shown that writing about one’s self and life may promote mental, emotional and physical health, and identity development. Some questions in the questionnaire addressed potentially sensitive subjects, such as ethnic group relations within society. This is a topic that deserves open adult conversation and is not seen as causing any harm.

This study used an ethical approach because the questions were transparent and there was no deception. The only power differential between the researcher and the participants was that of age and education level. Furthermore, the counseling psychology doctoral training of the researcher provided valuable education, training, and experience that helped the researcher elicit and analyze participant responses accurately.

**Data Analysis**

To become familiar with the data, the researcher first read each participant’s questionnaire responses at least three times before coding them. The responses to the questionnaires were read in order from 1 to 40. One participant at a time, each participant's questionnaire responses were read before reading the subsequent participants' responses. The researcher then began to initially code the data using a Grounded Theory approach as delineated

**Stage 1: Open coding.** In general, the purpose of open coding is to facilitate collecting, sorting and thinking about the contents of the data (Hawker & Kerr, 2007). Hawker and Kerr (p. 91) state that:

Some codes will be objective or concrete and serve to echo what is contained in the text, while other codes will be more abstract or heuristic, reflecting the analyst’s ideas as each line of the data is studied for information relating to the research question.

Also, as noted by Glasser & Strauss (1999, p. 103):

Still dependent on the skills and sensitivities of the analyst, the constant comparative method is not designed (as methods of quantitative analysis are) to guarantee that two analysts working independently with the same data will achieve the same results; it is designed to allow, with discipline, for some of the vagueness and flexibility that aid in the creative generation of theory.

To begin the open coding, the researcher read the first participant’s response to the first question on the questionnaire and identified meaningful units of text (i.e., words, phrases, sentences, or larger sections of text) in relation to the research questions. These meaningful units of text from the participant’s responses on the questionnaire to the first question were copied and pasted into a Word document wherein these meaning units were initially labeled or openly coded. These meaningful units of text were initially labeled or tagged according to the participant’s alias, question number, initial open code, and brief summary describing the code(s), which is in line with the procedures for open coding outlined by Payne (2007). The researcher then moved on to question two and repeated this procedure. This was done for each of the
questions on the questionnaire for the first participant, which resulted in a Word document that contained all of the initial open codes and meaning units that were created for the participant's responses to each of the questions on the questionnaire. After identifying meaningful units of text and open coding them for the first participant’s entire questionnaire, the researcher created 40 open coding files, one for each of the questions on the questionnaire. The researcher pasted the first participant’s initial open codes and meaning units into these 40 files according to the questions they addressed. For example, the meaning units and initial codes for the participant’s responses to question three were cut and pasted into the open coding file that contained open codes and meaning units that address question three.

The researcher then moved on to code the second participant’s responses in much the same manner as for participant one. For example, the researcher first identified and copied the meaningful units of text from the participant's responses to question one and pasted the meaningful units of text into the open coding file for question one. Thus, the meaning units were identified independently and pasted into the file for question one and open coded with the participant's name and question number. After pasting the second participant’s meaning units for question one into the open coding file for question one, the concepts in the meaning units for the second participant were compared to the first participant’s open codes, meaning units, and responses to question one. This method is called the constant comparative technique. This analytic procedure is consistent with open coding procedures described by Charmaz (2006, p. 54), who states that “At first, you compare data with data to find similarities and differences.” The researcher used the constant comparative method with each meaning unit derived from the second participant’s questionnaire, open coding and comparing one question at a time. When the researcher was finished open coding the second participant’s questionnaire, there were 40 open
coding files that each contained two participants’ initial open codes and meaning units. The researcher continued to code the rest of the participants’ data in this manner by constantly comparing identified meaning units of text to previously coded data, one entire questionnaire at a time. This resulted in 40 open coding files that each contained the initial open codes and meaning units for the sample.

In the initial open coding, the researcher used previously constructed codes or labels if they fit the meaningful units of text for subsequent participants. Most of the open codes were derived from participants' own words. Some codes were very concrete and some were more abstract. They were all derived from the data. Different codes were derived from each of the questions and there were 40 questions on the questionnaire. For example, sample open codes for question one, which asked about personal attributes during elementary school, were "shy" and "introverted", while sample codes for question 17, which asked about ethnic identity, were "white" and "say they have no ethnicity". The researcher has computer files documenting all of the original open coding.

**Stage 2: Axial coding.** Because the questionnaire contained 40 questions that addressed 16 groups of similar questions, the researcher decided to axially code the data one question group at a time. The 16 question groups were described in the earlier section describing the Narrative Identity questionnaire. As noted by Charmaz (2006) “The purposes of axial coding are to sort, synthesize, and organize large amounts of data and reassemble them in new ways after open coding” (p. 60). Glaser and Strauss (1999) stated that "The analyst starts by coding each incident in his data into as many categories of analysis as possible" (p. 105). Glaser and Strauss also
stated that "Coding need consist only of noting categories" and:

It should keep track of the comparison group in which the incident occurs. To this procedure we add the basic, defining rule for the constant comparative method: *while coding an incident for a category, compare it with the previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category.* (p. 106)

During axial coding the researcher compared all of the initial open codes within each question group and grouped the open codes into axial categories based on similarities and differences. The axial codes represent clusters of similar responses formed from the open codes. Often times, the axial categories became more abstract or general than the open codes from which they derived. For example, when assessing ethnicity on question 17, participant open codes of "Mexican" and "Vietnamese" were entered into an axial category labeled Nationality as descriptor of Ethnicity, which represents a higher level or more abstract label for the axial category. Additionally, for a small number of meaning units across all participants, no open codes were given. Rather, these meaning units were labeled according to the participant's pseudo-name and question number. This was done when a response was very idiosyncratic and was difficult to label. These meaning units and codes were later compared during axial coding to other meaning units and codes within the respective question group and placed into axial categories based on their similarity to other meaning units and codes within a category. For example, the following response to question 37 on European American membership in society was initially coded according to the participant's pseudo-name and question number and meaning unit: "so far being white has neither helped nor hindered me in any way within society as a whole, at least not to my knowledge". During axial coding this question was compared to other meaning units and open codes within the same question and it was axially coded or placed within the axial category called "They May not be
Consciously Aware of any Advantages or Privileges as a White American." Thus, the goal of open and axial coding is to organize data into categories. Often, categories contained two or more open codes. However, some meaning units or open codes were placed into their own categories to allow for very idiosyncratic responses or outliers. Additionally, when appropriate, some open codes became the names of axial categories.

**Stage 3: Selective coding and theoretical integration.** Payne (2007) states that:

In the final stage of analysis, careful scrutiny of the categories will result in the identification of a core category which has major explanatory power. The aim of this stage is to organize and integrate the remaining categories in conceptually meaningful ways....Strauss and Corbin (1998) describe this process as selective coding, while Glaser (1992) refers to it as theoretical coding. During this process, links are made with existing theory which may further develop the emergent theory....In my view, a grounded theory should offer a coherent account to explain the topic under investigation. This may be clustered around a core category or a number of linked themes but should not comprise a diverse collection of interesting but largely unrelated themes. This may mean that the researchers need to be selective in their emphasis. (p. 81-82)

After finishing the axial coding stage the researcher examined all of the open codes and axial categories and sought the core variables or concepts in the researcher’s emerging grounded theory. The selected core concepts were those with the most connections to other categories and codes. The most codes and categories clustered around the core concepts of ethnic identity or ethnicity for each of the individuals in the study, which were the main constructs and concepts under investigation. The selective coding involved comparing codes and categories across question groups and merging similar categories across question groups, and re-examining all of
the codes and categories in the study in relation to the core concepts (i.e., the four ethnic groups in this study). Specifically, the researcher joined similar open codes and axial categories that addressed how participants identified their own ethnic identity and ethnic background or the ethnic identity and background of the people they were surrounded by or were friends with during childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood. The ethnic, national, and racial terms participants used to define or identify the various ethnic groups were tallied (see Table 20 in the Results section). This was done to observe the range and frequency of various ethnicity terms, which is a central component of the emerging grounded theory.

In addition, four more selective coding tables were created, one for each of the four ethnic groups in the study. These tables contained a consolidation and refinement of codes and categories that were mainly derived from question 2 (regarding family background), questions 17, 28 through 31 (regarding ethnic identity), and open codes and axial categories that were derived from the four questions on ethnic membership in American society (i.e., questions 37 through 40). Some selective categories included responses from 75 percent of participants or more, while other selective categories contained responses from fewer participants. The four selective coding tables present fuller pictures of ethnicity and ethnic identity of the four ethnic groups in the study. After completing the selective coding, the core category emerged and was substantially grounded in the data.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The results of the study are presented in three sections. In the first section, I show the results of the open and axial coding. In this section, tables are presented for each of the 16 question groups in the survey. Each table shows the axial codes, the associated (subsumed) open codes, the number of participants assigned each open code (i.e., frequency), and sample original responses (i.e., meaning units). A brief summary of the coding categories for each question group is then presented. In the second section of the results, I integrate the results from the axial and open coding of various question groups to address the five research questions raised in the study. The research questions in this study addressed self or personal identity (RQ1), participants’ ethnic identity in society (RQ2), socio-cultural environments from which participants came and the people they grew up around (RQ3), how participants view the multicultural relationships among individuals with their communities (i.e., interethnic group relations) (RQ4), and how participants’ personal and ethnic identities and cultural backgrounds relate to participants’ views on the relationships among people within their communities (answered by relating RQ 1, 2, and 3 with 4). In the third section of the results, I describe the results of the selective coding stage in which specific axial and open codes are related and a core category is derived and applied to each of the four ethnic groups in the study. The grounded theory that emerged from these analyses is discussed in Chapter 5.

Open and Axial Coding

The open coding and axial category results will be presented according to the sixteen question groups on the questionnaire. The coding for these questions is presented in tables with
columns for axial categories, associated (subsumed) open codes, numbers of participants for each open code \((f)\), and sample responses (meaning units). The frequency column can also be an indicator of saturation or the spread of different responses according to the open codes.

Typically, there was more than one axial category per question group or table. The sample responses are direct quotes from participants. The precise wording of the survey questions addressed in each table is shown in the respective table notes.

**Personal identity.** Most relevant to personal identity were responses to questions 1, 8, and 21. In coding these three questions the researcher coded how participants described their identity within their narratives. Table 1 shows the axial categories and open codes derived from responses to these questions.

Table 1

*Personal Attributes and Identity: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 1, 8, and 21*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outgoing Personality</td>
<td>Outgoing</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>“I am a very outgoing person. I like to socialize and maintain a good amount of close friends”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“My first language is Spanish but over the years I picked up English and was a very involved young girl as well as very social”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extroverted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I was very much an extrovert”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treats Others Well</td>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>“I was always very friendly though, as I was taught to treat others as I wished to be treated”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I always treated people as nice as possible”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respectful</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I am respectful”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengths and Maturation</td>
<td>Secure or confident</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“I am completely secure with who I am”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal maturation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“I feel like I have matured a lot since high school. I am not as full of myself as I once was, and am becoming more responsible as the years go by”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trait</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fearless</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I was pretty fearless”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of frustration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I learned at a young age to not allow losing to frustrate me”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“My rebellious tendencies morphed into courage”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard working</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;The adult side of me is more stressed out, hard working, mature, and also friendly&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introversion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>“I was really shy and reserved”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introverted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“I have an introverted, serious, observant personality”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy-going</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy-going</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>“I am...really easy-going to go with the flow. I am very mellow”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I try to be modest and humble with every action I take”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventurous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventurous</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot;I was a very adventurous person”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unruly/Non-conformist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troublesome</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;I was a pretty bad kid in elementary school. I always received good grades but would get into trouble quite often...I never really did anything too outrageous in elementary school though, just a lot of little shenanigans”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong-willed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I also was fairly strong-willed and did more or less whatever I wanted to, no matter what I was supposed to be doing”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebellious</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I was very rebellious. I was kind to individuals and defiant towards organizations like school, police, or rules in general. I was bored and impatient and it led to affiliation with gangs”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabolical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I didn’t get into as much trouble”, “but it was always around”, “more diabolical now”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disruptive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I wouldn’t say I was shy, because I didn’t really speak the language that well the first few years. Because I didn’t understand, I always had tendencies to mess around and do really random things when I was young even in class. Very disruptive and I ended up building a habit of that”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Emotions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensitive</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“High school and junior high were the worst for being overly sensitive, what with hormones raging and such. Depending on the time, the smallest thing could put me in tears”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>”I’ve had some issues with depression since coming to college”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I remember being fairly angry”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embarrassed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I was so embarrassed and upset because here I had finally accomplished this project but my teacher still couldn’t manage to say one good thing about it”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Attribute</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“All my stuff was nicely organized so that I would not confuse with my school life and my reality life”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focused</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I am...definately more focused and organized”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Related to Interpersonal Behavior</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot;When I first attended elementary school, I guess I was somewhat shy but not because I was a shy person but because I didn't know English at all”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal behavior was impacted by English fluency</td>
<td></td>
<td>“In middle school and high school [I] started off as being shy but as my english improved, I was more outgoing”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Emotion with Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“I was very carefree and would just have fun and do things in that moment”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fun loving</td>
<td></td>
<td>“I was goofy”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goofy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I was also obedient because I didn't know how to behave in the new environment but was raised to listen to the adults. I expected the teacher to guide me and she did”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obedient and Well-behaved (Participants in this cluster indicated conforming to the rules)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I was antagonistic to my classmates because they weren't cutthroat in the way I was used to being treated”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antagonistic (These participants wrote about conflict with others)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I was such a bad ass in middle school. Somehow I got involved with this clique of Hispanic girls and we raised mischief at our middle school. It was during this time that I got suspended and I picked fights with other people. I tended to take anything as offensive and knew that it could all be settled with fight”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorganized Not organized</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I was never very organized, not for lack of trying though”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Question one asked: “Who were you as a youth in elementary school? Please include what you think were some of your personal attributes (e.g., were you shy or outgoing; organized or easy-going; cautious or adventurous; friendly or antagonistic; sensitive or secure?). Please include examples or explanations of yourself in detail.” Question eight asked: “Who were you as an adolescent in middle school and high school? Please include what you think were some of your personal attributes (e.g., were you shy or outgoing; organized or easy-going; cautious or adventurous; friendly or antagonistic; sensitive or secure?). Please include examples or explanations of yourself in detail.” Question 21 asked: “Who are you today as an emerging adult in college? Please include what you think are some of your personal attributes (e.g., are you shy or outgoing; organized or easy-going; cautious or adventurous; friendly or antagonistic; sensitive or secure?). Please include examples or explanations of yourself in detail.”

The responses to questions 1, 8, and 21 elicited mainly personal attributes, especially in the form of personality traits. Some of the more frequently mentioned characteristics or themes in their responses were the following: outgoing (n = 14), friendly (n = 12), shy (n = 8), easy-going (n = 8), adventurous (n = 7), and interpersonal behavior was impacted by English fluency (n = 6).
Family composition. The initial open coding of question 2, which assessed family composition, yielded five axial categories. These axial categories, associated open codes, and sample responses are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race of Parents and Extended Family</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Twelve participants did not report race when talking about their family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;My parents are both white&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;My father, who is black&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents (together or separated and alive or deceased)</td>
<td>Together and alive</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;I lived with my parents&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Together, father deceased</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;I was raised by my mother and father&quot; &quot;He passed away in 2005&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother but no father raised them</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;When I was one year old my dad died. My mom was the one who raised me. However, growing up, I had a lot of father figures from my uncles&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother raised during the week, father raised on the weekends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;They got divorced when I was three. My mom kept the house that we lived in and I mainly lived with her while I was younger. I would see my dad on the weekends&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;I was raised in a house with just me and my mom&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;I grew up with my parents and younger sister&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;I grew up in a traditional family with a mom, dad, and two older brothers&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;I lived with my parents, two brothers, and younger sisters&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;My family includes my dad, mom, older brother, and two younger sisters who I lived with most of my life and then it eventually included my older half-sister (who was the oldest of us all)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Five</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;My family is very close and likes to do a lot of things together. We are a big family and we are there for one another. I have three sisters and two brothers&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Background of Family</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I grew up with my father, mother, and three brothers and we all have the same ethnic background which is Mexican&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;My family is huge. I lived with my mom in her apartment but usually just stayed over with my grandparents who practically raised me their whole lives. We are all African-American&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I lived with my mom, my dad, and my young sister. We are all Chinese&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with Extended Family</td>
<td>Noted spending most of time with nuclear family</td>
<td>Lived with grandmother and mother, interacted with cousins and aunts and uncles</td>
<td>Spent much time with extended family when young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I rarely interacted with extended family members when I was young. Most of my [extended] family was back in Hong Kong so we only saw them once every 5 years or so&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I had a lot of father figures from my uncles. Whenever my mom needed help with me, they would have been glad to help because they sympathized on her being a single mother. My grandma would also help because we stayed with my grandma for a long time. I also grew up with a lot of cousins&quot; &quot;I lived with my mom in her apartment but usually just stayed over with my grandparents who practically raised me their whole lives&quot; &quot;We lived with some of my family members at one house and even though it was jam packed with us all I still think that was when my family bonded the most&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Growing up I was always around my cousins, aunts and uncles. I remember that my family was really close and got together every weekend and have BBQ's at my house&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Communicates via Facebook to relatives in China

"My grandparents from my dad's side died when I was very young, and from my mom's side they are currently in China. I have many aunts and uncles, and all my cousins are considered as my brothers and sisters. I communicate with them via Facebook, AIM, phone, and emails. We are pretty close to each other even though we are miles away from each other."

Note. Question two asked participants: “Can you tell me a little bit about your family (e.g., who did you live with in your family and what was their ethnic background(s))? Please also include the ethnic background(s) of any extended family members that you interacted with as a youth, and briefly describe the extent of interaction with them?”

The responses to question 2 on the questionnaire provide information regarding the ethnicity of the family of origin. Four participants identified their families using racial terms, twelve did not. Moreover, there were only two races specified, Black and White. Eleven participants lived in families with both biological parents. Other open codes referred to participants who were not raised by both biological parents or whose parents were separated, but shared responsibilities for raising the children. The number of siblings participants had varied from none to five. Thirteen participants' responses were categorized into the axial category called Ethnic Background of Family, which classified responses primarily according to nationality (e.g., Vietnamese). The fifth category for question two was Interaction with Extended Family. Interacting with family members of a certain ethnicity could help develop a sense of ethnic identity given the close interaction with others from similar backgrounds.

Socioeconomic status. The axial categories, associated open codes, and sample responses for this question group, which addressed socioeconomic status, are presented in Table 3 (i.e., questions 3, 4, 10, and 22).
Table 3

Socioeconomic Status: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 3, 4, 10, and 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Category</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic Status</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“I would say that I viewed us as being poor. We would stay at my mother's friends' places until my mother could get enough money to move somewhere else. Usually she wouldn't make deadlines her friends set or wouldn't help out on rent so she would get the boot and thus I went with her. I dislike hot dogs now because that was mostly all we could afford growing up. I gave up on asking my mother to take me school shopping because every year there was a failed attempt to go because my mother would invest her money in other things”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>&quot;My mother lost her job of 20 years my junior year of college, so in association with my mother, we are working class&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle Class</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>“Having first moved to Hawai'i, I would consider my family as being in the lower middle class living in an apartment then to a rental home. My mom was working as a registered nurse and my dad was going from job to job (fuel Inspector in a petroleum facility near the airport, prospector, nurse's aide, etc.)”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>“When we were young, my parents always identified us as middle class. We had two cars, a five bedroom house on a nice piece of property, went on small family vacations, got new clothes for school, etc. This was while my parents were still married. My dad worked (and still does) full time for Boeing, and my mom worked part time as a secretary for a local Community College. There was always enough to go around, and the only times money was tight was when Boeing workers went on strike”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle Class</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“My dad is a lawyer and my mom is a part time secretary. We were probably upper middle class throughout my youth”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Yes. My mom re-married, and that guy is extremely wealthy” “[D]ad started by buying a piece of land and building a gas station” “Now, he has three restaurants, 2 coffee stands, the OG gas station, and a Marriott hotel”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Participant's responses to the four question addressing SES could have been included in more than one open category. Question three asked: “Please describe your social economic status when you were growing up (e.g., did you identify as being poor, or as being in the lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, or upper class) and include what your parents/caretakers did for a living?” Question 10 asked: "Did your social economic status change from childhood to adolescence? If yes, please explain how.” Question 22 asked: "Did your social economic status change from adolescence to your present social economic status now? If yes, please explain how.”
As seen in the open codes, participants reported a full range of socio-economic backgrounds. These responses also serve as demographic data about the sample. In particular, most participants described their social class as lower middle class, working class, or middle class. Fewer participants described themselves as poor, upper middle class, or upper class.

**Social identity.** Questions 5, 11, and 23 addressed the social identity of participants across three time periods (i.e., childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood). During the axial coding of these questions the meaning units derived from participants’ responses were categorized into socially-based categories. Table 4 presents the axial categories, associated open codes, and sample responses for social identity.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Category</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>Associated Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Social Identity and Relations with Others | Popular | "I have always been in the popular group except for when I chose not to be, and even then, there was always an invitation back" "I viewed myself as popular. I transferred schools after my freshman year and in a small high school it is pretty easy to make friends when you are good at sports and like talking to girls" “Growing up I was always the shy kid until my middle and high school years I began to make lots of friends. I would consider myself "fitting in" because I had friends that were considered "popular" and also friends that were "unpopular"" "I wasn't a super popular kid, but I knew plenty of people and fitted in pretty well. In High School, I knew a lot of people mainly because I was friends with people that knew everyone. With that, I would get introduced to a lot of people and become friends" “As a child, I remember thinking of myself as being weird. Very unpopular, and definitely not someone who fit in. I don't remember ever feeling like a normal kid" “During my childhood years, I was popular being one of two asians throughout the elementary school. (Me and my sister). Fitting in was difficult because I had trouble with my English yet I exceeded in math. All the teachers throughout the school knew both me and my sister. We were always getting certificates and rewarded a lot
but I felt more like an outsider because even though everyone knew me. I did not know them”

“I viewed myself as Filipino when I was at home and black when I was anywhere else. At home I was Filipino because Tagalog was spoken and pansit was eaten”

“Well I was born in Mexico, I'm a US citizen, I married an American man and he says I'm American now, I'm not sure really. 12 years in Mexico and 17 years in US, two different cultures, I guess I'm both American and Mexican”

“During elementary school, I definitely wasn't "popular" but I wasn't "unpopular" either. I had a few close friends that I stuck with throughout elementary school until I was transferred to public school. At public school, it was the same thing, I made a few close friends and stuck with them"

"I have met a few people at WSU that will continue to be my friends once we leave here but I don't really feel like I fit in here all too well"

"In middle school, I became known by playing basketball and football around lunch time. Doing something great in sports was a way to be remembered"

"I played basketball when I was younger and did Bailables (Mexican Dancing). Also I was on the swim team"

“I joined a frat”

“I am someone who loves to help people and is something that I am passionate about. That lead me to my future career as an Audiologist or Speech Language Pathologist. It also established my work in the MSS (Multicultural Student Services) and AAPI (Asian American/Pacific Islander) community as a student leader in various Registered Student Organizations and as an unofficial mentor/older brother for AAPI students here (which my Fraternity, nicknamed the "Kuyas" which translates to "older brother" in tagalog strives to do)"

“I am not sure. I identify as queer sexually, and trans, and I enjoy working with groups like the GLBTA and the Progressive Student Union. I ended up in the role of student leader more by accident than intention, and while it's been extremely difficult to do well, I've learned a lot and I think I've managed to grow a little bit"

“I am just a regular college student hoping to pass all my classes and get a degree”

“I see myself now as a young, hardworking college student”

“I would classify myself mostly as a follower. I would do what all the other kids were doing because all I wanted to do was fit in. I felt like if I didn’t do what the other kids were doing, then I would be a loser and friendless”

“Fitting in, throughout my childhood I felt that I had to fit in with others to get accepted and not really do what I wanted to do. There were times that I ventured out but I didn’t seem to have people follow so I would kind of return to the “pack” to regain acceptance”

"I did not really fit into anywhere.... I always had my own ideas, did my own thing and was probably a little weird"

"I'm also independent and have a better understanding of the world
and how it works"

"For example, people knew me for being a good kid and not getting in trouble. I didn’t party like other people did but I wasn’t like too good of a kid"

"I was always known as the “nice” guy, and would surround myself with good people”

Race 2 “I am a God-fearing Black and Filipino woman in the 21st century"

Faith or religion 2 "In high school, Christianity more or less overwhelmed any social labels I’d previously ascribed to and undid the whole system for me. For once, I was able to see myself as a smart kid, as someone who could make myself, though I didn’t feel like I could be whoever I wanted to be"

Ethnic group association 1 “I am Chicana within my community here at college. I love my friends here because I have met people that are more like me”

Female-to-Male-transgender 1 “I identify as queer sexually, and trans, and I enjoy working with groups like the GLBTA and the Progressive Student Union”

Note: Participants were coded into more than one open code. Question five asked: “How did you identify as a person within your school(s) during your childhood years (e.g., you may have viewed yourself as “popular” or “unpopular”, or perhaps you viewed yourself as “fitting in” amongst your school mates, or as an “outsider”, or somewhere in between these polarities)? Please explain. Question 11 asked: “How did you identify as a person within your school(s) and community during your adolescent years in middle school and high school (e.g., you may have viewed yourself as “popular” or “unpopular”, or perhaps you viewed yourself as “fitting in” amongst your peers, or as an “outsider”, or somewhere in between these polarities)? Please explain. Question 23 asked: “What is your identity, or how do you identify as a person within your college community and larger society as an emerging adult?”

These results suggest that there are many ways to identify one’s self socially and that individuals have diverse social identities. Some responses and open codes indicated identification with particular groups, such as one’s ethnic group, nationality, race, and faith or religion. Although the questions probably prompted the following responses, the majority of respondents perceived themselves as popular or as fitting in while growing up, whereas almost a one-third of participants described themselves as outcasts.

The ethnic groups that surrounded participants. Questions 6, 18, and 32 asked about the ethnic groups that surrounded participants over the course of their lives. Table 5 shows the number of participants who were assigned various open codes based on the ethnicity, race, or nationality of the people they reported being surrounded by during their lives.
### Table 5

**Ethnicity and Cultural Makeup of the People Participants reported being Surrounded by:** Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 6, 18, and 32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>$f$</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot;Outside of school in my neighborhood my friends consisted of minorities like Hispanics and Asians along with white individuals&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;There was never more than 1 or 2 African Americans in any of my classes growing up and even fewer Hispanics and Asian Americans&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;I had Indian, Asian and African Americans as neighbors&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Thai, Laotian, Korean or Vietnamese</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Growing up in Hawai'i, I was around people of various ethnicities. There were many Asians (primarily Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Thai, Laotian, Korean, or Vietnamese)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I was around blacks, Filipinos, Mexicans, Cambodians, and white people&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White American</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>“My community was primarily white&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Mostly white people”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“Yes Native American and Caucasian other than Hispanic”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White American</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;white Americans&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American or Black</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>“My community growing up was mostly African-American”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>“I was around blacks, Filipinos, Mexicans, Cambodians, and white people&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino or Hispanic</td>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>“Skagit Valley is about half and half with white people and Hispanics”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chicano</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;Many students of color from African-Americans, Samoans, Chicano, Asian, White, etc.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“The multicultural makeup of the community is very diverse. There was a lot of Latinos and African Americans in the community I was raised in”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“The neighborhood that I grew up in was mostly populated by African-Americans and Mexicans”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dominican, Puerto Rican, Ecuadorian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“The ethnicity of the people that I was surrounded by on a daily basis in my neighborhood and school were Chinese, Caucasian, African-American, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Ecuadorian, and mainly Vietnamese”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Middle Easterner 5 “Now that I live in Pullman there is a big Asian community and middle Easterners"

Pacific Islander 4 “Growing up in Hawai'i, I was around people of various ethnicities. There were many Asians (primarily Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, Thai, Laotian, Korean, or Vietnamese) and Pacific Islanders (Hawai'ian, Samoan, Tongan, Marshallese)"

Samoan 1 “Long Beach is the most diverse city in the nation. With that, I went to Long Beach Poly High School....Many students of color from African-Americans, Samoans, Chicano, Asian, White, etc.”

Native American 4 “There were different ethnic groups in my community such as Native Americans, Hispanic, and White; those were the main ones but there were also a little bit of Asians and African Americans but not very many”

"Queer" 1 "Queer as well as specific ethnic/cultural backgrounds"

Note. Different participants reported being surrounded in their communities by varying amounts of people from such ethnicities. Question six asked: “Were there differentiated ethnic groups within your community? Please describe the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of the people you were surrounded by on a daily basis in your neighborhood(s) and schools while growing up?” Question 18 asked: “Were there differentiated ethnic groups within your community? Please describe the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of the people you were surrounded by on a daily basis in your neighborhood(s) and schools during adolescence?” Question 32 asked: “Were there differentiated ethnic groups within your community? Please describe the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of the students you have been surrounded by on a daily basis during college?”

Table 5 illustrates the terminology used to describe cultural and ethnic groups in American society. Most participants reported being surrounded by any number of Asian, White, African American, and Hispanic ethnic individuals. Participants varied both within and between ethnic groups on the ethnicity of the people who surrounded them as they were growing up. These results suggest that many participants have lived in environments with individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds, although a few participants grew up around primarily White Americans or African Americans. Twice as many participants referred to African Americans rather than Blacks. In contrast, almost all of the responses about Whites referred to a racial term (i.e., White or Caucasian) rather than a nationality term.

The ethnicity of participants' friends. Questions 7, 19, and 33 differ from the previous question group in that they ask about the ethnicity of participants’ friends rather than the ethnicity of the individuals in the community. Not surprisingly, however, the open axial and
open codes are similar to those used for the previous question group. Table 6 shows the number of participants who were assigned various open codes based on the ethnicity, race, or nationality of the people they reported being friends with.

Table 6

*Ethnicity of Participants' Friends: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 7, 19, and 33*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>“The ethnicities of my friends...include Caucasians, African-Americans, Asians, and Hispanics”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Swim outside of school, my friends were primarily Filipino or Japanese because my neighborhood in Aiea mainly had these groups”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;I also had a close group of Chinese friends when I was a kid&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, American, Hispanic, etc.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;The makeup of my close friends during my childhood years were mainly Vietnamese but the makeup of my friends or acquaintances would be Caucasian, African-American, or Hispanic”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I had a lot of friends that included Mexicans and Asian Americans and white friends”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, American, Hispanic, etc.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laotian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;Once I found that safety, however, I branched out and have friends who are of various ethnic backgrounds (Caucasian, Mexican, African American, Japanese, Laotian, and many others)”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin American or Hispanic</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>&quot;For the most part, they were Hispanic”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican or Chicano</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>“I had a lot of friends that included Mexicans and Asian Americans and white friends” &amp; &quot;My friends that lived near me were African-American, however, at my Elementary school, my best friends were white, black, and Chicano”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;The majority of my friends are African-American, but my friends are white, Chicano/Latino, Asian and Pacific Islander, etc.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
White American  White  9  “Mostly white kids”
Caucasian  5  “Majority of my friends were African American but I also had a small portion, who were Caucasian, and Hispanic”
White American  1  “White American”
American  1  “American”
African American or Black  Black  7  “My friends were mostly black and some Asian”
African American  6  “African-American, Caucasian”
Pacific Islander  Pacific Islander  4  “African American, Caucasian, Native American, Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Middle Eastern”
Polynesian  1  “My friends are mostly black. Many are Filipino, Mexican, Arab and Polynesian”
Samoan, Hawaiian, Marshallese  1  “My friends who were full were Japanese, Filipino, Marshallese, Vietnamese with other friends with mixed Hawaiian, Samoan, Caucasian, Chinese, and other ethnic groups”
Native American  Native American  4  “Majority Caucasian because they dominated but also Hispanic and Native [American]”
Middle Eastern  Middle Eastern  2  “I have many acquaintances that are of different ethnicity including African-American, Hispanic, Middle Eastern, and Pacific-Islanders”
Arab  1  “My friends are mostly black. Many are Filipino, Mexican, Arab and Polynesian”

Note. Question seven asked: “What was the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of your friends during your childhood years?” Question 19 asked: “What was the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of your friends during your adolescence?” Question 33 asked: “What has been the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of your friends during college?”

Table 6 shows the terms that were used to define the ethnicities of participants' friends. The results indicate that all participants had friends of their own ethnicity (some had more contact and interaction with members of their own ethnic group), and some had, to greater or lesser extents, friends of ethnicities besides their own, which included White, Black, Asian, and Hispanic or Latino friends. Similar to the findings in the previous table, most responses were coded as Asian, Hispanic, White, and Black. Of the participants who reported having Black or African American friends, about half reported having Black friends and about half reported having African American friends. In contrast, most participants (i.e., 14) reported having White or Caucasian friends; only two used the term American, and none used the term European
American. This indicates which terms (i.e., racial or national) are preferred in describing ethnic groups. Besides Black and White, all other groups were described according to nationality or a continental territory (e.g., Filipino and Asian).

**Activities and behaviors.** Question 9 addressed the types of activities and behaviors participants reported engaging in. As seen in Table 7, during axial coding I grouped open codes and responses to question 9 under a single axial code labeled “Activities and behaviors participants engaged in”.

Table 7

*Activities that Participants Engaged In: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Question 9*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Category</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>$f$</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities and Behaviors Participants Engaged In</td>
<td>Involved in sports</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>“I played football and basketball in high school. I played varsity football for three years and varsity basketball for two”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involved in clubs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>&quot;I had a lot of friends and was involved in many organizations such as FBLA, French Club, Inner Tribal Club, Key Club, and in a leadership club where we would put on assemblies, dances, do community service etc.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Played music</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>“I played the violin and piano throughout young age up till high school. I was in the school band and orchestra for 9 years and had exceeded most of their expectations”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;In high school, I became much more engaged in studying&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hanging out</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;I rode my bike a lot and hung out with friends after school&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outdoor physical activities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;I also did a lot of outdoor stuff like hiking, swimming, body boarding, surfing, as well as some environmental conservancy work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;I was on the dance team at school and also attended a private school of dance&quot; &quot;after picking up dance, it took over everything because it became my hobby and most favorite thing to do&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;In middle school, I mostly surfed the Internet and read&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;I liked to read&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

76
Recreational drugs  2  "High school years, especially summer and off-season from sports I had a lot of interest in recreational drugs. I pretty much did anything and everything I could get my hands on.”

Note. Question nine asked: “What types of behaviors and activities did you engage in during your adolescent years? (e.g., sports, musical instruments, media, art, hobbies, dance, and curricular or other extra-curricular activities and interests).”

Participation in sports, clubs, and music were the most frequently mentioned activities mentioned by participants. Many of the codes and responses to question nine could be viewed as related to participants’ personal identity (e.g., identifying as an athlete or musician).

Music. This question group assessed the types of music participants listen to and why (questions 12 and 24) and the extent to which they did or did not identify with the music (questions 13 and 25). In the open coding of questions 12 and 24 the researcher identified all of the artists, music groups, bands, and reasons given for listening to the music. During axial coding the researcher organized the open codes according to music genres. The axial codes (i.e., genres of music) and open codes (i.e., artists or bands) are listed in the first and second columns of Table 8. The fourth column provides sample responses to why participants listened to the music. The fifth column in Table 8 shows sample responses to the two questions regarding identification with the music (i.e., questions 13 and 25).
Table 8

**Music that Participants Listened to: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 12, 13, 24 and 25**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses</th>
<th>Sample Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genre of Music</strong></td>
<td><strong>Artists or Bands</strong></td>
<td><strong>Why They Listened to the Music</strong></td>
<td><strong>Identification with the Music</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap/Hip hop</td>
<td>&quot;Wu-Tang, 2Pac and Notorious BIG&quot;</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>“The words are like poetry and describe the lifestyles of people like me”&lt;br&gt;“I liked artists that I wasn't supposed to like (probably for that reason), such as Eminem”</td>
<td>“I listened to a lot of rap that was pretty gangsta and couldn’t relate to that very well”&lt;br&gt;“I didn’t really identify with the music, but it was something me and my friends were into at the time”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative Rock</td>
<td>“Tenacious D, The Lonely Island, System of a Down, Tool, A Perfect Circle, Nine Inch Nails, Puscifer, Rilo Kiley, Regina Spektor”</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>“The alternative music that I listened to were just really upbeat songs that I could just jam out to or really chill music”&lt;br&gt;&quot;The music I listened to really fit my moods because I'm really chill and easy going but can also be really energetic and outgoing”</td>
<td>None reported for this Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm and Blues/Neo-Soul</td>
<td>&quot;Musiq Soulchild&quot;&lt;br&gt;&quot;John legend&quot;&lt;br&gt;&quot;Destiny's Child, Usher, Chris Brown&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>“I listened to them because it was most of what was surrounding my community and my friends”</td>
<td>“As for the neo-soul hip hop music, I identify with love, and political activism that I feel many African-Americans share. For instance, Lupe Fiasco is a hip-hop artist that discusses real economic and social issues that African-Americans face”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock and Metal</td>
<td>“Ronnie James Dio”&lt;br&gt;&quot;Ozzy&quot;&lt;br&gt;&quot;Evanescence, Static-X&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“I grew up listening to classic rock and 80s rock with my parents”&lt;br&gt;“Music to me now is very important because it helps me concentrate and push my self. For example when I go to the gym I listen to rock music because it motivates me”</td>
<td>“I've always had a hard time identifying with artists. I can only go so far with it before it leaves a bad taste in my mouth and I feel dishonest and limited”&lt;br&gt;“I no longer listen to heavy metal, but that could change at any point. At this point, [...]&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
though, I associate it with emotional numbness and anger, and I avoid it”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country Music</th>
<th>“We saw Tim McGraw”</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>“I like country because musically it is very challenging to play and the songs generally have a positive message”</th>
<th>“I also identify with the positive messages that most country songs send”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“George Straight, Jason Aldean, and Eric Church”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazz</td>
<td>&quot;Billie Holiday, Anita Baker&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“That's why I love smooth jazz because it relaxes you and takes you to another place”</td>
<td>&quot;With the jazz stuff, I thought listening to that aged me a few years; made me a little more mature&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acoustic/Folk music</td>
<td>&quot;Jack Johnson&quot; &quot;Ani DiFranco&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>None reported for this Category</td>
<td>None reported for this Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punk/Ska</td>
<td>&quot;AFI, Antiflag, Dropkick Murphys, Flogging Molly, MxPx, Rancid, Alkaline Trio, Ruckus&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“I listened to them mainly because I didn't want to be the prissy &quot;hip/hop, pop, country kind of girl”</td>
<td>“The life style was a big thing in high school. I dressed like the people that listen to that music. I was searching for an identity and I found a temporary one in high school. The hardcore scene gave me bangs, hoodies, tighter pants, converse and studded belts. I thought it was the coolest thing in the world. I also really enjoyed going to shows and being around people who dressed like me. The attitude of that life-style is an &quot;I don't give a fuck&quot; look”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Surf Rock/Reggae/Island| “Pepper and Slightly Stoopid” "Ekolu, Bob Marley, Natural Vibrations, Malino, Mana'o Company” | 3  | “Island Reggae was also really chill. These were songs that I could just relax and sing along to because I loved to sing” | “I worked at a mineral store, and there were a lot of hippies that worked there, so I fell into that scene a little bit. It was fun while it lasted” “I guess I didn't identify so much with the message as I did the culture of the music. The people who listened to it were really laid back. Basically your average pot smoking hippies. But they were all really cool to me in a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Listeners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian/Christian Hip-Hop</td>
<td>&quot;I mainly listened to Da Truth, The Cross Movement, J.R.&quot; &quot;In high school, I switched to mostly Christian music&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;When one of my friends introduced me to Christian Hip-Hop music, I began to listen to that primarily&quot; &quot;It also mixed hip-hop, which I was exposed to a lot from my brothers and the group of people I was around&quot; &quot;Despite my intense Evangelical Christianity, it's usually because the music itself feels intense, electric, powerful, maybe even overwhelming. Oddly enough, this is what I like about Christian music&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I could identify with the lifestyle that these people not only lived but wanted others to live as well&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronic and Dubstep</td>
<td>“Deadmau5, Skrillex, Vexar, Wale”</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None reported for this Category</td>
<td>None reported for this Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>&quot;Beethoven&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I got interested in classical because since I was in choir I picked out harmonies and different ways of singing. It was interesting to me that I could actually hear different sounds going on at the same time”</td>
<td>None reported for this Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Music</td>
<td>&quot;Grupero, Ranchero, Bandas, Mariachi&quot; &quot;Selena, Shakira, Aventura&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I like to listen to this music because I grew up with it, this is the music my family played all the time and now I still listen to this music”</td>
<td>&quot;Sometimes I identify with the story or the message of the music, when [it] is about love, missing someone or the rhythm of the music” &quot;I would say Selena because she was a Chicana/Tejana but she also grew up in two different cultures”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop Music in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese</td>
<td>&quot;Fahrenheit, You're Beautiful OST, Linda Chung”</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I listened to Asian pop because my cousins listened to it and my friends also listened to it. It surrounded me and it didn't sound bad either”</td>
<td>“Story, because some people, like Jay Chou, write music for a reason, to have people understand life cultures in his lyrics”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Pop and whatever was played on the radio" "Katy Perry, Justin Bieber, Britney Spears"

2

"Eventually I listened to pop and whatever was played on the radio because I didn't really care about a certain type of music anymore"

None reported for this Category

Music in General

Music in General

11

"I listen to music to relax my mind"

"Like I explained on the last question, different music is for different occasions"

"A good tune can put you in the right mood. If I need to get pumped, I listen to system of a down or tenacious d. If I need to be mellow and sketch or paint, I'll listen to Portishead or Massive Attack. If I'm feeling dark and artsy or I'm feeling like vegging out and playing video games, I'll listen to Tool or Nine Inch Nails. The music I'm listening typically always reflects the mood I'm in"

"I identify with the reality of music. The fun, desperation, frustration, and the joy of human life” 

"I identify with the mood that the music evokes as well as the lyrics that seem to apply to my life”

"I still have no identity to the music I listen to” “I do not find identity in my music”

"Again, it's the emotions, but also the images, the feeling, and how I'm usually able to turn around and use it to write, to relate, to create"

All participants listened to more than one genre of music and for various reasons. Four participants listened to music in a language other than English. They also identified with the music and artists to different degrees. Rap and Hip hop were the most frequently reported types of music listened to by participants (n = 12), with Alternative rock second (n = 9) and Rhythm and Blues/Neo-Soul third (n = 7) in preference. Some participants reported that they listened to certain kinds of music because their friends listened to it or because their families introduced them to it. One White participant reported that she listened to artists that "I [or she] wasn't supposed to like", such as Eminem, which is a Hip hop artist. One White male reported that "We
skateboarded and listened to punk, and hip hop wasn't the cool thing for that crowd". This participant also indicated that his primary friend group was White during his adolescence. He also reported “I listened to a lot of rap that was pretty gangsta and couldn’t relate to that very well”. These responses indicate that race and ethnicity are linked to music. For example, certain genres of music and artists talk about different themes and represent perspectives from different ethnic groups or racial groups (“For instance, Lupe Fiasco is a hip-hop artist that discusses real economic and social issues that African-Americans face”). Participants also reported that they identified with the lifestyles and sub-cultural groups of certain kinds of music (e.g., Christian). In contrast, some participants reported that they did not identify with the music they listened to. Others identified with the emotions and "feelings" in songs. Participants also listened to music for the rhythm, beat, and energy. Additionally, certain kinds of music fit different moods and activities (e.g., "If I need to get pumped, I listen to system of a down", and "I listen to rap or hip-hop because I can dance to it").

**Dress.** For questions 14, 15, and 26, which addressed the types of clothes participants wore during adolescence and college, open codes were based on the type and style of clothes participants reported wearing. Responses to questions 16 and 27, which addressed how identity is/was related to participants’ clothes, were also coded in this question group and resulted in additional axial codes. These results are presented in Table 9.
Table 9

**Styles of Dress and Identification with Clothes: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 14, 15, 16, 26, and 27**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Styles of Dress</td>
<td>&quot;Casual&quot;</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>“Very casual, I was never really interested in the latest model clothes if I liked it and how I felt in it I would wear it” “In high school it was just casual; jeans and a t-shirt that was usually plain” “mostly I will wear a pair of dark jeans, a plain t-shirt (usually black, grey or white), and a baseball hat (usually a Coug hat), and a sweatshirt on cold days”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Preppy&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>“In high school I kind of prepped it up and wore some nicer clothes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Punk rock look&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“We started off as skaters and then kind of half way transitioned into the punk rock look—I owned a pair of plaid pants”, “We would wear skate shoes and ripped jeans, whatever, and a t-shirt with a punk band or skate brand on it”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Skater&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I was a mix between a skater and a punk rocker. I had a very generic but fitting style with the front bangs and hoodie. It was a lot of clothes from Pac-sun, concerts and Zumies”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic type/sporty</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I wore a lot of basketball shorts and t-shirts”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hip Hop/Urban</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“I dressed in very urban clothing” “I wore Sean John, Fubu, Nike, K-Swiss, and Rocawear. I would also sport the sagging look”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Goth&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“It changed drastically between junior high and high school. In junior high, definitely more goth and punk (I dyed my hair blue once)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Geek chic&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I dressed more like a punk rocker in junior high, then I went a little bit preppy in tenth grade (but I think we called it geek chic). We'd wear polos, glasses, peacoats, ripped chuck taylors. It was sort of the &quot;Weezer&quot; way to dress. Geek Punk, I guess would be a good way to describe it. Most of the stuff we got at good will, and mixed punk with preppy”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Costume-like and unpredictable&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I would use the curtains as skirts and head wraps. I would tie belts around sweaters to make them dresses. Sometimes I would feel like dressing like a cowgirl and I would tie a bandana around my neck and put on overalls. Sometimes I would want to look like a sailor and I would wear all white and crease the entire brim of my hat”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Outdoors clothes |                        | 1  | “My form of dress was related to my sense of identity because the clothes I wore were meant for outdoor activities like hunting and fishing. I wore them because they were practical for what my hobbies were and not because they gave me a
Participants most frequently described their style of dress as casual. In addition, many participants described their styles of dress as mixed, including different styles. About half of the
participants reported that their clothes were not related to their sense of identity. Some participants that fit into this category suggested that their clothes were normative or inconspicuous and therefore fit seamlessly with who they are or were. Others in this category reported that they did not care what others thought about their form of dress, that their form of dress changed on a daily basis, and that their dress did not identify them within their society. About half of the participants reported that clothes were related to their identity. These participants reported that they dressed similarly to others in a group or subculture within their community that had a similar style. Another participant reported that he did not want to identify with certain types of people, such as thugs, and so he fashioned his dress in a way that did not appear to resemble the clothes associated with “thugs.” Another participant reported that her dress expressed how she “felt and perceived life”. A self-identified transgender, bisexual female participant reported that dressing in a “masculine” manner identified her as a member of the “queer community.” Another participant reported that she dressed very feminine and that this way of dress identified her gender within society. It appears that clothes can be viewed as non-distinctive, and clothes can also be associated with subculture groups. A couple other participants reported that they dressed up for certain occasions, or to appear more professional. Participants wear many different types of clothes, and it appears that it can be related to their sense of identity, but not always. Sometimes, dress is just functional and has less aesthetic significance. Thus, participants' styles of dress were sometimes related to one's identity and ethnicity, as well as related to people in participants' socio-cultural environments.

**Ethnic Identity.** Questions in this question group addressed personal definitions of ethnicity (questions 17 and 28), participants' views of their own ethnic group(s) (question 29), participants' views of how others view their ethnic group(s) (question 30), and feelings about
their ethnic group identity (question 31). Axial categories, open codes, and meaning units for questions 17 and 28 on ethnicity are presented in Table 10. Tables 11, 12, and 13 show the axial and open codes for the remaining questions in this group.

Table 10

*Descriptions of Ethnicity: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 17 and 28*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationality or Continent of Ethnic Origin as a descriptor of Ethnicity</td>
<td>A people originally from one country that are now in another</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;I would consider myself a Filipino-American&quot; &quot;I considered my self a Mexican American but did not belong to any groups&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality as a marker for ethnicity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;Both American and Mexican&quot; &quot;Vietnamese&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicultural orientation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;I love my culture and I would stick to it and also I would pick up the Caucasian culture but instead of being like them I would introduce my culture to my friends&quot; &quot;I guess I'm both American and Mexican&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental territory of ethnic origin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;My ethnicity is in the Asian group which is where most of my friends were that I would always hang out with&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race as Ethnicity</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>“I would describe my ethnicity as White, and I really didn’t belong to any multicultural and ethnic groups as an adolescent” “There are many different ethnic groups on campus but I think that I relate more to White American’s” “I made friends with ONLY White kids and for a long time I absolutely hated Asians and would never associate myself with them”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I associated with Black people and the only Filipinos I associated with were my family members”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Race and Nationality as markers of ethnicity | Race and nationality | 4  | “In my adolescence I described myself as a African-American or Black person” “I would describe it as African-American and I generally hung out with people that looked like me or a group that seemed diverse enough for me to fit into” “I viewed myself as Filipino when I was at home and black when I was anywhere else. At home I was
Filipino because Tagalog was spoken and pansit was eaten. Outside, people could tell I was black but I was told I didn't look Filipino so I associated with the black kids at school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaware of Ethnicity</th>
<th>Say they have no ethnicity</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I really didn’t belong to any multicultural and ethnic groups as an adolescent&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;ethnicity and culture were never an overt part of our family, and I believe now that that has to do with my own whiteness and middle-class status&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Again, as a white person from a mainstream family, I don't have strong cultural traditions or awareness of my ethnic background; my sense of identity and ethnicity has, in some ways, grown in retrospect as I look back at the literature I was exposed to growing up, in the Church, the authors I read, how I engaged with history classes, and so on. I've been increasingly able to see how each of those things has been shaped by my ethnicity and is the culture I come from&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“None really. A friend of mine and I jokingly created the &quot;Irish Mafia&quot; in Junior High, and had March be &quot;Irish History Month&quot; where we'd get on the PA system and spew out random Ireland facts and facts about Irish people. My identifying with being Irish is not very serious, though. It's just a way to justify my being pale and having red hair, mostly”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subculture or ethnic group</th>
<th>&quot;punk/goth world&quot;</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I don't have a strong memory of ethnic or cultural being during adolescence, beyond the punk/goth world&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Question 17 asked: “How would you describe your ethnicity as a cultural being during adolescence, and what multicultural and ethnic groups or sub-cultural groups did you belong to or associate with as an adolescent?” Question 28 asked: “How would you describe your ethnicity as a cultural being during your college years? Please also describe the multicultural and ethnic groups or sub-cultural groups you are associated with now as an emerging adult?”

These results revealed that some participants describe their ethnicity primarily through racial terms or physical characteristics, such as having White skin. Identification as a “White American” was not limited to participants with European heritage. For example, a Chinese American male and two Latino males with light skin or features identified with White Americans. Some participants did not think that they had an ethnicity or culture. More specifically, White American participants either stated that they did not have an ethnicity or they reported a racial term for their ethnicity. One White participant, however, indicated that she did see her ethnicity or culture as shaped by mainstream America. Other participants labeled their
ethnicity according to the country or continent that their ancestors originated from, such as Africa. Blacks or African Americans used both racial and nationality terms to identify their ethnicity. One participant identified as Mexican-American, but he did not consider himself to be a part of any group. Rather, it appeared that he saw himself as more of a Mexican-American individual: “I considered my self a Mexican American but did not belong to any groups”. Thus, it may be that he identified with an ethnicity, but he did not necessarily identify with any group of Mexican Americans. Nationality and race were the two categories that participants used most frequently in reference to their ethnicity.

**Views of their own ethnic group.** Question 29 addressed participants’ views of their own ethnic group. Upon review of the initial open coding for this question, the researcher grouped the codes by race and ethnicity during axial coding to explore the variability in participants’ responses within ethnic groups. The goal was to identify related themes or ethnic-specific responses that together form a larger whole or perspective of ethnicity in America. Table 11 shows the axial categories, open codes, and sample responses.

**Table 11**

*Participants’ Views of Their Own Ethnic Group(s): Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Question 29*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>$f$</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Views of White Americans from White American Participants</td>
<td>White Americans as privileged</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“Privileged. Extremely privileged”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Well I'm white. I guess we still have it pretty good&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I am a white male in college...and it does not get much easier than that&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White people as barely being in the majority</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I view white people as a less important group of people today than they were in the past. As a group, white people are barely the majority anymore and I see that as a good thing. The standard of living of my ethnic group is higher than that of other ethnic groups but I do not see that being the case for very long”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Statement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White people as the dominant group in America</td>
<td>“Throughout history, white people have had the upper hand in America. This is still the case but it is changing slowly. I don’t agree that it should be the way it always has been but, being white, I have always only known this to be the way”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaware of White privilege</td>
<td>&quot;so far being white has neither helped nor hindered me in any way within society as a whole, at least not to my knowledge&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not feel privilege as a sexual minority</td>
<td>&quot;Though being queer, as a lifestyle and not just an orientation, will likely be much harder to gain acceptance for&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racism exists</td>
<td>&quot;White people have done some terrible things throughout history&quot; &quot;But today, I think racism is mostly subdued in WA. It is still there but it is not as apparent as it once was” &quot;I'd like to believe that I have a higher understanding of what other cultures are going through than most people of my ethnic society. But who knows, I think racist thoughts too sometimes&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Views of Black Americans or African Americans from Black or African American Participants | A diverse group  

="We are also a diverse group of people, able to blend in to different situations and go above and beyond other’s expectations” 

Does not distinguish himself from other groups  

="I don’t know anymore because I socialize with everyone now” |
| Oppressed                                                            | “I feel that we are underprivileged in many areas and that we get discriminated in this society everyday. We are constantly taught about White American history all the while losing our own history and traditions. There are so many stereotypes against black people that many judge us and look down on us” |
| Doing better than ever                                               | “Blacks are doing better than I’ve ever seen us do” |
| Views of Hispanic or Latin Americans from Hispanic or Latin American Participants | He feels that he is a good representation of his ethnic group  

="I feel that I have maintained my group’s status within the larger society pretty good”  

Mexican Americans have made progress  

="I feel like Mexican Americans have come a long way and will improve their status because of education opportunities provided”  

Views her ethnic group as growing in size  

="I think my ethnic group is growing and is growing really fast” |
| Views of Asian Americans from Asian American Participants | "Most of us stick together" as an Asian ethnic group | 2 | “A pretty good group because most of us stick together (ex. high school friends)”
“I would view my ethnic group as being small within the larger society. There are few of them and it seems to me that they stick together and do not branch out often. I don't know why but it may be because they fear separation from their ethnic groups or they fear that they won't be accepted by those outside of their ethnic group” |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Views his ethnic group (i.e., Chinese) as being different from him and Americans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I view my ethic group to be a little different still. It’s hard for me to compare because many of the students from China at WSU are international students. I pretty much grew up in the states so we share very different ideas” ”most of the Asians like Chinese and Indians were not very popular, maybe this was why I chose to exclude myself from those groups and only hang out with white children”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some Filipino Americans are working class and others are middle to upper class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Filipino-Americans have a large disparity between groups because there are those in the poorer class who are working food service jobs, agricultural labor, and domestic work while others are nurses, doctors, and engineers who are doing very well for themselves”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Filipinos lack money and power</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;The Philippines number one export is themselves and this makes me sad for us. Filipinos are not doing as well in terms of status within society because of the lack of power and money”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thinks that her ethnic group has &quot;trouble being patient with those who do not accept her group in society&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;I think my ethnic group within society has trouble being patient and giving those who don't accept them (Caucasians) time”</td>
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</table>

Note. Question 29 asked: “How do you view your ethnic group’s status within the larger society?”

The responses to views about participants own ethnic groups varied widely within and across ethnic groups. However, each of the four White Americans in the study indicated that they are privileged in society. African American participants reported that African Americans are viewed as a diverse group that is oppressed and also "doing better than ever". Mexican American participants apparently viewed their group as growing in both size and status. Participants reported that Asians in America may not feel accepted by Americans and may "stick together" as a group.
**View of ethnic group by other ethnic groups.** Question 30 asked participants how they think other ethnic groups view their ethnic group. The researcher aggregated the open codes and grouped responses into axial categories according to ethnic group. The results are shown in Table 12.

Table 12

*Participants' Perceptions of How They Think Others View Their Ethnic Group(s): Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Question 30*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>$f$</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How White American Participants Think Others View Members of Their Group</td>
<td>Not liked as much as White people think they are liked</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I bet other ethnic groups don’t like white people as much as we think the other groups do”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White people are viewed as &quot;the man&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“For the last hundred years members of other ethnic groups have had bad things to say about White people. Not all members of different ethnic groups, but some. Some Black people today act like it is their White peers' fault that their great great grandparents were slaves. Not every White person is rich and came from a good background, and I think some people forget that. Since most of our government is still White, I think other ethnic groups see White people as “the man.” I think it will be good when White people are no longer the majority. The world is changing and I think that the views of what a “White person” is also needs to change”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White people as privileged</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Privileged. Privileged. Privileged. And, more than likely, not quite aware of what's going on around them or the effects their actions have”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | White people as racist | 1 | "It's hard to immerse yourself in another culture. Sometimes they seem very shut off to white people, and it's a little bit intimidating to be around people of other cultures/ ethnic backgrounds. I'm always afraid I'm going to say something that's perceived as being racist, that I'm going to offend someone, or that I'm going to walk into the Black Student Union and they're going to be like "wow... that chick is blindingly white, why on earth is she in here, what does she want with us and our club?" I feel like people from other ethnicities, when in a group, look at a white person and wonder "what the heck are they doing here." I think that most of them view us as racist as a majority, even though a lot of us
overemphasize the fact that we're not (honestly though, everyone's a little bit racist). I think that most feel as though we have more opportunities laid out for us, even though it is a lot harder for us to find scholarships (there are so many race specific ones out there, but a white only one would be racist, so those don't exist). There can be black only, Hispanic only, Native American only, etc. Or Native American Club, African American Club, etc. and yet that's not segregation?" "I really do think that we are still viewed for every mistake any white person has ever made and in our faces people see all of the racist experiences they've ever had with white people"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How Black or African American Participants Think Others View Members of Their Group</th>
<th>Viewed as</th>
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<td></td>
<td>“Controversial (negatively). We are the group that is viewed as activists, impoverished, bad relationship partners, gangsters, thugs, and basically structured by the media’s interpretation of us. It is because of the media that people view us in this light. I know of people with Chicano/Latino, Asian, Haitian, and African backgrounds that don't want their children hanging out with African-American's because of the stigma society has placed on us as these thugs and bad influences”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“From what I can see, all ethnic groups that I see are cool with each other”</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indicates that all other ethnic groups are &quot;cool&quot; with African Americans</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thinks that Black people are seen as &quot;scary and loud&quot;, and &quot;even&quot; with &quot;whites&quot;, and also as &quot;less than Whites&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I think white people view blacks as scary and loud. I also think whites think we're &quot;even&quot; now so they think we make a lot of excuses. I think others view blacks as angry. Both Blacks and Filipinos are viewed as less than whites”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viewed as &quot;dangerous&quot; or as &quot;accepting&quot;, and &quot;ignorant&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Depending on the situation I think blacks could be viewed as dangerous or accepting in either culture. White people many of the time are scared of people in my ethnic group and also see [my group] as ignorant people”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thinks that Hispanics relate themselves to &quot;Black people&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;Generally I think that we get into conflicts with Hispanics because they relate themselves to Black people but there is a difference&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Latin or Hispanic American Participants Think Others View Members of Their Group</td>
<td>Reports not reflecting on how others view his ethnic group</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>As people other &quot;minorities&quot; can relate to</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I feel like all minorities like African American, Asian American see Mexican American as someone that they can relate to. For example here in WSU we have multicultural centers that are open to any ethnicity”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others may not like the Latino population growth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Not sure, but I do know they have notice that the group is growing really fast and I don't think they like it”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicultural Latinos may not be fully understood by individuals from different ethnic groups</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I had two cultures not just one so if I did something different they always thought I would do it weird or the way I would say things at times and when you are young it’s hard to explain that I come from a different background”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks that people are more likely to respect people of color (e.g., some Latinos) if they are friends of the family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Now that I'm older I'm sure I would face people who didn't really like people of color but because I was young and friends with their daughters or sons they would respect the situation”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People are more accepting of Mexican Americans in college than in her home town</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I love who I am [i.e., Mexican American] and where I come from. People are more accepting of it here [i.e., in college] and I have made more friends that are similar to me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped as delinquents, job takers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;There was always the stereotype back then that all the Mexicans were gangsters&quot; ”[B]ecause of being Mexican some people think that I am here to take their jobs. Other is the stereotype that Mexican women don’t work and I'm the opposite I'm a hard worker and I like to travel to know the world”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Asian American Participants Think Others View Members of Their Group</td>
<td>Not bothered by Asian stereotypes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not think that people know about Filipino culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I don't think many people really know of or are exposed to Filipino culture to have an actual opinion on the people. We're actually mistaken for other ethnic groups, having personally been thought of as being Mexican or African American”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thinks Filipinos are viewed as "bad Asians" and as "cool Asians"
1 “I think white people view Filipinos as "bad Asians". I think other races view Filipinos as "cool Asians"

Thinks that Filipinos are viewed as "less than Whites"
1 "Filipinos are viewed as less than whites"

Thinks that others view Asians as individuals with personalities before judging them by their appearance
1 “We view about the same, seeing everyone as a whole and understanding their personality first before judging them by their cover”

Members of other ethnic groups may have difficulty accepting Asian Americans, especially Caucasian Americans
1 “I think members of other ethnic groups have a hard time accepting them [i.e., Asian Americans] because they have a different culture. I would say many Caucasians misunderstand other ethnic groups and that is why they are more than likely to not accept other ethnic groups. I assume they are more close-minded than other ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups that understand that they have their own culture, understand that it is okay for one to live a different lifestyle than others. However, I feel like Caucasians (mainly Americans) do not understand that because they come from a country that doesn't really have a culture of their own but is instead made of other cultures”

Note. Question 30 asked: “How do you think members of other ethnic groups view your ethnic group within society? Please specify the ethnic groups that you write about.”

There was significant variation within each ethnic group regarding their perception of how their group is viewed by other ethnic groups. For this question there were no open codes that contained more than one participant's response(s). White American participants reported that they are not liked as much as they think they are liked by other ethnic groups, and that they are also viewed as "the man", privileged and racist. Black or African Americans reported that they thought others viewed them as controversial, dangerous or "scary", but also "cool" with other groups, and "less than Whites". A Latino or Hispanic American participant reported that he thought others view Latinos or Hispanic Americans as people other minorities can relate to. A Latina reported that their population growth in the U.S. may not be appreciated and also that
Latinos have been viewed according to stereotypes about delinquency. Another Latina participant reported that her group was more accepted in college than back home. Asian participants reported the following: that this group is stereotyped, but also that the stereotypes do not bother one of the participants (e.g., "I am not bothered by stereotypes"), that many people may not know much about Filipino culture, that they are not judged by their "cover", and that Asians may not be accepted by White Americans.

**Feelings about participants' own ethnicity.** Question 31 asked participants how they feel about their own ethnic group. As for the previous two questions and tables, the axial codes refer to the four ethnic groups. The results are presented in Table 13.

Table 13

*Feelings about Participants' Own Ethnicity: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Question 31*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>( f )</th>
<th>Meaning Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Americans</td>
<td>Thinks that he is more empathic than other members of his ethnic group, but he also has racist thoughts sometimes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I'd like to believe that I have a higher understanding of what other cultures are going through than most people of my ethnic society. But who knows, I think racist thoughts too sometimes”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Feels &quot;fine&quot; and &quot;proud&quot; about his ethnicity, but does not &quot;feel&quot; like his ethnicity is &quot;better&quot; or &quot;more entitled&quot; than anyone else's</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;I feel fine about my multicultural ethnic identity within society. There really aren't any emotions when I think of my ethnicity. I am proud of who I am, but do not feel like my ethnicity is better than anyone else's or more entitled than anyone else's&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feels &quot;discomfort&quot; with how her middle class socioeconomic status and ethnicity have made her life easier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Discomfort, mostly. I see how it's made the difficult parts of my life easier: how getting through the social difficulties was made easier by having the family that I had, and how my academic success has been encouraged all along. Also, my economic status made it possible for me to be as focused on this as I have been”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Feels aggravated because she does not feel like her ethnicity is included in a "multicultural society"

I just get aggravated. I was always taught not to see color, but it's kind of hard not to when all anyone else see's is your color. We all wish for a world where ethnicity is celebrated and differences are embraced, but really, being white isn't viewed as being a part of "multicultural" society. It's like we're on the outside looking in. If we try to be a part of it or experience someone else's culture, we're made fun of as being "posers" or "whiggers" or whatever

Feels sad about his ethnicity because his ethnicity is negatively stereotyped and it affects how people treat his ethnic group

I am saddened because how we are viewed negatively affects us. We are negatively stereotyped minority (not all minorities are negatively stereotyped, Asians for instance) and this affects how people treat us. It’s sad and I think much of it is a product of slavery, and the unfair treatment we have faced since coming to America

He feels proud of how far his multicultural ethnic group or African Americans have come in society

I’m proud to see how my multicultural ethnic group is doing in society. Because growing up, I saw a lot of African Americans living up to the stereotypes. Most of them were stealing, jobless, lazy, and in gangs. But I’m happy to see how far African Americans have come in society by taking their education seriously

Feels proud of race, but sad when her ethnic group members "fall to the statistics"

I feel proud about my race but I feel that many people in my ethnic group during this day and age are not willing to educate themselves so they can move up in society. Often times we fall to the statistics that bind us down and that is sad. The reason I am happy that I am black is because we have a rich history and I feel like being a minority I can make moves to help others get to where they need to get to

Feels oppressed, ignored, misunderstood, and disregarded

I feel blacks and Filipinos are oppressed and ignored. I feel misunderstood and disregarded when I think of both ethnicities within society

Indicates that there is understanding among ethnic groups, including his own

I think it’s understandable; most people are understanding the cross culture relationships

Distinguishes himself as a "Mexican American individual" and he does not feel stigmatized because of his race

I identify myself as a Mexican American individual that is pursuing his dreams to become an FBI agent. I consider myself very lucky to be able to get my education and not have to be stigmatized because of my race
| Does not think about how he feels about his ethnicity because he tries to see people as individuals versus their ethnicity | 1 | “I have very little thoughts about it because I try to see people as people not a certain ethnicity” |
| Suggests that his behavior will demonstrate who he is versus being judged by his ethnicity | 1 | ”I feel like my actions [and] not my ethnicity will show others that ethnicity does not matter” |
| Feels proud of ethnicity | 1 | “I am proud of being who I am. I love meeting people that are of my race and have the same backgrounds as me. I feel like we stand stronger together. Or even with any minority” |
| Sometimes she felt like an "outsider" as a "Mexican American/Chicana" | 1 | ”But overall I must say that at times I felt like an outsider because there weren't very many people of my race and ethnic background in my school (it was mainly Native Americans and Caucasians) therefore I couldn't really relate to them when it came to my culture because they couldn't understand” |
| Asian Americans | 1 | “I made friends with ONLY white kids and for a long time I absolutely hated Asians and would never associate myself with them. Till this day I don’t know why, I felt they were different and I did not want to be associated with them” “I hated Chinese accents” |
| He feels "content" with being Chinese | 1 | “I don't really have any feelings towards my ethnic identity within society. I guess my emotions that come to mind are I am content with being Chinese. China is a growing economy and I want to be a part of it more than I already am” |
| He feels motivated to "make something" of himself and he takes pride in his ethnic heritage | 1 | “It gives me motivation to make something of myself. When I learned about the things they never taught us in history classes about American society and Philippine history, I took a deeper pride in my heritage. I also took a greater pride in empowering others to develop a more critical eye as well” |
| Feels like a "minority" at a predominantly "Caucasian" university | 1 | “Washington State University is very different that Hawai'i. That's for sure. For once, I understand the concept of being a minority" "Caucasians are more predominant" |
| She feels comfortable being Asian around different ethnic groups, although it can feel "weird" because of cultural differences | 1 | “I feel comfortable with different ethnic identities. I mean sometimes it feels weird because we've lived in different societies and learned different cultures but it is still interesting to hear about other peoples stories” |
Strong ethnic identity

I am fine with my multicultural ethnic identity within society. I understand the differences between my ethnic group and others.

Note. Question 31 asked: “How do you feel about your multicultural ethnic identity within society? What specific emotions come to mind when thinking about your ethnicity within society?”

The results of this section demonstrate the wide range of feelings associated with ethnicity for different individuals, even within particular ethnic groups. Indeed, there was no more than one participant response for any particular open code. For White Americans: one said that he felt like he was less racist than others in his group and another said that he felt "proud" and "fine" about his ethnicity. In contrast, one White female reported that she felt "discomfort" with the privileges from her socioeconomic status, and another reported being "aggravated" at not feeling included in a "multicultural" society. African American participants reported feeling "sad", "proud", "oppressed" or "disregarded". Latino or Hispanic American participants reported feeling "proud" of their ethnic group but also feeling like an "outsider". It was also found that light skinned Latinos may feel less or no stigma because of their race. For Asian participants: one indicated feeling prejudice towards non-acculturated Asians in America; another felt motivated to do well as a Filipino and also felt like a minority at a predominantly White university; and two other Asian participants felt "content" and "fine" to be labeled with Asian American ethnicity.

Inter-ethnic group relations. Questions 20, 34, and 35 assessed inter-ethnic group relations by asking about the relationships among the different ethnic groups within participants' communities. Question 20 and 34 ask about the relationships at two different times (i.e., during adolescence and emerging adulthood), and question 35 assessed perceptions of why relationships were the way participants described them. The associated codes and responses for these questions are presented in Table 14.
Table 14

**Inter-ethnic Group Relations: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 20, 34, and 35**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>$f$</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Different Ethnic Groups get Along with Each Other</td>
<td>In general</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>“Because of such diversity, the relationships between members of my community or town were pretty good. It's really hard to discriminate when those ethnic lines are less distinct with so many people of mixed race. A lot of jokes were based on racial stereotypes but people were less on edge about issues of race because race was a blur in most parts of Hawai'i”</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I feel like in Pullman almost all multicultural and ethnic groups get along pretty well”</td>
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<td>“They seem to get along most of the time”</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“We got along pretty well together and everyone was allowed to go where they chose”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Blacks and Polynesians always interact”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Why Different Ethnic Groups Get Along | Freedom of choice and independence are reasons why members of different ethnic groups get along | 4 | “I believe that it is all up to the individual who she/he is going to get along with because even though I am Mexican American I seemed to get along with any other ethnicity” | “I believe that the opportunity our society gives us allows people to express on many different levels. Whether it be emotional or physical, the ideas we have are all now shared and openly expressed. This is how I see the attraction between people of different color. To be more specific, it could be why a white woman dates a black guy because they have different attractions” |

99
Because of shared commonalities

"In a town like Pullman where everyone is facing the same challenges and living very similar lives ethnic groups are more likely to have good relationships amongst each other” "the ethnic groups in Pullman and Vancouver have many things in common (socio economic status, living conditions, etc.). All other things considered, I think people get along because of the similarities they have with each other"

“I think that they get along pretty well because we are all here to learn and that is our main focus"

“Lifestyle and tradition has a lot to do with it. A lot of my Arab friends hang out with each other because they are from different countries but are often united in religion. Many blacks and Mexicans believe in Jesus and good food so this seems to unite a lot of us. (I've seen tension between the two in California though.) Academic programs that reach out to minority students also unite Blacks and Mexicans because both compose the largest group of underrepresented minorities”

Collectivism across "people of color" or multicultural students "stick together"

"I have had many great relationships with members of different ethnic groups. I have noticed that the people of color here at WSU tend to stick together. I have more friends that are minorities than I do Caucasian, but I really love it because I have more similarities with them”

“I tend to get along more with other minorities because it seems we have a better understanding and we value our differences. I feel that I get along with many people because I'm a very open person and love learning about other cultures and ethnic groups”

“The multicultural students tend to stick with other multicultural students for close friendships and for community, and students who are mainstream (and usually white) aren't typically forced to interact with other cultures than their own”

Collectivism within Ethnic Groups

"People tend to band with their minority group more. So African-Americans hang around African-Americans, same with Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, etc.”

"For the most part, people stick to people they are used to or don't require them to get a real understanding of the story behind a person. It's easier that way"

"Arabs tend to stay with themselves"

“Many of the relationships that surround me include Vietnamese paired with each other or Caucasian paired with each other"
| Why there is Collectivism within Ethnic Groups | Because of dating within ethnic groups and limited exposure to other ethnic groups | 2 | “I think that when people grow up in a specific community, they only date within their ethnic group because that’s what all they were exposed to”
“I believe relationships are the way they are because they tend to date the people they are surrounded by. For example, if an Asian guy is usually surrounded by Asians then he will most likely date someone who is Asian”

Ethnic groups share culture | 1 | “The relationships are the way they are in college because culture is the most important aspect of our lives. Being African-American, I know that I share similar cultural background with other African-Americans, same for Chicano students, and same for Asian American students”

Reports of Little Mixing Across Ethnic groups | There was little mixing across ethnic groups | 4 | "so there was always small groups of Mexicans, Latino, Chicanos, Americans, black Americans, Asians and native Americans around school, there was hardly any mixture between the groups"
"I know that I will always associate myself with Asians but I also try to branch out to different ethnicities. I feel like it is important to be open to making friends outside of my ethnicity because it is rare to see it”
"Blacks and Asians don't seem to speak to each other much"
"There just seems to be a large divide, a disconnect even, between the mainstream students' understanding of what multicultural means, and the experiences of multicultural students"

Inter-ethnic Group Problems | Descriptions of the inter-ethnic group problems | 7 | “In the part of Long Beach that I grew up in, there was racial tension between African-American and Chicano/Latino. Tongans and Samoans didn’t get along also. Tensions would escalate to the point where there would be race riots at Jordan High School (closest to my house) with African-Americans and Samoans students fighting against Chicano/Latino students”
“The Hispanics in my neighborhood always had events going on but they would bring food to their neighbors and always try to teach you a new word in Spanish. I think that for some people it may be a cultural shock to visit my neighborhood but it was becoming very populated by Hispanics and that was something not everyone was use to. My grandma did not like the idea that families of Hispanics lived right across the street from each other and let their kids roam around on the street”
"I had a lot of friends but one thing that was different was that I grew up in a community that had more Caucasians in the population so I couldn't really relate my culture with theirs. There was a boundary there"
"When I was in middle school and high school, there was some or a lot of differentiation between ethnic groups. For example, me for being Mexican most of the people did not talk to me, there was always the stereotype back then that all the Mexicans were gangsters"
"Looking back on it, things were tense. Many of my white friends were not allowed to come to my house. I would hear my mom complain about racism but I didn't know what she meant"
"It’s hard to immerse yourself in another culture. Sometimes they seem very shut off to white people, and it's a little bit intimidating to be around people of other cultures/ethnic backgrounds"
"Many white people segregate themselves from minorities"
"All [minorities] seem to have tension with white people"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons Given for Inter-ethnic Group Problems</th>
<th>Language problems between groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| "White people" are not as willing as "minorities" to learn about diverse ethnic backgrounds | "The Mexican boys hated me in like the 4th-7th grade. In the first few years of elementary school everyone got along. Then we started getting into girls, and some of the kids didn’t learn English too well, and there just became a separation"
"my feelings were sensitive when people talked behind my back; especially the times when I had hard time communicating with others"
"As for white relations with minorities, I think that's just [because] many white people [are] not being willing to learn about another ethnic background. Yes minorities do the same thing as well but I think we are a little bit more open to learning about new cultures"

| Being an ethnic or racial minority is related to being teased | "A lot of jokes were based on racial stereotypes but people were less on edge about issues of race because race was a blur in most parts of Hawai‘i. Caucasians and African Americans got a lot of teasing because apart from the schools fed by military bases, there weren't too many from these groups in the public schools"
|Racism | "I feel that people do enough so they are able to use the "I'm not Racist" excuse because they have a friend of a different ethnicity or are dating someone of a different background"
|Apathy | "Apathy. I really just don't think people care anymore. And white people have done some shitty things in the past. Unfortunately it's our generation that has to deal with the repercussions, and probably will for the rest of eternity. But, oh well, it is what it is (talk about apathy!)"
Participants reported that they did not know about inter-ethnic group relations. It is difficult to know about inter-ethnic group relations.

5 participants reported that they did not know about inter-ethnic group relations. "I don't really know. Like I said, I'm sort of oblivious to it all. I've never really heard of any problems with it, but I've never really seen everyone come together for a greater cause either" "Relationships I feel are hard to provide overarching generalities to" "The relationships were mostly African American" "No, sorry, it's hard to say. Most of the people I know in Pullman are white" "I can't even begin to explain the workings between different cultural and ethnic minority groups on campus, either; that just isn't something I know"

Note. Question 20 asked: "What were the relationships like among the members of multicultural or ethnic groups within your town or city during adolescence? Please specify the names of the multicultural or ethnic group(s) that you write about." Question 34 asked: "From your perspective, what have the relationships been like amongst the members of multicultural or ethnic groups within your town or city during your college years? Please specify the name(s) of the multicultural or ethnic group(s) that you write about. Question 35 asked: "Can you speculate as to why relationships among different multicultural and ethnic groups are the way you described them in this questionnaire? Please specify the multicultural or ethnic groups that you are writing about."

Eight participants indicated that the different ethnic groups in this study get along in general and seven participants reported that specific ethnic groups get along with each other (e.g., "I have seen different races like Asians and whites or Asians and blacks mingle with one another"). Four participants indicated that people get along because of freedom of choice, and three reported that they get along because of shared commonalities. Other responses indicated that there is a perceived collectivism across ethnic "minorities", "people of color", or multicultural groups, which, according to one White female participant, White Americans may not feel a part of. Separating ethnic groups even further, participants’ responses indicated that there is perceived collectivism within ethnic groups. Participants indicated that this is true because members of the same ethnic group tend to date within their ethnic group. In contrast, some participants observed little mixing across ethnic groups and several participants indicated that there were problems across ethnic groups within their communities. Two participants noted that language differences could cause problems between individuals. Five participants reported that they did not know about inter-ethnic group relations.

Challenges related to identity. Question 36 asked about challenges related to identity. The axial categories and the associated open codes for this question are presented in Table 15.
### Table 15

**Challenges to Participants' Identity: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Question 36**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Challenges Reported | Negotiating multicultural or multi-ethnic spaces and racism and bias | 7  | "Negotiating multicultural or multi-ethnic spaces as a white person has been an interesting challenge, one that deals more with figuring out how to show respect and let others speak than presenting any barriers"

"Being African-American, facing different racial situations and hearing about other people’s stories could be enough to encourage people to only be around their ethnic group and not seek to reach out to others"

“I've been called racial slurs and heard homophobic comments before but I don't take another person's ignorance to heart. I am comfortable enough with who I am to actually take pride in what makes me ME”

“Hate crimes, being called the N-word, and discrimination among people in my ethnic group. I have dealt with some awful things in which people feel it is necessary to bring you down; even your own people. Black people have told me that I talk in perfect English so I must be white washed or that because I am light skinned I am considered a halfbreed. I hate the use of the N-word but often times get scolded for standing up for the deletion of the word”

“I've been called a nigger by white people. Many whites disagree with the purpose of programs like McNair and affirmative action" "I hear a lot of ignorant racial assumptions because I go to a school where many kids have not met people from other ethnic backgrounds. I have to code-switch in class and at work so that I protect the image of blacks and Filipinos”

“Here in college I have experienced some racism toward us minorities. But regardless I don't let it get to me”

“I came to USA when I was 12 years old" "It was a culture shock, with many people from different countries and in a country with a language that I didn't speak”

Challenges related to speaking or writing in English | 5  | "Fitting in was difficult because I had trouble with my English yet I exceeded in math" “I mostly knew either Hispanic or American friends in my childhood years which was difficult to communicate with because there were many ways of my responses that I was unable to translate from one language to the other. Speaking Chinese at home and speaking in English at school was like going through two different worlds and [I was] unable to understand why I had to go through this”

“I feel that I am not as strong of a writer to express my feelings on paper on writing assignments as other people”

"I think the biggest challenge was to learn to speak, read and write
**Challenges in Relating to Others**

A slight majority (i.e., seven) of the participants indicated that they encountered challenges in relating to others from different racial and cultural backgrounds. These challenges included speaking or writing in English, dealing with stereotypes, or, in a few cases, being visibly queer. However, a notable proportion of participants (five) reported no challenges related to their identities, emphasizing their positive self-image and comfort in being authentic.

**Stereotypes**

- **3** participants have encountered many challenges, primarily stereotypes. These challenges include being judged for their ethnicity by teachers, classmates, and even colleagues in high school and college.

**Being Visibly Queer**

- **2** participants find it challenging to feel comfortable in a Greek party scene, often experiencing gender misunderstandings and pressure to conform to certain dress expectations.

**Being Christian**

- **3** participants mention challenges related to being Christian, with one stating it's a good challenge because it ensures accountability.

**Identity Challenges**

- **5** participants do not view their identity as posing any challenges, attributing their success to factors such as good manners, being a good listener, and having good friends.

**Note.** Question 36 asked: "What challenges (if any) have you encountered because of any of your identities (e.g., physical characteristics, gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, etc.)?"

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges Reported Due to Identity</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Challenges</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported their identity as posing any</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Example Challenges:**

- "I cannot think of any" "None, really" "I honestly can say that I've had no challenges. My identity has just made me a better person" "I feel like my ethnicity isn't a problem" "I had to hide the fact that my parents made a lot of money because all of my friends family's were very poor."
visibility queer or a Christian. In contrast, a slight minority of participants reported that they did not experience challenges related to their identity.

**European Americans and their membership in society.** Question 37 asked all participants about how European-Americans might think and feel about their membership in U.S. society. The axial categories and open codes for question 37 are presented in Table 16.

Table 16

*Views of how European Americans might Think and Feel about their Membership in American Society According to All Participants: Axial Categories, Open Codes, and Sample Responses for Question 37*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European American is not synonymous with White American</td>
<td>Views the term European American as being an immigrant from Europe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;They might feel different than us American-Americans but they probably can't voice that feeling all that well&quot; &quot;I think that they might feel a little out of place due to the fact that things are done at a different rate here in the U.S.&quot; &quot;About the same because based on history, most Americans came from Europe countries&quot; “European-American ethnic group members would think and feel the same as any other ethnic group that have a different culture. They may feel out of place at first because they are not used to living in another culture's world or speaking a different language. But if they live in the US long enough, they will eventually fit in. They may also fear not being accepted by Americans just like any other ethnic group”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants reported that they did not know about European American culture</td>
<td>Entitled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;I don't know&quot; &quot;It’s hard to answer because I know very little about European American culture&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| They may Think that They are the Most Important Ethnic Group or that they are "Entitled" | | 4 | "I'm sure some white people feel very entitled" "I believe that whites think their role in society is one of entitlement because of the power they hold in this country" “European-Americans might think that they are the most important ethnic group in society. They probably feel this
way because America has always been controlled by European-Americans. This ethnic group makes up a greater proportion of the wealthy than other ethnic groups and may feel like that entitles them to a more important membership in U.S. society.”

| They may feel like their Place in Society is Threatened or They are Scared for "various reasons" | They may feel like their place in society is threatened | 1 | “I feel like they may feel their place in society is being threatened or that they are entitled to things some other people should not have. That's one side of it though, but considering that's what is focused on in the Evergreen I have little to go off of concerning Caucasian views on their place in society” |
| European Americans do not Experience Racism and May Feel Normal in America | Seen as the norm | 1 | "If they do [think about their ethnicity], they see themselves as the norm and everyone else as "other" |
| | They do not experience racism | 1 | "Like a Swedish immigrant to America telling a Black student that he (the Swede) feels a lot of racism—whatever, you're still white right?" |
| They may Feel Blamed for Racism | European Americans feel "right at home" | 1 | “I think European Americans feel right at home because many Americans have had their family line traced back to Europe” |
| | They may feel blamed for racism | 3 | "They feel like they are blamed for many racial issues, because of how white Americans have treated people of color in the past” "We feel like we're dealing with all of the mistakes of our ancestors, and as soon as someone commits a hate crime, we know that all of us will be looked down on for it" |
| European Americans may think that they do not have an ethnicity or culture | They may feel that they do not have an ethnicity | 1 | “European-American encompasses many different cultures, so I’ll generalize this to state white Americans. White Americans feel that they don’t have an ethnicity because they are not a minority, feel like the U.S. is a meritocracy, meaning if you just work hard, you can get what you want because they don’t face the same hardships and roadblocks that other minorities have" |

"white people are barely the majority anymore"
They look to identify with an ethnic group to feel a sense of belonging with a "tighter group"

"White" people as not having culture because they are not part of the multicultural Society

They May not be Consciously Aware of any Advantages or Privileges as a White American

European Americans may think that they have no privileges over minorities

They May Not Consider What it Means to be European American in Society

They do not consider what it means to be European American

They Feel Important in Some Way Because They Contribute to Society

They may feel that they contribute to society

1 “I think they actually look for an ethnicity to associate with like Polish, Native American and so on. The reason I believe this is because they want a sense of belonging in a tighter group”

1 "being white isn't viewed as being a part of "multicultural" society"

2 "so far being white has neither helped nor hindered me in any way within society as a whole, at least not to my knowledge"

“I think that they believe that they worked hard to get to this point and that nothing was ever given to them. They may feel as though they have no privileges more than a minority does and that their skin color has nothing to do with why they got a job. I read this book about the white racial frame and how many European-Americans feel that America is one country for equality and that our country is a wonderful place with great history. They have huge patriotism and subconsciously hide that they have advantages over minorities”

2 “I don't think many even consider it, much less what it means to be a member of U.S. society, or what U.S. society even is, and all the permutations it can have. I think that to a certain extent, they don't realize that they're the majority, or what that means; I think many of them assume that how they live is how everyone else lives, and that they don't understand what "difference" and "diversity" truly means”

“I don't think that they think about it”

1 “I think all and each of the groups might think and feel that they are important to society as a person and as whole ethnic groups. They feel important because all the ethnic groups contribute with something or contribute in different ways to and in the U.S. society”

Note. Question 37 asked: "How might European-American ethnic group members think and feel about their membership in U.S. society? Please explain why."

Five participants indicated that the term European American is interpreted as a recent immigrant from Europe and that white Americans do not identify as European Americans.
Rather, they may view themselves as "American Americans". It appears that White Americans may strongly identify with their race and to a lesser degree their nationality. They may not strongly identify with their European heritage. Similarly, three participants reported that European Americans or Americans think that they do not have an ethnicity. Four participants reported that European Americans may also feel "entitled" as White Americans. Four participants thought that White Americans may feel that their "place in society is threatened". Three participants reported that White Americans do not experience racism and feel at "home" in the U.S. Three participants indicated that European Americans may feel blamed for racism. Two participants reported that European Americans may not be aware of their privilege in society. Lastly, two participants reported that European Americans may not reflect on their identity in America. Overall, it appears that White Americans have the privilege of being called just Americans and they may not be aware of what it is like to be something other than White. There also appears to be a group identity largely based on race and perhaps the denial of ethnicity and unawareness of American culture.

**African Americans and their membership in society.** Question 38 asked all participants about how African-American ethnic group members think and feel about their membership in U.S. society. Coding for question 38 is presented in Table 17.
Table 17

*Views of how African Americans might Think and Feel about their Membership in American Society According to All Participants: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Question 38*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feelings about Past and Present Mistreatment or Oppression and Social Inequity</td>
<td>They probably &quot;feel scared, put down, like it's hard to find their way&quot; or oppressed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“African-American group members may think that they are being held down by society and by European Americans” “They may feel that the system is against them&quot; &quot;But I mostly think that they believe society is not fair towards them, and I can see why&quot; “Probably just the same as white people. There are honestly probably so many more similarities between the groups than I'd like to admit. I bet they feel scared, put down, like it's hard to find their way&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“They might feel somewhat bad about their membership because society has viewed them as lazy and good for nothing gang members who also steal” “I think African-Americans have to deal with years worth of social inequity. Not only from an educational and professional viewpoint but also in the way that they have been portrayed in the media. Of the ethnic minority groups, they seem to have the most media coverage from T.V. and movies, music, news, etc and I know a lot of African Americans who live everyday day of their lives just trying to deal with stereotypes connotations that are portrayed about them&quot; “African-American ethnic group members would feel like they are stereotyped as being criminals. Even now as I am answering this question I am stereotyping. Although true stories that were told to me by my African-American friends make the stereotype true as they are always followed by employees at malls or whenever they were shopping. I would say that African-American group members would feel insecure&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“A-A’s might feel as if they shouldn’t be here based on the history of the nation and every bad thing it has done to them” “Historically, they’ve had a hard time. I'm sure there is sentiment in some but yeah - I guess we all need to work on coming together for a unified future so that no one has to feel any different about their US membership” “Based on what I've seen and heard, it seems like they understand that there's a huge cultural gap in U.S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
society (something that, like I said earlier, I think European-Americans tend to lack), and they have their community and their society, that tends to be incredibly pluralistic, that engages with, and helps the individuals within it engage with, what they perceive as a mainstream dominated by European-Americans. There's a lot of ambiguity about their membership in US society, both in terms of its realness and its benefit for them, skepticism over what exactly it means and to what degree it's really available to them. Although I've also seen people who have taken it as far as they possibly can go and taken it on faith that they've got full membership, and they do, and they get far, from a capitalist, business-oriented standpoint"

"They bring up things in the past that has nothing to do about what is going on now, like slavery for example. But I mostly think that they believe society is not fair towards them, and I can see why"

"I feel that some feel entitled to things that they haven’t earned"

“Blacks feel cheated. We believe that we are owed because we had to endure slavery in this country. We also think whites will never correct this wrong and it creates a love/hate relationship between us”

“I feel like they know they are part of this country but they aren't always accepted the way they should be. Even though it's 2011 there is still racism”

“Africans may think about the old torture that US has done to them in the past but seeing from most of my friends, we treat each other equally and understand that it's a new generation now and not think about the past ancestors have done to each other”

"They may feel that the system is against them or that it is their fault that they don't enjoy school or conforming to the ways of a white person”

"As soon as a black person messes up, I bet all other black people are like "well crap, now I'm gonna have to overcompensate for this one"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Participant Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They are Trying to Become More Upwardly Mobile</td>
<td>They view themselves as a minority in America</td>
<td>“I think that African Americans still consider themselves a minority. Also I can see this minority group trying to achieve what past generations have not, using this as motivation to be successful”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks that Their Membership is Getting Closer to How they Want it</td>
<td>Their membership status is improving</td>
<td>&quot;Their membership to U.S. society is not exactly the way they want it yet, but it is getting closer”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud of Their Progress Since the Civil Rights Movement</td>
<td>Proud of the progress they have made in society</td>
<td>&quot;African-Americans have made a lot of progress since the days of the civil rights movements and they are proud of that&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They Feel Important in Some Way or Another Because they Contribute to Society</td>
<td>They feel important</td>
<td>“I think all and each of the groups might think and feel that they are important to society as a person and as whole ethnic groups. They feel important because all the ethnic groups contribute with something or contribute in different ways to and in the U.S. society”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Question 38 asked: "How might African-American ethnic group members think and feel about their membership in U.S. society? Please explain why."

The most saturated category for question 38 was called Feelings about Past and Present Mistreatment or Oppression and Social Inequity. This category included several participants who reported various problems related to African American membership in America, such as widespread stereotypes, feeling of differentness, impacts of slavery today and racism. Whereas this main axial category contains seven different open codes, the remaining six axial categories each contain only one open code and one participant's response(s). These latter axial categories indicated that Africans are perceived as a collective group that views itself as a minority, but also that their membership in society is improving and that they are proud of their progress in society.

**Latino or Hispanic Americans and their membership in society.** Question 39 asked all participants about how Latino or Hispanic-American ethnic group members might think and
feel about their membership in U.S. society. Table 18 presents the axial categories, open codes, and sample responses for question 39.

Table 18

*Views of how Latinos or Hispanic Americans might Think and Feel about their Membership in American Society According to All Participants: Axial Categories, Open Codes and Sample Responses for Question 39*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They are Working Hard to Prove Themselves in Society</td>
<td>They are trying to &quot;prove&quot; themselves in society</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I think they are trying to prove that they deserve a place in U.S. society”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Like they are just trying to work and support their families</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“They might feel like they are just trying to work and provide for their families because in the Latino Hispanic culture family is the number one thing on the priority list always”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recent Latino immigrants are willing to work hard to achieve success in America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Latinos who have recently moved to the U.S. may feel like they have a chance to make their lives better and are willing to work hard to achieve success”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Like they have to work hard to achieve success</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Life in US is hard work. Education is important or you would end up not much better than in other Latin American country. I think their ethnic group members feel that they need to work hard to achieve which is good mentality”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They may feel like they need to work hard to prove they are good to offset negative stereotypes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Latino and Hispanic-American ethnic group may feel much more free in the U.S. but would feel they would have to work hard in order to have a membership in the U.S. society. From the news, there are many cases in which immigrants are from Hispanic-American countries and face deportation. Hispanic-Americans feel like they need to be in a freer country than their own which is why they came to America. In order to gain that freedom, Hispanic-Americans feel like they must work hard to show that they are not in the U.S. to commit crimes but there to make a living”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mexican Americans may feel the need to succeed in America to dispel the negative notions of Latinos.

They may think or feel that they have "a lot to earn in America." They may think or feel that they have "a lot to earn in America." They Feel Unwanted, Disrespected, and Discriminated Against Related to their Immigration Status in the US.

Latinos may feel "unwanted" because of the "flak from the media" for "taking jobs" and for being undocumented immigrants.

Immigration laws could be seen as daunting and discouraging to Mexican Americans.

Thinks that Latinos may feel irritated and disrespected because it seems acceptable to openly display racism towards Latinos/Mexicans.

Latinos may experience racism and may not be treated equally at times.

They Might Feel Increasingly Comfortable in, or Important to, US Society.

Latinos might think that they are becoming the most important member to the U.S. society.

"As a latino I feel like I need to succeed to higher then those before me. The reason I feel this way is because I think some communities have a notion that all Latinos are criminals and don’t persue education. I want to show people including those that doubted me that I can be succesfull no matter what my ethnicity is”

“Maybe that they still have a lot to earn in America, though the nation is vastly becoming a Spanish speaking country”

"Recently, with the whole border/immigration issues, the Latino/Hispanic group has had to take the most flak from the media. We are pretty far from the border in WA but visiting Arizona last summer made me conscious of the struggles. Latinos might feel, and hopefully this isn’t true, that all white-Americans look at them as the “they took our jobs” stereotype and feel unwanted”

“Latino or Hispanic-Americans may feel the most targeted because they are at the center of all these immigration and illegal immigration debates”

“Some Latinos may have strong feelings toward U.S. immigration policy so they may feel that they are not welcomed in this country”

"I think Latinos feel empowered and irritated. I believe they feel empowered because they are a rapidly growing demographic and there is strength in numbers. I think they feel irritated because it seems to be acceptable to openly display racism towards them and they are not given the respect they deserve as people. The "show me your papers" law in Arizona would never be allowed if it were blacks. Hispanics are more disrespected”

“Same with Latinos. I feel that we are proud and are greatful of being here but a lot of the times we also experience racism and at times aren't treated equally”

“Latinos might think that they are beginning to become the most important members of U.S. society"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Some may feel empowered because of their population size</strong></th>
<th><strong>I think Latinos feel empowered and irritated. I believe they feel empowered because they are a rapidly growing demographic and there is strength in numbers</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>They all feel important in some way or another because they all contribute to the nation</strong></td>
<td><strong>I think all and each of the groups might think and feel that they are important to society as a person and as whole ethnic groups. They feel important because all the ethnic groups contribute with something or contribute in different ways to and in the U.S. society</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>They &quot;feel and think well&quot; about their membership given that they work all across the United States</strong></td>
<td><strong>They probably feel and think well because they still feel comfortable around Americans because they had came from the same general area and expanded off widely through America</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>One Participant Thought that Some Can Assimilate into US Society, and others are Reluctant to or Do Not Want To</strong></td>
<td><strong>There's usually some overlap in this group with individuals who identify as Indigenous to the American continent, particularly the US and Mexico, and that tends to have its own implications that, in my experience, range from amused dismissal to rage at cultural genocide. But I've also met individuals who identify as &quot;gringos born in Mexico&quot; whose parents encourage them to have &quot;some pride&quot; in their ethnic/cultural backgrounds, speak Spanish with their parents, and so forth. I've seen various levels of politicization, from Chicanas-identified individuals to the aforementioned foreswearing of ethnic identity. There is, however, generally some tension when relating oneself to what is perceived to be a mainstream populated overwhelmingly by European-Americans; a mainstream that is, in perception, dominated by them. The response I've seen and heard of runs the gamut from complete assimilation into US mainstream society to skeptical reluctance to outright refusal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>They Feel Connected to Their Ethnic Group</strong></td>
<td><strong>Probably very similar to African and Euro Americans. They probably feel like everything any other Hispanic person does is going to reflect on them, and that if they want to make it in society, they need to compensate</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proud to be American</strong></td>
<td><strong>Same with Latinos. I feel that we are proud and are greatful of being here</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They Have Similar Negative Stereotypes as African Americans. Does not think that they like their membership in society. “Latino Americans have been classified with the same stereotypes as African Americans; they have been considered lazy and thuggish and thieves; so I don’t think they like their membership in society.”

Note. Question 39 asked: "How might Latino or Hispanic-American ethnic group members think and feel about their membership in U.S. society? Please explain why.”

The results for question 39 indicate that participants think that Latino or Hispanic Americans are trying to "prove themselves" in society by working hard, which was the axial category with the most participant responses. The second largest axial category indicated that Latinos or Hispanic Americans may feel disrespected and discriminated against because a portion of their population is comprised of undocumented immigrants or residents. The third most saturated category indicated that participants thought that Latinos or Hispanic Americans feel increasingly comfortable in society. Four other categories contained only one open code and one response for each of the categories.

**Asians Americans and their membership in society.** Question 40 asked all participants about how Asian-Americans might think and feel about their membership in U.S. society. Axial categories, open codes, and sample responses are provided in Table 19.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>( f )</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian Americans Have Some Positive Stereotypes</td>
<td>Asians have a stereotype of being “smart”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;[R]ecently, with the whole surge of Asian students being more motivated and disciplined in school - that could have an effect on their performance in schools either good (to keep with the “all Asians are smart” stereotype), or bad (to break away from this stereotype)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian-Americans are accepted as intelligent and successful, which has led to increased power in society</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Asian-American ethnic group members may think that they are also becoming more important members of U.S. society. Asian-Americans are now accepted by much of the population as being intelligent and successful, which has led to increased power in society”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive views of these individuals and groups in society</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“If they are an Asian-American (born in the U.S.) they may feel more accepted in the society. They are viewed as hardworking, intelligent people. Studies have shown that Asian-American men can average salaries greater than all other ethnic groups. Though they may face some stereotypes, they are not enough to counter the positive ideas”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Asians feel accomplished</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I think most Asians feel accomplished and compliant but I do not think all Asian groups feel similar to each other”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy about their U.S. membership, but dislike their stereotype</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Asian Americans play a very important role in this society. Society has classified Asian Americans as very smart and good with numbers so they give them the better jobs such as accounting and other mathematical positions. I believe they are happy with their citizenship but hate the fact that they live up to a stereotype”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model minority stereotype</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Asian-American's have often been scapegoated as the model minority” &quot;I guess it's to their advantage considering they constitute a greater population in U.S. Universities and professions than many of the other minority groups”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians in America are likely to have their &quot;share&quot; of Membership Problems</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“I feel like, in general, there's more positivity towards membership in US society, at least to the fullest extent that they feel they can have it, though I don't know why there would be [any problems with their membership]. Personally, I've heard less ambiguity coming out of this group, although it seems more than likely that they've got their fair share of it as well”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model minority and stereotype as &quot;meek&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Asian-American's have often been scapegoated as the model minority, being given a less undesirable reputation than say African Americans or Chicano/a, Latino/as. I can't speak for all Asian-Americans but I feel that we have to constantly fight to dispel all notions of the meek, immasculate Asian who is content to remain obedient. I guess it's to their advantage considering they constitute a greater population in U.S. Universities and professions than many of the other minority groups”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They may feel different from other cultural groups in the US</td>
<td>&quot;Asian-American ethnic group members would feel like they are very different from the U.S. society because their culture is very unique. The reason is because many Asian-American ethnic groups have a culture that is old and not up to date&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like they are &quot;not truly American&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I think Filipinos feel ignored and not truly American. We feel like members of the Philippines who work in America. For most Asians born here, I believe they and we feel we are not included in topics of race relations and assume it refers to only blacks, whites, and Latinos&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Says that Asian Americans May Think That This Country is Amazing and are Oblivious to the Underlying Problems in America</td>
<td>“Asians may feel that this country is amazing and may be completely oblivious to the underlying problems of America”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They may not see the racial problems of America</td>
<td>“It was once hard to get across the border line from Asia to America but Americans do not judge Asians so they feel and think the US society is a great place to stay compared to Asia with strict schools and etc.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They Have Experienced Mistreatment</td>
<td>“White people have been cruel to Asians in the past as well”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians have been treated &quot;cruel[ly]&quot;</td>
<td>“Same goes for Asian Americans” &quot;I feel that [they] are proud and are greatful of being here but a lot of the times [they] also experience racism and at times aren't treated equally&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At times they also experience racism and are not treated equally</td>
<td>“I think they feel they are vulnerable that’s why they always hang out in large groups. What I see wrong in this is that if you are in America, you need to intermingle with other American students, not sit in groups and speak your own language”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks that they Stay Within their Own Ethnic Group and are Separate from Other Groups</td>
<td>&quot;They may fear the U.S. society's thoughts about them which is why they stay in groups and continue living like their old culture in groups as well”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks that they feel vulnerable and separate from other Americans</td>
<td>“They might feel like they want to improve their lifestyle”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They may fear society's view of them</td>
<td>“I feel like Asians are a lot like every other minority in the U.S. I also think that being successful is a big part of their lives more than the majority”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians Want to Improve their Lifestyle</td>
<td>&quot;They might feel like they want to improve their lifestyle&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like they want to improve their lifestyle</td>
<td>“I feel like Asians are a lot like every other minority in the U.S. I also think that being successful is a big part of their lives more than the majority”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Asians Experience Different Memberships in America

They May Feel Like they Have to Work Hard to Make it: They have to "be tough" and prove that they are not a stereotype.

They May Feel Important because they Contribute to Society: They all feel important in some way or another.

1

"I do not think all Asian groups feel similar to each other. I do not think that a Filipino feels anything similar to the Japanese for example, besides finding rice delicious"

"You've got to be tough to make it, you've got to prove to everyone that you're not a stereotype. That can be very scary and very demanding"

"I think all and each of the groups might think and feel that they are important to society as a person and as whole ethnic groups. They feel important because all the ethnic groups contribute with something or contribute in different ways to and in the U.S. society"

Ten categories emerged for responses to Asian-American ethnic group membership. Six participants expressed the view that Asians have some positive stereotypes. Responses in the second largest axial category indicated that although Asian Americans have some positive stereotypes, they are also likely to have their "share" of membership problems. Less frequently, participants indicated that some Asians may not be aware of racial problems and may not experience much racism, or conversely, that Asians have experienced mistreatment and racism. In other less frequent responses, participants expressed the view that Asians "stay" within their ethnic group but also want to improve their lifestyle. Finally, one participant pointed out that there are large differences between some Asian subgroups.

**Integrative Summary as Applied to the Research Questions**

In this section, I integrate the responses to the relevant survey questions to address the five research questions raised in chapter 2. For each research question, I note the most relevant questions from the survey and provide some synthesis of the responses to these questions as they address the research questions.
**Research Question 1: Participant descriptions of self and personal identity.** The first research question addressed how participants viewed themselves as persons and what they have experienced and done in their lives (i.e., their narrative identity). Given that the person does not exist in a vacuum, the researcher assessed several aspects of identity, including personal and social identity. Responses from four question groups seem particularly relevant to research question 1, that is, questions about personal identity (see Table 1), social identity (see Table 4), social economic status (see Table 3), and activities and behaviors (see Table 7). Responses to these questions illustrated the personal, social, economic, and activity aspects of how participants view themselves as individuals. Although responses were varied, personality traits, particularly those of an interpersonal nature (e.g., outgoing, friendly, shy) were clearly a salient aspect of participants’ sense of self or personal identity. In some cases, these traits interacted with language difficulties, for example, in participants who attributed their “shyness” to language difficulties. Social identities frequently addressed how popular they felt or how well they fit in with peers or their social groups. Personal identities were also associated with the various sports, clubs or activities they participated in. Participants also viewed themselves in terms of their socio-economic class or that of their parents, the majority of whom were from low to middle SES backgrounds. The majority of participants also identified strongly with their ethnic, national, or racial group, but these aspects of identity are addressed below when considering research question 2.

**Research Question 2: Participants’ ethnic identity within society.** The second research question asked how participants describe their ethnic identity within society. Responses from five question groups addressed this research question, including question groups about ethnicity and ethnic identity (see Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13), ethnic group memberships in
American society (see Tables 16, 17, 18, and 19), family composition (see Table 2), and musical preferences and forms of dress (see Tables 8 and 9). In their responses, participants described how the different ethnic groups are identified or labeled according to their ethnicity, which was identified according to a) nationality or continent and b) race in America. For example, some participants referred to themselves according to one or two nationalities or continents (e.g., American, African-American, and Asian American). Alternatively, some participants denied having an ethnicity and some participants (especially White American participants) identified race in place of ethnicity. Participants used two racial terms: Black and White. Participants also identified with subcultural groups based on music and dress. For example, the results suggest that certain music preferences can be associated with subculture groups (e.g., punk rock and skateboarding) and dress was associated with identity in about half of the participants. Thus, music preference and dress can be associated with ethnic identity. In addition, different ethnic identities had different connotations. For example, being White was associated with privilege and having only one nationality label (i.e., American). White Americans were also reported to feel threatened or scared of other ethnic groups. There appeared to be a sense of group identity within White Americans according to race, although it may not be as strong as was found in Asian and African American groups. Black or African Americans were thought to be oppressed or to experience social inequality, and were viewed as "controversial" or as having negative stereotypes, such as being "scary". Latinos or Hispanic Americans were reported to have some negative stereotypes as well, and some members of their group (i.e., undocumented immigrants) were reportedly discriminated against and disrespected in America. Participants thought that Latinos or Hispanic Americans were working hard to prove themselves in American society and they were also reportedly becoming a stronger and more integrated group in America. Asians
appeared to have less negative stereotypes attributed to their ethnic group, but they were also found to have problems with feeling "less than" Whites, including internalized racism. They did have some positive stereotypes compared to the other two ethnic "minority" groups, yet they still had problems with their ethnic group membership in America and some Asian participants did not feel "truly American". All ethnic "minority" groups reported feeling different from the norm or mainstream in America (i.e., White Americans).

Research Question 3: Ethnicity of people participants were friends with or surrounded by. The third research question inquired into the socio-cultural environments or ethnic groups that participants were surrounded by and interacted with at various stages in their lives (see Tables 5 and 6). Almost three-quarters of all participants (i.e., 11) reported that they were surrounded mostly by White persons, and more than half of participants reported that most of their friends were White, and about a quarter of the sample reported having many White friends at some point in their life (i.e., childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood). In contrast, only about one quarter to half of all participants said that they were surrounded by many Asians, Blacks or African Americans, and Latinos or Hispanics, and approximately one quarter of all participants reported being surrounded by few persons of these three ethnic groups. Further, only about a quarter of the participants reported having mostly Asian, Black or African American, and Latino or Hispanic friends. Roughly half of all participants reported having some Asian, Black or African American, and Latino or Hispanic friends. Overall, participants were more likely to be surrounded by and friends with White Americans. However, several participants reported being surrounded by, and friends with, individuals from many different ethnic groups. These results reflect the proportions of individuals in these ethnic groups in America, as White-skinned persons comprise a majority of the American population. This
explains why participants reported being surrounded by, or friends with, more White Americans.

**Research Question 4: Views of multicultural relationships.** Research question 4 explored how participants viewed the multicultural relationships among individuals within their communities. The four primary question groups that addressed this research question dealt with inter-ethnic group relations (see Table 14) and challenges to one's identity (see Table 15). There were several patterns detected in the responses. About half of all participants reported that they perceived there to be good relationships among members of different ethnic groups in general and in relation to specific ethnic groups. There was some indication that participants perceived there to be a sense of collective identity across people of color. However, there was more data supporting the notion of collective identity within ethnic groups, which is related to the other observation of little mixing across ethnic groups. Further, about half of all participants reported that they perceived problems in inter-ethnic group relations. These inter-ethnic group problems were largely based on race. That is, there were racial problems reported across the different ethnic groups in this study. Being an ethnic minority (including being "visibly queer") was related to experiencing racism or prejudice and discrimination. Participants reported thinking that interactions or "negotiating" multicultural/multi-ethnic/multi-racial spaces was challenging. Participants wrote about the negative racial experiences that they have had with people of other ethnic groups. Stereotypes (both negative and positive) were reported to be associated with different ethnic groups and racial groups. Moreover, segregation of ethnic and racial groups was reported. There were also reasons reported for some of the inter-ethnic group problems, including language differences. For example, about a quarter of participants reported that they experienced challenges related to speaking and writing English in America. The results suggest
that, at different times, people of different ethnic backgrounds get along, and also that they do not get along because of racial and ethnic differences.

**Research Question 5: What are the systematic relationships between the first three RQ's and the fourth?** Research question 5 addressed how personal and social identity (RQ1), ethnicity and ethnic identity (RQ2), and ethnicity of friends and people in the community (RQ3) are related to inter-ethnic group relations (RQ4). Research question five aimed to explain inter-ethnic group relations by seeing how the concepts and categories found for the first three research questions are related to those found for the fourth. However, not all of the concepts or categories found for RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3 appeared related to RQ4. It appeared that only the constructs found for RQ2 and RQ3 were related to RQ4. In contrast, after careful examination using the constant comparative technique, this researcher failed to see systematic relationships between the primary categories identified for RQ1 with the categories observed for RQ4. For example, it was not clear how the personality characteristics elicited in the questions about personal identity were systematically (i.e., across more than one person) related to other categories in this study, such as ethnic identity or participants' views of inter-ethnic group relations. (A narrative analysis could discover linkages between personal identity and views of inter-ethnic group relations, but that is not the aim of a grounded theory analysis.) Similarly, social identities (also relevant to RQ1) provided examples of how individuals were "known", but social identities that refer to being popular or fitting in with peers say nothing definitive about inter-ethnic group relations or ethnic identity. Rather, social identities address aspects of the narrative identity (e.g., being a member of a student group). Additionally, no connections were found between socioeconomic status or activities and behaviors and views of inter-ethnic group relations. That is, it was unclear how being of a certain socioeconomic class or engaging in
certain activities was related to what participants said about inter-ethnic group relations. Thus, the categories found for RQ1 were not incorporated in the selective coding stage of the grounded theory analysis.

In contrast, it appeared that ethnicity and ethnic identity were related to inter-ethnic group relations. How participants labeled and described their ethnicity and identified with it was based on racial and ethnic or national/continental terms (e.g., Hispanic and Asian). Such terms were associated with clusters or categories of similar responses about the ethnic groups and what being of a certain ethnicity means. The results demonstrate social stratification because there were values attributed to different groups in systematic fashion according to race and ethnic identity. For example, certain experiences were associated with racial and ethnic identity, such as privilege, oppression, racism, prejudice, social inequality, discrimination, and disrespect, to name some of the most prominent themes. The meaning and connotations associated with each ethnic group appear to be factors that can influence inter-ethnic group relations (see RQ2 and RQ4). They demonstrate what it might be like to be of a certain ethnicity and highlight what it may be like to 'walk in the shoes' of ethnic individuals in America. It is important to know that at least half of all participants indicated that different ethnic groups often get along, but roughly the same number of participants indicated that different ethnic groups did not get along at times. Inter-ethnic group problems apparently can be influenced by race, ethnicity, and ethnic identity. However, just because a person is of a certain ethnicity or race does not necessarily mean that they will have problems with people of other ethnic backgrounds. Even so, being of a certain ethnicity may be a predictor of experiencing certain experiences such as those related to racism, privilege and discrimination. Additionally, the more differences (i.e., with regard to race, ethnicity, SES, and language) participants had with one another, the more difficulties they
reported in their interactions. However, this was not always the case because people with many cultural and racial differences were also reported to get along.

**Selective Coding**

Hawker and Kerr (2007) stated that:

Selective coding is the final stage of analysis and the aim is to draw together the codes and categories to create an overarching theory or explanation that can be applied to all accounts and will also explain conflicting data. When the researchers reach the stage where one category is mentioned with high frequency and is well connected to other categories, it is safe to adopt this as the core category. This core category then acts as the thread or the story line of the research and integrates all aspects of the emerging theory. (p. 95)

Payne (2007, p. 85) notes "The new theory is then presented with sufficient detail of the constituents of the core category to be understandable, together with the relationship of the core category to other categories".

Ethnicity and ethnic identity are core concepts in this grounded theory study. The concept of ethnicity has more connections to open codes and axial categories from various question groups than any other concept in this study. There were several questions on the questionnaire addressing ethnicity and ethnic identity that were used to achieve a triangulation of perspectives on the topic of ethnicity, ethnic identity, and inter-ethnic group relations. In selective coding, I first examined what ethnicity terms were used most often by participants. Second, I attempt to tie together a gestalt of the most reported axial categories and open codes or concepts found for each of the four ethnic groups in this study in order to learn about the socio-cultural construction of ethnicity and race in America in the 21st century. These open and axial codes define and
describe how members of different ethnic groups think and feel about their ethnicity, how they think others view their ethnic group(s), and how participants think members of diverse groups think and feel about their membership in American society in relation to one another.

**Frequency of national, racial, and continental terms for ethnicity.** Participants' responses that referred to ethnic identity, ethnicity, or ethnic background were examined to observe how ethnic identity is conceptualized by participants. Using the coding scheme from questions 17 and 18 on ethnic identity, the researcher classified the types of responses used to define ethnicity. Participants were found to describe their ethnicity using terms from categories such as Race as Ethnicity (e.g., White), Nationality (e.g., Japanese), Continental Territory of Known Ethnic Origin (e.g., Asian), and Race and Nationality together. Alternatively, a few participants reported not having an ethnic identity, while others reported having two ethnic identities or being bicultural individuals (e.g., "American and Mexican"). Thus, the participants used different kinds of terms (including racial) to define their ethnicity. To begin the selective coding, the researcher examined these types of responses from the following question groups: Family composition (question 2), Surrounded by (questions 6, 18, 32), Friends' Ethnicity (questions 7, 19, 33), and Ethnic Identity (questions 17 and 28). The aggregation of these responses is presented in Table 20, which shows the terms that are most often used by participants for ethnicity. Sample responses were provided in previous Tables.
Table 20

Frequency of National, Racial, or Continental Terms Reported for Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Categories</th>
<th>Associated Open Codes</th>
<th>$f$</th>
<th>Term (row) Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnic Groups</strong></td>
<td>National, Racial, or Continental Terms for Ethnicity</td>
<td>Family Composition Question 2</td>
<td>Surrounded by Questions 6, 18, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Americans</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White American</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Euro mutts&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Americans or African Americans</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African American</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino or Hispanic Americans</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chicano</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mexican American</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuadorian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Americans</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pacific Islander</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When referring to White Americans, participants appeared to prefer racial terms, such as White and Caucasian, over nationality terms such as American or European American. In contrast, when referring to African Americans, participants were about just as likely to describe themselves or others using a racial term (i.e., Black) or a nationality term (i.e., African-American). The terms Hispanic and Mexican were frequently used by participants, while Chicano and Latino were used to a lesser degree. Another frequently used term was Asian. The specific Asian subgroups most frequently named were Filipino, Pacific Islander, Chinese, Vietnamese, Asian American, and Japanese. Thus, there was more variation in ethnic identity terms within the Asian category.

**White American identity or European-American identity.** During selective coding for White American or European American participants, the researcher reexamined all of the open codes and axial categories that addressed White or European American identity or ethnicity and aggregated similar open codes and axial categories across question groups. Similar open codes and axial categories were merged into new selective categories. Table 21 presents the selected...
categories that were formed from axial categories and open codes, as well as associated memos that provide a brief explanation of the selected category. Sample responses are also provided.

Table 21

The Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity for European Americans or White Americans by all Participants: Selective Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 2, 17, 28 through 31 and 37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selective Categories</th>
<th>Codes from previous questions (Q #) and frequency of responses (f)</th>
<th>Associated Memos</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identification as White or American, but not European American</td>
<td>Race as Ethnicity versus nationality for White Americans (see Table 20)</td>
<td>Ethnicity or group membership based on physical characteristics, including white skin. This group identified primarily by &quot;race&quot; or physical characteristics.</td>
<td>“I would describe my ethnicity as White, and I really didn’t belong to any multicultural and ethnic groups as an adolescent”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q 37 White Americans do not identify as European American (5)</td>
<td>The term American was rarely used compared to racial terms, but when it was used it was used with the word White or by itself and not with the term European in front of it. No other group was classified as being just American</td>
<td>&quot;They might feel different than us American-Americans&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White American Privilege, Entitlement, Normalcy, and Predominance in American Society</td>
<td>Q 29 Privileged (4), Q 30 Privileged (1), Q 31 Discomfort with Privilege (1)</td>
<td>White American participants acknowledged that they have privilege in society</td>
<td>“Privileged. Extremely privileged&quot; &quot;Well I'm white. I guess we still have it pretty good&quot; &quot;I am a white male in college...and it does not get much easier than that&quot; “Discomfort, mostly. I see how it's made the difficult parts of my life easier; how getting through the social difficulties was made easier by having the family that I had, and how my academic success has been encouraged all along&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q 37 Entitled (4)</td>
<td>People identifying as White may feel entitled compared to those who are not White in America.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q 37 Entitled (4)</td>
<td>&quot;I believe that whites think their role in society is one of entitlement because of the power they hold in this country.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q 37 Entitled (4)</td>
<td>&quot;This ethnic group makes up a greater proportion of the wealthy than other ethnic groups and [they] may feel like that entitles them to a more important membership in U.S. society.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q 37 Normative (3)</td>
<td>White Americans consist of over 60% of all Americans, so they make up much of the norm in society.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q 37 Normative (3)</td>
<td>&quot;If they do [think about their ethnicity], they see themselves as the norm and everyone else as &quot;other&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q 29 Dominant (1)</td>
<td>White Americans are the dominant ethnic group in American society.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Q 29 Dominant (1)</td>
<td>“Throughout history white people have had the upper hand in America. This is still the case but it is changing slowly. I don’t agree that it should be the way it always has been but, being white, I have always only known this to be the way.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Americans May Think that They Have No Ethnicity or Culture</td>
<td>Q 37 Unaware of ethnicity (3), Q 17 and 28 unaware of culture and ethnicity (3), Q 37 may not consider what it means to be White or European American in society (2).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Americans May Think that They Have No Ethnicity or Culture</td>
<td>No notion of ethnicity or cultural traditions, nor may they reflect on their ethnicity, although one &quot;White&quot; participant discovered that she does have a culture and ethnicity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Americans May Think that They Have No Ethnicity or Culture</td>
<td>“European-American encompasses many different cultures, so I’ll generalize this to state white Americans. White Americans feel that they don’t have an ethnicity because they are not a minority&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Americans May Think that They Have No Ethnicity or Culture</td>
<td>&quot;Ethnicity and culture were never an overt part of our family, and I believe now that that has to do with my own whiteness and middle-class status&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Americans May Think that They Have No Ethnicity or Culture</td>
<td>&quot;Again, as a white person from a mainstream family, I don’t have strong cultural traditions or awareness of my ethnic background; my sense of identity and ethnicity has, in some ways, grown in retrospect as I look back at the literature I was exposed to growing up, in the Church, the authors I read, how I engaged with history classes, and so on. I’ve been increasingly able to see how each of those things has been shaped by my ethnicity and is the culture I come from&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Americans May Think that They Have No Ethnicity or Culture</td>
<td>“I don’t think many even consider it, much less what it means to be a member of U.S. society, or what U.S. society even is, and all the...&quot;</td>
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</table>
permutations it can have. I think that to a certain extent, they don't realize that they're the majority, or what that means; I think many of them assume that how they live is how everyone else lives, and that they don't understand what "difference" and "diversity" truly means"

"So far being white has neither helped nor hindered me in any way within society as a whole, at least not to my knowledge"

“I think that they believe that they worked hard to get to this point and that nothing was ever given to them. They may feel as though they have no privileges more than a minority does and that their skin color has nothing to do with why they got a job"

“I just get aggravated. I was always taught not to see color, but it's kind of hard not to when all anyone else see's is your color. We all wish for a world where ethnicity is celebrated and differences are embraced, but really, being white isn't viewed as being a part of "multicultural" society. It's like we're on the outside looking in"

"They feel like they are blamed for many racial issues, because of how white Americans have treated people of color in the past"

"We feel like we're dealing with all of the mistakes of our ancestors, and as soon as someone commits a hate crime, we know that all of us will be looked down on for it"

"White people have done some terrible things throughout history....But today, I think racism is mostly subdued in WA. It is still there but it is not as apparent as it once was” “I'd like to believe that I have a higher understanding of what other cultures are going through than most people of my ethnic society. But who knows, I think racist thoughts too sometimes"

"I really do think that we are still viewed for every mistake any white
The four participants in the study who identified as White indicated that they did not view themselves as having an ethnicity or an ethnic identity. Rather, they identified their ethnic group with a race based term. The results in Table 21 indicate that this group identifies as White or as American, but typically not as European American. The second largest selective category indicated that White Americans have privileges that other ethnic groups do not, they may feel entitled, they feel like the norm in America, and are predominant in American society. The third largest selective category indicated that White Americans may think that they have no culture or ethnicity and they may be unaware of their privilege. The fourth largest category indicated that White Americans may be held accountable for racism. The last category found indicated that White Americans may fear certain ethnic groups and they may fear losing power.

**African-American identity or Black American identity.** During the selective coding stage, previous codes and responses about African American or Black American identity or ethnicity were examined and integrated to form four major selective coding categories. Table 22
presents the selected categories that were formed from axial categories and open codes. Table 22 also presents associated memos that provide a brief explanation of the selected category. Sample responses are also provided.

Table 22

*The Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity for African-Americans or Black Americans by all Participants: Selective Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 2, 17, 28 through 31 and 38*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selective Categories</th>
<th>Codes from previous questions (Q #) and frequency of responses (f)</th>
<th>Associated Memos</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Misunderstood and Oppressed by Racism and Negative Stereotypes</td>
<td>Q 38 Feelings about past and present mistreatment or oppression (4), Q 38 experience racism (1), Q 29 oppressed (1), Q 31 oppressed (1)</td>
<td>Participants thought that African Americans are oppressed by the &quot;system&quot; or that racism is institutionalized</td>
<td>“They may feel that the system is against them” “I think African-Americans have to deal with years worth of social inequity. Not only from a educational and professional viewpoint but also in the way that they have been portrayed in the media” “African-American group members may think that they are being held down by society and by European Americans” “I feel blacks and Filipinos are oppressed and ignored. I feel misunderstood and disregarded when I think of both ethnicities within society” “I feel that we are underprivileged in many areas and that we get discriminated in this society everyday” “I feel like they know they are part of this country but they aren't always accepted the way they should be. Even though it's 2011 there is still racism” “But I mostly think that they believe society is not fair towards them, and I can see why” “They might feel somewhat bad about their membership because society has viewed them as lazy and good for nothing gang members who also steal”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | Q 38 Negative stereotypes (3), Q 31 feels sad about negative stereotypes (1), Q 30 controversial (1) and "scary and loud" (1), Q 30 dangerous or accepting (1) | African-Americans have negative stereotypes that present challenges to their life. They may be viewed as a threat to American society | "Of the ethnic minority groups, they seem to have the most media coverage from T.V. and movies, music, news, etc and I know a lot of African Americans who live everyday day of their lives just trying to deal with stereotypes connotations that are portrayed about them" "There are so many stereotypes against black people that many judge us and
look down on us” “African-American ethnic group members would feel like they are stereotyped as being criminals"

“Controversial (negatively). We are the group that is viewed as activists, impoverished, bad relationship partners, gangsters, thugs, and basically structured by the media’s interpretation of us” “I am saddened because how we are viewed negatively affects us. We are negatively stereotyped minority....and this affects how people treat us" "I think white people view blacks as scary and loud" “Depending on the situation I think blacks could be viewed as dangerous or accepting in either culture. White people many of the time are scared of people in my ethnic group”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slavery has lasting impacts that continue today in the form of racism and oppression</th>
<th>Q 38 Slavery and being cheated (3), Q 31 feels sad about his ethnicity (1)</th>
<th>African American or Black Americans may feel like they have been devalued since the days of slavery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Americans have made progress in America</td>
<td>Q 37 Proud of progress (1), Q 29 doing better than ever (1), Q 31 proud of progress (1), Q 37 membership is improving (1)</td>
<td>&quot;African-Americans have made a lot of progress since the days of the civil rights movements and they are proud of that&quot; “Blacks are doing better than I've ever seen us do&quot; &quot;Their membership to U.S. society is not exactly the way they want it yet, but it is getting closer&quot;</td>
</tr>
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</table>
African Americans are a distinct group of Americans. Q38 Separate group in America or different (2), Q30 different than Hispanics (1), Q29 diverse (1). African Americans may feel as if they are a separate group in America. There also exists much diversity within this ethnic or racial group.

“Historically, they’ve had a hard time. I’m sure there is sentiment in some but yeah - I guess we all need to work on coming together for a unified future so that no one has to feel any different about their US membership.”

“There’s a lot of ambiguity about their membership in US society, both in terms of its realness and its benefit for them, skepticism over what exactly it means and to what degree it's really available to them. Although I've also seen people who have taken it as far as they possibly can go and taken it on faith that they've got full membership, and they do, and they get far, from a capitalist, business-oriented standpoint”

"Generally I think that we get into conflicts with Hispanics because they relate themselves to Black people but there is a difference"

“We are also a diverse group of people, able to blend in to different situations and go above and beyond other’s expectations”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note. Not every response within a selective code is from a different participant. Some codes may have more than one response from the same participant.</th>
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</table>

Four participants identified as African-American or Black. These participants reported that their skin colors were dark, brown, and light-brown. No participant reported that their skin color is black. The largest selective category in Table 22 indicates that African Americans or Black Americans are thought to be misunderstood by other Americans and oppressed by racism and negative stereotypes. Some participants also expressed the view that slavery has had lasting impacts that continue today in the form of racism, discrimination, and oppression. The results also suggest that African Americans have made progress in America, and also that African Americans are a distinct group of Americans.

**Latino or Hispanic-American identity.** During the selective coding of responses that addressed Latino or Hispanic American identity or ethnicity, the researcher aggregated similar codes across question groups as was done for the previous two ethnic groups. Six selective
categories emerged from the comparative analysis. These selective categories, associated codes, sample responses and memos are presented in Table 23.

Table 23

*The Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity for Latino or Hispanic Americans by all Participants:*

*Selective Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 2, 17, 28 through 31 and 39*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selective Categories</th>
<th>Codes from previous questions (Q #) and frequency of responses (f)</th>
<th>Associated Memos</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latinos or Hispanic Americans have been targeted as an ethnic group in the past, especially for immigration purposes</td>
<td>Q 39 disrespected and discriminated against related to immigration (6), Q 31 felt like an outsider (1), Q 30 not fully understood (1), Q 30 people may not like their population growth (1), Q 39 experience racism (1)</td>
<td>There appeared to be a sense of &quot;struggle&quot; for this group, which has been viewed as foreigners, outsiders, and &quot;illegal immigrants&quot;. Hispanic Americans or Latino Americans have been a targeted ethnic group in America</td>
<td>“Recently, with the whole border/immigration issues, the Latino/Hispanic group has had to take the most flak from the media. We are pretty far from the border in WA but visiting Arizona last summer made me conscious of the struggles. Latinos might feel, and hopefully this isn’t true, that all white-Americans look at them as the “they took our jobs” stereotype and feel unwanted” “Latino or Hispanic-Americans may feel the most targeted because they are at the center of all these immigration and illegal immigration debates&quot; “I think they feel irritated because it seems to be acceptable to openly display racism towards them and they are not given the respect they deserve as people. The &quot;show me your papers&quot; law in Arizona would never be allowed if it were blacks. Hispanics are more disrespected” &quot;But overall I must say that at times I felt like an outsider because there weren't very many people of my race and ethnic background in my school...therefore I couldn't really relate to them when it came to my culture because they couldn't understand&quot; “Not sure, but I do know they have notice that the group is growing really fast and I don't think they like it&quot; “Same with Latinos. I feel that we are proud and are greatful of being here but a lot of the times we also experience racism and at times aren't treated equally”</td>
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</table>
| Latino or Hispanic Americans | Q 39 They are working hard to prove themselves in society (7) | Working hard may mean manual labor or effort in whatever work Latino or Hispanic Americans engage in | “Latinos who have recently moved to the U.S. may feel like they have a chance to make their lives better and are willing to work hard to achieve success”
“Life in US is hard work. Education is important or you would end up not much better than in other Latin American country. I think their ethnic group members feel that they need to work hard to achieve which is good mentality” |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Latinos or Hispanic Americans consist of a sizable proportion of the U.S. population | Q 39 They might feel increasingly important to society (4), Q 29 views this ethnic group as growing in size (1) | Latinos are becoming more integrated into American society | “Latinos might think that they are beginning to become the most important members of U.S. society”
“They probably feel and think well because they still feel comfortable around Americans because they had came from the same general area and expanded off widely through America”
“I think my ethnic group is growing and is growing really fast” |
| Latino and Hispanic Americans are grateful to be in America and they are proud of their ethnic group's progress | Q 39 Proud to be in America (1), Q 31 proud of ethnicity (1), Q 29 proud of progress (1) | Proud to be in America and of their ethnicity and background and they state that Latinos will continue to "improve their status" | “Same with Latinos. I feel that we are proud and are greatful of being here”
“I am proud of being who I am. I love meeting people that are of my race and have the same backgrounds as me. I feel like we stand stronger together. Or even with any minority”
“I feel like Mexican Americans have come a long way and will improve their status because of education opportunities provided” |
Assimilation into American society by Latino or Hispanic Americans is possible for some Latinos or Hispanic Americans. Q 29 He feels that he is a good representation of his ethnic group (1), Q 31 distinguishes himself as a "Mexican American individual" and he does not feel stigmatized because of his race (1) (participant is a light skinned Latino with green eyes and brown hair), Q 37 assimilation into American society (1) There is variation in the extent to which individuals who identify as Latino or Hispanic American feel the effects of racism. Some Latinos may not experience much racism, while others may "I feel that I have maintained my group’s status within the larger society pretty good” "I identify my self as a Mexican American individual that is persuing his dreams to become an FBI gent. I consider my self very lucky to be able to get my education and not have to be stigmatized because of my race” "I feel like my actions [and] not my ethnicity will show others that ethnicity does not matter” “There's usually some overlap in this group with individuals who identify as Indigenous to the American continent, particularly the US and Mexico, and that tends to have its own implications that, in my experience, range from amused dismissal to rage at cultural genocide. But I've also met individuals who identify as "gringos born in Mexico" whose parents encourage them to have "some pride" in their ethnic/cultural backgrounds, speak Spanish with their parents, and so forth. I've seen various levels of politicization, from Chicana-identified individuals to the aforementioned foregoing of ethnic identity. There is, however, generally some tension when relating oneself to what is perceived to be a mainstream populated overwhelmingly by European-Americans; a mainstream that is, in perception, dominated by them. The response I've seen and heard of runs the gamut from complete assimilation into US mainstream society to skeptical reluctance to outright refusal”

Latino or Hispanic Americans are attributed with negative stereotypes Q 39 They have similar negative stereotypes as African Americans (1), Q 30 negative stereotypes (1) Latino or Hispanic Americans have been attributed with negative stereotypes by American society "There was always the stereotype back then that all the Mexicans were gangsters" "[B]ecause of being Mexican some people think that I am here to take their jobs. Other is the stereotype that Mexican women don’t work and I'm the opposite I'm a hard worker and I like to travel to know the world” “Latino Americans have been classified with the same stereotypes as African Americans; they have been considered lazy and thuggish and thieves; so I don’t think they like their membership in society”

Note. Not every response within a selective code is from a different participant. Some codes may have more than one response from the same participant.
The four Latinos in this study reported that their skin colors are light brown and light tan. One Hispanic American participant whose parents emigrated from Mexico wrote that he identifies with Hispanic Americans and White Americans. This Hispanic American is a light-skinned Latino. He reported that “In high school I seemed to have separated myself a bit from the Hispanic group and [moved] more towards the white Americans at school” and that “there are many different ethnic groups on campus but I think that I relate more to white American’s”. The other Latino male said “I consider myself very lucky to be able to get my education and not have to be stigmatized because of my race.” This participant reported having light tan skin, green eyes, and brown hair. All Latino or Hispanic participants spoke both English and Spanish and all of their parents were born in Mexico.

Of the six selective categories found for questions and responses regarding Latino or Hispanic American ethnicity, ten participants indicated that Latinos or Hispanic Americans have been targeted as an ethnic group in the past, especially for immigration purposes. The second largest category with seven participants suggested that Latino or Hispanic Americans are seen as an integral part of the labor force in American society. The third largest category with five participant responses suggests that Latinos or Hispanic Americans are viewed as comprising a sizable proportion of the U.S. population. The fourth largest category with three participant responses refers to Latino and Hispanic Americans gratitude to be in America and that they are proud of the progress their ethnic group has made thus far. The fifth largest category with three participant responses indicates that assimilation into American society is seen as occurring for some Latino or Hispanic Americans. The last selective category contains two responses from participants who believe that Latino or Hispanic Americans are attributed with negative stereotypes.
Asian-American identity. The researcher examined all of the codes and categories regarding Asian American identity or ethnicity and selected the axial categories, open codes, and responses that were related across question groups and created the selective categories that are presented in Table 24. Memos and sample responses are used to elaborate on the codes in question.

Table 24

The Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity for Asian-Americans by all Participants: Selective Codes and Sample Responses for Questions 2, 17, 28 through 31 and 40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selective Categories</th>
<th>Codes from previous questions (Q #) and frequency of responses (f)</th>
<th>Associated Memos</th>
<th>Sample Responses (meaning units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Asians in America are likely to have their "share" of membership problems and may not feel "truly American" | Q 40 They have their share of membership problems and may not feel "truly American" (4), Q 29 the Asian ethnic group as being different from Americans (1), Q 29 Asians may not feel accepted by Americans (1), Q 31 an Asian participant felt that Asians were "different" and "hated Asians" when he was younger (1), Q 40 they have experienced mistreatment (2) | Asian Americans do experience feeling different than other Americans and one participant who identified as Asian reported that she did not feel "truly American". Another Asian participant makes a distinction between his acculturation level and that of Chinese international students | “I feel like, in general, there's more positivity towards membership in US society, at least to the fullest extent that they feel they can have it, though I don't know why there would be [any problems with their membership]. Personally, I've heard less ambiguity coming out of this group, although it seems more than likely that they've got their fair share of it as well” “Asian-American ethnic group members would feel like they are very different from the U.S. society because their culture is very unique. The reason is because many Asian-American ethnic groups have a culture that is old and not up to date” “Asian-American's have often been scapegoated as the model minority, being given a less undesirable reputation than say African Americans or Chicano/a, Latino/as" "I think Filipinos feel ignored and not truly American. We feel like members of the Philippines who work in America. For most Asians born here, I believe they and we feel we are not included in topics of race relations and assume it refers to only blacks, whites, and Latinos” “I view my ethic group to be a little different still. It's hard for me to compare because many of the students from China at WSU are international students. I pretty much grew up in the states so we share very different
I hated Chinese accents. I think members of other ethnic groups have a hard time accepting them [i.e., Asian Americans] because they have a different culture. I think my ethnic group within society has trouble being patient and giving those who don't accept them (Caucasians) time. White people have been cruel to Asians in the past as well. Same goes for Asian Americans. I feel that [they] are proud and are grateful of being here but a lot of the times [they] also experience racism and at times aren't treated equally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Stereotypes of Asian Americans</th>
<th>Q 40 Asians have positive stereotypes (6), Q 30 not bothered by Asian stereotypes (1)</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Compared to other ethnic groups, Asian Americans may be associated with more "positive ideas" than other ethnic groups. Positive stereotypes such as being intelligent, and "funny" stereotypes, such as being "bad drivers" | Asian Americans play a very important role in this society. Society has classified Asian Americans as very smart and good with numbers so they give them the better jobs such as accounting and other mathematical positions. I believe they are happy with their citizenship but hate the fact that they live up to a stereotype.

Asian-American's have often been scapegoated as the model minority. I guess it's to their advantage considering they constitute a greater population in U.S. Universities and professions than many of the other minority groups.

If they are an Asian-American (born in the U.S.) they may feel more accepted in the society. They are viewed as hardworking, intelligent people. Studies have shown that Asian-American men can average salaries greater than all other ethnic groups. Though they may face some stereotypes, they are not enough to counter the positive ideas.

Stereotypes exist. Whether it be Whites, Blacks, Asians etc. They are very common and people always refer back to stereotypes. It's both funny and sometimes true. Other ethnic groups probably assume all Asians are good at math and are bad drivers. I am not bothered by stereotypes.
Asian Americans may not "branch out" and they may "stick together" with their own ethnic group. Q 40 Asian Americans stay together for support (2), Q 31 feels like a "minority" at a predominantly "Caucasian" university (1), Q 29 Asian Americans stay together (2), Q 40 They may not be aware of racial problems in America (2), Q 30 others view Asians as individuals with personalities before judging them by their appearance (1).

There appears to be a collective ethos in Asian culture in American society. "I think they feel they are vulnerable that’s why they always hang out in large groups. What I see wrong in this is that if you are in America, you need to intermingle with other American students, not sit in groups and speak your own language" "They may fear the U.S. society's thoughts about them which is why they stay in groups and continue living like their old culture in groups as well" "Washington State University is very different that Hawai'i. That's for sure. For once, I understand the concept of being a minority" "Caucasians are more predominant" "A pretty good group because most of us stick together (ex. high school friends)" "I would view my ethnic group as being small within the larger society. There are few of them and it seems to me that they stick together and do not branch out often. I don't know why but it may be because they fear separation from their ethnic groups or they fear that they won't be accepted by those outside of their ethnic group”

Some Asian Americans may not be aware of racism. Some Asians may not experience much racism in America. "Asians may feel that this country is amazing and may be completely oblivious to the underlying problems of America” “It was once hard to get across the border line from Asia to America but Americans do not judge Asians so they feel and think the US society is a great place to stay compared to Asia with strict schools and etc.” “We view about the same, seeing everyone as a whole and understanding their personality first before judging them by their cover”

Note. Not every response within a selective code is from a different participant. Some codes may have more than one response from the same participant.

One of the four Asian participants reported that his skin tone is brown and another said her skin tone was light brown, while two Asian participants reported that their skin tone is light tan. Overall, there were four selective categories found for Asian Americans in this study. The largest selective category with nine participants' responses indicated that Asians are seen as having their "share" of membership problems in American society. The second largest category with seven participants' responses indicated that Asian Americans are attributed with some
positive stereotypes. The third largest selective category with five categories referred to Asian Americans not "branching out" and "sticking together" within their own ethnic group, indicating that they are a collective group. The fourth selective category with three participants' responses referred to some Asian Americans not being aware of or experiencing racism.

Summary

The final step in a grounded theory approach is to define one or more core categories that (a) underlie or link salient categories from the selective coding and (b) provide the foundation for a data-driven theory of their interrelationships. Based on the selective coding the researcher proposes a single core category labeled 'differential use of race and nationality terms as labels of ethnicity'. It is common in grounded theory studies not to integrate all the categories that are created during open and axial coding. Rather, the researcher integrated only the most central categories during the selective coding process to provide a parsimonious theory, explanation, and description of the qualitative data around the central constructs of ethnicity and ethnic identity (and race). In particular, the researcher did not include in the selective coding most of the axial categories and open codes derived from the questions on personal identity, socioeconomic status, social identity, activities and behaviors, and dress and music because these codes and categories were not found to be systematically related to the core categories of ethnicity, ethnic identity, and inter-ethnic group relations.

Core category: The differential use of race and nationality terms as labels of ethnicity. To illustrate differential use of the terms used to label ethnicity, only one group of Americans in this study (i.e., White Americans) appeared to be defined primarily by their race or by their light physical characteristics. This group also was identified as Caucasian. However, participants did not use the counterpart terms to Caucasian (e.g., "Negroid") in reference to
African Americans or Black Americans. Racial identification appears to be a very strong aspect of White American ethnicity. Furthermore, participants (including White Americans) reported that White Americans are not believed to have an ethnicity and culture. Moreover, White American participants did not strongly identify with their European American heritage. No White American participants identified as European American. This may be because they feel that they have little to no cultural ties to the European cultures from which they came several generations ago. For instance, one participant wrote: "Again, as a white person from a mainstream family, I don't have strong cultural traditions or awareness of my ethnic background". Another participant wrote: "My identifying with being Irish is not very serious, though. It's just a way to justify my being pale and having red hair, mostly." Furthermore, if nationality was used in reference to "White people" it appeared that participants referred to this group as simply American. One White American participant reported that he was an "American-American". This suggests that the people that are identified as being just American were White Americans. This implies that groups other than White Americans may not be considered to be simply American. Moreover, no other group defined their ethnicity without using the nationality terms of the countries from which they or their families "originated" from. This may be considered one indicator of White privilege.

African Americans or Black Americans appeared to be identified in terms of racial affiliation and nationality or country of origin, such as Black and African American. Black is a term that refers to what some believe to be the social construction of race. African American is a term that denotes having a heritage from people that originated in Africa. However, no participants referred to African Americans or Black Americans as just Africans, which is in contrast to members of other ethnic groups who identified or were identified as being only from
another country even though they are citizens in America. It is argued that racial and ethnic
terminology is not applied equally across ethnic groups in America, which begs the questions
why Americans from European countries are not referred to as European Americans and why
Black Americans are referred to as African Americans. It appears that White Americans can be
labeled just American, while Black Americans (even though many have been in America for
many generations) are labeled according to the continent from which they originated from (i.e.,
Africa) in addition to being American (i.e., African-American).

The next ethnic group was identified according to three alternative kinds of ethnic
identifications: (a) a pan-ethnic grouping, that is, Hispanic or Latino; (b) according to specific
nationalities (e.g., Puerto Rican); and (c) identification with the White race. The term Hispanic
means someone of Spanish-speaking ancestry or heritage. Yet no participants or their parents
identified as being immigrants from Spain. The term Latino is commonly used to refer to
individuals and groups that migrated from Latin America to the U.S., who may also speak a
language derived from Latin (e.g., Spanish). The term Latino means Latin in English. However,
the term Latino is different than most of the other ethnic labels in that it is not in English. Rather
the term Latino (short for Latinoamericano) is an American Spanish word. To be equal with the
terms 'African American' or 'European American', Americans from Latin American countries
could be called 'Latin Americans'. Furthermore, no participants wrote the word 'American' after
the terms Hispanic or Latino (e.g., 'Hispanic American'). While African Americans were not
reportedly called simply African, Hispanics or Latinos were identified according to the country
from which they emigrated (e.g., Dominican), and White Americans were just called American,
which does not refer to a country or continent of origin. This data indicates that there is a
labeling discrepancy across ethnic groups in America.
A self identified Asian participant reported that she did not feel a part of race relations because she thought that race applied only to Blacks and Whites. The term Asian appeared to be the most used ethnic term in the study, while the term "Asian American" was used three times in the study and Filipino American was used once. That is, as in the labeling of Hispanics and Latinos, the majority of the labels or ethnic terms that were categorized within the Asian group did not use the term American after the ethnic term or label. Asian is another 'pan-ethnic' term that classifies participants or others that originated from the Asian continent. Asians were also identified according to nationality, including Filipino, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Japanese. It is evident that the classification system of race, ethnicity, and nationality in America has been confused and unequally applied.

In summary, in this section I provided some justification for the selected core category in my grounded theory. A figural representation encompassing the core category and the associated selective coding categories is presented in chapter 5.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

In the literature review, I began by reporting on the dearth of studies that have used a qualitative (and inductive) methodology in the assessment of the self-concept and identity. I reviewed several qualitative methods (i.e., inductive and deductive narrative research, phenomenological research, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study)—and studies that used such methods—in the assessment of self-concept and multiple aspects of identity. After reviewing literature in this area, I chose to use a grounded theory approach. I constructed a 40-item questionnaire in a narrative (open-ended) format that assessed various aspects of self and identity, including racial/ethnic identity, and invited a diverse sample of undergraduate students to participate in the study.

The goals of this research were to (a) assess multiple aspects of identity, especially ethnic and racial identity, of a heterogeneous sample that identified according to various ethnic and racial identities, (b) compare and contrast the results within a multicultural framework, and (c) devise a grounded theory based on the data. I qualitatively analyzed the data and classified how participants described and defined these ethnic and racial terms in their own life (e.g., Latino and Black). This study was largely inductive and exploratory in nature and it aimed to define and describe ethnic identity within a narrative format. Accordingly, I formulated a priori research questions, but no preliminary hypotheses prior to analyzing the data.

Five research questions helped direct the focus of the study. The first four research questions were descriptive in nature and they aimed to assess the following concepts or constructs: Personal identity; ethnicity, ethnic identity and ethnic group membership in American
society (including racial identity); the ethnicity of the people participants were friends with and surrounded by; and participants' views of the multicultural relationships among individuals within their communities. The fifth research question examined the relationships among the responses, open codes, and axial categories found for research questions one through four. That is, how were the constructs of identity, including ethnic identity, friends' ethnicities, and the ethnicities of the people participants grew up around related to perceptions of inter-ethnic group relations among White, Black, Latino/Hispanic and Asian Americans in society? I found that only the open codes and axial categories found within research questions (RQ) 2 and 3 were related to RQ 4. Thus, the goal of the grounded theory analysis was to integrate the codes and categories found for RQs 2, 3, and 4 to form a coherent whole that was unified by a core category. The core category was identified as something that participants shared in common; that is, a discrepancy in how members of different ethnic groups were labeled according to race and ethnicity. This research was conducted to learn more about how people define themselves and their identities according to ethnic (and racial) terms, and also to learn about how these concepts and constructs are defined in society.

Summary of Findings

Given that the core category emerged as the most essential construct within this study and was related to most other codes and categories, the summary of findings will be based on the key results in the selective coding.

Core Category: The Differential Use of Race and Nationality Terms as Labels of Ethnicity

The core category describes how the ethnic and racial classification system appears to work among diverse college students in the Northwest. The core category asserts that ethnic and racial labels are applied in an inconsistent and imbalanced manner across the four largest racial
and ethnic groups in the U.S. That is, some people are labeled according to race, but not ethnicity, while others are labeled according to both, and still others are labeled according only to ethnicity. Furthermore, ethnicity was largely based on nationality terms and racial terms were not provided for all of the ethnic groups. Next I describe how ethnic and racial terms were used across ethnic groups.

**White Americans.** This ethnic group defined themselves and was defined by participants primarily as White. This group primarily identified their ethnicity according to race. In other words, this group was found to identify most strongly with people who share a certain range of similar physical characteristics. Additionally, White Americans in this study did not appear to identify as European American or with European cultures. Furthermore, White Americans reported that they did not have an ethnicity. This indicates that there was not much of a conception of ethnicity among White-skinned participants who identified primarily with a perceived race. White American participants were the only group that did not identify with their country of origin. This is one of the major discrepancies in the labeling scheme found in this study. If an ethnicity or nationality term was identified with White persons, it was simply American. But the term 'American', by itself, appeared in this study only a few times as an apparent reference to ethnicity.

**Black or African Americans.** This ethnic group was labeled largely according to race (i.e., Black) or continent of origin (i.e., African American). Participants from this group identified their skin tones as light brown, brown, and dark. Furthermore, participants labeled this group Black about half of the time and African-American about half the time. Similar to White Americans, this group was labeled according to racial terms. The term “American” was more often used as a label for this group than for the three other ethnic groups, but it was always used
in combination with the term African (i.e., African American). The term African-American connotes historical roots that trace back to Africa.

**Latino or Hispanic Americans.** Typically, participants referred to persons within this group as Hispanic, which is a term that refers to Spain or to a Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking culture. Most Hispanics in the U.S., however, have Mexican ethnic backgrounds, which was the second most reported ethnic or nationality term used in this study for this group after Hispanic. No participants in this study were reportedly from Spain (only the grandfather of one participant was from Spain). Latino was another pan-ethnic label used by participants, which can refer to people who come from a Latin American country (e.g., Mexico, Brazil, and Cuba). The term Latino, however, was not a frequently used term by participants. It is also noteworthy that the Spanish language term Latino is used (rather than an English language term such as Latin American). Additionally, while African Americans were not reportedly labeled as simply African, Hispanics or Latinos in this study were frequently identified using only those two terms or the country from which they or their parents emigrated (e.g., Mexico). The term Mexican American was used much less often. Latinos or Hispanics in this study reported varying physical characteristics including light tan, light brown and brown skin tones.

**Asian Americans.** A self-identified Asian participant reported that she did not feel a part of race relations because she thought that race applied only to Blacks and Whites. Asian participants identified their skin tones as light tan, tan, and brown. Participants most frequently identified this group according to a pan-ethnic label—Asian—that encompasses many different national heritages. Participants also identified members of this group according to specific nationalities. That is, similar to the labeling found for Hispanics and Latinos, most participants reported either a pan-ethnic term (i.e., Asian) or a specific Asian nationality term (e.g., Filipino,
Chinese, and Vietnamese) to describe their ethnicity. The term Asian American was very infrequently used.

**Comparison of Ethnic or Racial Groups in Society**

In addition to differential labeling, the four ethnic groups differed in other ways according to participants. White Americans were reported to be the most privileged, entitled, or normative group. They were also reported to not be fully aware of their privilege or culture. Finally, they were held accountable for racism and found to demonstrate 'White Fear' or xenophobia. Black or African Americans were reportedly oppressed, negatively stereotyped, and sad about their treatment since slavery, yet Black Americans were also reportedly making progress in America. Hispanics or Latinos were reportedly a targeted ethnic group, especially for immigration purposes. Latinos and Hispanics were also reported to be hard workers and to consist of a sizable proportion of the U.S. population. Asians reported feeling not truly American and not fully accepted. At the same time, they were attributed with some positive stereotypes and they were found to have a strong sense of collective identity. Figure 1 depicts the core category and the four ethnic groups in this study.
Figure 1. Diagram of the core category and the selective coding of ethnicity and race in American society. The core category has explanatory power to differentiate between the different ethnic and/or racial groups and their membership in (U.S.) American culture.
Interpretation of Findings. As noted earlier, White persons were the only ethnic group in this study that did not strongly identify with a country of origin reflecting their immigration heritage. In addition, they rarely identified as simply American. In contrast, all non-White ethnic groups identified or were labeled according to a continent or country of origin. As previously documented in the literature (McDermott & Samson, 2005), White participants denied having an ethnicity and any real ties to a European background, culture, or heritage. The limited ethnic identification of Whites may be due to a variety of reasons. First, people who identify as White may think they have no ethnicity because they do not see cultural differences between themselves and other people who identify as White. They may think that people who are different from "White people" are the ones who have ethnicity and culture. Second, there may be no consensus ethnic term(s) for those identifying as White in society—except perhaps American. Third, it is possible that White is both a label for race and ethnicity in the U.S. In the present study, the term American appeared to be the closest term related to the ethnicity of "White people". However, the term American may refer more to nationality than ethnicity for individuals who identify as White because they reported that they did not have an ethnicity. Finally, the term ethnicity may be less familiar than race to my participants and perhaps to other Americans. In short, there may be no one term to define the ethnic culture of 'Whiteness' or the culture associated with White racial identity (McDermott & Samson). If there is not a clear ethnic label for persons identified as White, does this mean that White American culture and ethnicity does not exist? In answer to this question, Doane (1997) stated that:

[T]here is no such thing as "non-ethnicity," even though it has been popular to view the dominant group in the United States as lacking any ethnic affiliation. Instead, what exists
is a phenomenon best described as hidden ethnicity—the lack of awareness of an ethnic identity that is not normally asserted in intergroup interaction. (p. 378)

The lack of a clear label for "White ethnicity" may be a reason for its apparent “hiddenness.”

It also appears that generational status may have an inconsistent role in the labeling of ethnic or racial groups in the United States. It is plausible that those identifying as White and American today once identified with a European country. However, after several generations in the U.S. they may have assimilated into American culture or became 'Americanized' to the point where they no longer identify with their countries of origin (i.e., they became just American) (McDermott & Samson, 2005; Oppenheimer, 2001). In this study, none of the White American participants were immigrants, nor were their parents, which may be a reason why they did not identify with any European cultures. In contrast, the hypothesis that an ethnic group loses its identification with the country of origin after several generations in a country does not seem to be applied to African Americans. They are not just labeled Americans when referring to ethnic identity, despite having been in the U.S. for many generations. However, more recent immigrants from African nations may be more likely to refer to themselves as Nigerian, for example, rather than African American. Retention of the African American label—at least for African Americans who are not recent immigrants, like the participants in my sample—may be because of the salience given to race and the divisions between races in America. In contrast, Hispanics and Asians are the most recent immigrants to the U.S., which may contribute to why these two groups were most often labeled by the nationalities (and cultures) of the countries from which they or their family emigrated. In addition, these two groups were also very likely to speak a language other than English, which may be why they have closer connections to their ethnic cultural backgrounds, as compared to those identified as White and Black in America. This may
also be related to why the ethnicities of Hispanics and Asians were much less frequently defined as American, as compared to Black and White Americans. Weisskirch (2005) conducted a study with college students and found similar results. Asian Americans and Latinos had the highest levels of ethnic identity and did not see themselves as being "typical Americans," as compared to other ethnic groups. Similarly, French, Coleman, and DiLorenzo (2013) found that "ethnic and national origins may be more salient for Asian Americans, as well as Latino Americans" (p. 31).

Conclusions

The labeling system found in this study can be viewed as inconsistent in that not all groups were labeled according to race and ethnicity. Race was only ascribed to two of the groups, and ethnicity was ascribed to three groups. This may suggest that not all groups are commonly thought to have race and ethnicity. Alternatively, there might not be a common ethnic and racial term for every group. Based on these results, I draw and discuss several conclusions.

Current racial categories, which are social not biological constructs, appear to be insufficient as markers of genetic identity. In this study, I do not equate nationality with race, although it is common for people in society and institutions to do so. Further, racial identity in America appears to be largely dichotomous (i.e., either Black or White). It appeared that Latinos, Hispanics and Asians were more strongly identified with ethnicity rather than race. No racial terms were associated with Latinos/Hispanics or Asians. Thus, the dichotomous racial categories of Black and White may not be fully applicable to Latinos, Hispanics, or Asians. Consistent with this interpretation, Smith, Woo, and Austin (2010) found that while the White racial category may technically apply to light skinned Hispanics (and Asians), not all Hispanics (and Asians) identify with the White race more than with their ethnicity. Similarly, Vaquera and Kao (2006) found that the term Hispanic may be a more meaningful racial term than the options Black,
White, or "other," assuming that it is deemed relevant to assess race. These findings suggest that the racial labeling system found in this study may not be inclusive enough to categorize two of the largest ethnic groups in the U.S. Indeed, in the 2010 Census, only about half of all those identifying as Latino or Hispanic identified with the White race, while about one-third provided responses that were classified as "some other race", and six percent identified with two or more of the options given for race (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2011). Similar to what was found in my study, about half of all Latinos or Hispanics may be of the "White race," or have light skin, but this does not necessarily mean that they endorse a White racial identity. These statistics indicate that the racial classification patterns found in this study may not be optimal for people of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity (Smith et al.; Vaquera & Kao). In the 2010 census, this was less of an issue for other racial groups who were assigned a race based on their nationality (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2011).

Aside from the lack of inclusiveness of existing racial labels for U.S. ethnic minority groups, the very concept of race has been called into question. Although Kwan (2004) noted that "visible characteristics loosely defined as race continue to be used to classify the U.S. population" (p. 120), race is not scientifically based on genetic affinities because genes are not measured. Rather physical characteristics appear to provide the basis for racial classifications. Indeed, race appears to be a misnomer because racial groups do not exist as a subspecies of humans as it was originally thought (Markus, 2008; McDermott & Samson, 2005). Markus noted that race and ethnicity as biological attributes have "considerable historical precedent but little empirical support," but they nevertheless invisibly scaffold "most conversations on race and ethnicity, driving much of psychology’s—and Americans’—confusion and ambivalence about these phenomena" (p. 655). Race is a social construction, not a scientific concept. As Markus
(2008) and Nobles (1986) have noted, the concept of race is associated with false genetic underpinnings, the discredited field of eugenics, and scientific falsification and misconduct. Jablonski (2004) stated that "[d]arkly or lightly pigmented skin, therefore, provides evidence only about the nature of the past environments in which people have lived, rendering skin pigmentation useless as a marker for membership in a unique group or "race" (p. 615). Based on the available evidence, Jablonski argues that the concept of biological race be abandoned and publicly disavowed. “Race thus emerges as a cultural construct devoid of explanatory power and destructive of human and social relations" (Jablonski, p. 615).

**Ethnicity among (U.S.) Americans appears to be unclearly defined.** For example, for persons identified as White, ethnicity was very weakly identified as American or "American-American” and participants identifying as White denied having an ethnicity. Together, these findings suggest some confusion about what ethnicity is, and how to define it, for the majority of Americans. At the institutional level, there were only two options in the 2010 U.S. census for ethnicity, Hispanic/Latino or neither Hispanic or Latino. This also suggests a weak or unclear conception of ethnicity in American culture. The 2010 U.S. census lists several countries or nationalities as proxies for race. However, although racial identity may have some overlap with ethnicity, racial identity is not determined by ethnicity or nationality.

**Differential ethnic labeling may adversely imply that members of some ethnic groups are more “American” than others.** There appears to be inequality in how non-White Americans are labeled according to ethnicity. That is, the ethnic labeling system may be biased in suggesting who is “truly American.” For instance, White-skinned persons were only labeled as Americans. In contrast, Black Americans were identified as being more than just American (i.e., African Americans), and Hispanics and Asians were identified or labeled as something other
than simply “American” (e.g., Mexican or Filipino). This raises the question of whether differential labels can lead to the view among some members of U.S. society that members of these other ethnic groups are somehow less “American” than White Americans. Generational status in the U.S. may explain why Hispanics, Latinos, or Asians were referred to as something other than simply American. However, race and not generation status is likely a reason why Black Americans are also called African Americans. Indeed, Doane (1997) endorsed the above concern, noting that in U.S. society "American = Anglo American or European American" (p. 379). In this view, not being considered simply American or having an ethnicity other than American is related to being viewed as foreign. Yet, many ethnic minority individuals take pride in their ethnic group and their diversity and therefore would prefer to retain the different labels, rather than being considered simply American.

**The inconsistent and interchangeable use of race and ethnicity is confusing and confounds these constructs.** Race and ethnicity were used interchangeably by the participants in this study. For example, White race was used in place of ethnicity, perhaps because there is no commonly used ethnic term besides American (or the infrequently used European American) to define the ethnicity of persons identified as White. In parallel fashion, at the institutional level, the U.S. census also mixes ethnicity with race. Kwan (2004) states that "[t]he ambiguous relationship of race and ethnicity is further illustrated by their applications in the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000" (p. 116). For example, Chinese, Japanese, and Native Hawaiian are all categories listed for race. Equating race with nationality would result in innumerable "races". Using racial terms as ethnicity and ethnic terms as race is confusing and problematic. Indeed, Cokley (2007) indicated that "[t]he inconsistent and interchangeable use of ethnicity and race, and ethnic and racial identity, prohibits researchers from identifying psychological mechanisms
that differentiate and distinguish the constructs from each other" (p. 225). It appears to be essential that these terms and associated constructs be distinguished from one another.

Smith, Woo, and Austin (2010) explored what ethnically diverse adolescents thought about an ethnic and racial classification system similar to the one that was used in this study and in the U.S. census. The researchers concluded that:

[A]lthough racial and ethnic classification systems similar to those used in this study are widely used in the USA and are seen by many health researchers as standard, uncomplicated assessments of race and ethnicity, considerable confusion and misinterpretation can arise from their use. (p. 632)

Furthermore, Smith et al. reported that "racial/ethnic group choices that are commonly provided on survey assessments are not up-to-date with current immigration trends" and "[p]articipants’ responses underscore the need for careful review and modification of race/ethnic identification survey questions" (p. 632 and 633).

One important contribution of the current study is that it elicited labels for ethnicity and race with lay participants from diverse ethnic and racial groups and exposed the discrepancies in how people are classified according to race and ethnicity. Markus (2008) states that "[a]lthough research studies repeatedly show that race and ethnicity are not biologically based, they do not suggest better ways to talk about the apparently racial and ethnic differences that are everywhere in plain sight" (p. 657). In the next section I will consider alternative ways to talk about race and ethnicity.
Implications

The results have implications for how race and ethnicity are conceptualized, talked about in society, assessed, and used in practice and research. Research indicates that classification systems for race and ethnicity that are commonly used by lay persons and institutions are deficient and several researchers have called for a new taxonomy. Moscou (2008) stated that:

Racial classifications have a long history of negative social consequences for those identified as non-white (segregation, economic deprivation, racism and inequality), are without biological merit and provide inconsequential information. Little is accomplished by using these classifications other than legitimizing unscientific categories ‘full of evil social import’; therefore, some have suggested it is time to abandon racial variables. . . .

Given that the collection of racial and ethnic data will continue, a paradigmatic shift in the knowledge production of race and ethnicity is needed. (p. 102)

Oppenheimer (2001) indicated, however, that deletion of race as a category might have negative consequences:

[S]ubstituting ethnic group for race may have deleterious social effects. Studies of race and racism often tend to focus attention on forces like poverty, poor access to health care, and the distribution of environmental sources of pollution. They raise the issue of discrimination and prejudice. Would the excision of race as a category of analysis tend to blind researchers and their audiences to the existence and consequences of racism, including its impact on health? (p. 1053)

Indeed, if race was discarded completely it could lead to color-blindness, which refers to the belief that race should not matter and does not matter, and the denial that racism exists (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). In any case, if racial categories are to be replaced, or
modified, the replacement should not avert attention from the problem of racism, which is based largely on physical characteristics, most prominently skin tone or color (Kwan, 2004). Given this concern, Oppenheimer offered an alternative approach:

As racialization and race remain powerful ideologic factors, they will persist, at least into the near future, affecting any alternative taxonomic term. Instead of denying the force of these categories, it might be wiser to retain “race” while recognizing “ethnic group” as a separate set of population categories that overlap with race but, when properly used, differ from it. (p. 1053-1054)

Oppenheimer suggested that race be retained and that in addition, ethnicity be assessed separately. This might decrease or resolve the confusion associated with these constructs. To achieve a mutually exclusive taxonomy of race and ethnicity it may require an expansion of the classification system used by participants in this study and those used in the U.S. Census. Such an approach could require modifying or expanding racial and ethnic constructs so that they are applicable to all people and so that people can select both a "race" and an ethnicity.

Implications for Assessment of Race and Ethnicity

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2011):

The U.S. Census Bureau collects race and Hispanic origin information following the guidance of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) 1997 Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity. These federal standards mandate that race and Hispanic origin (ethnicity) are separated and distinct concepts and that when collecting these data via self-identification, two different questions must be used. (p. 2)
Moreover, Smith et al. 2010 stated that "US federal rules currently dictate separate classification of race and ethnicity and require scientists receiving federal research funding to submit reports to the government on the demographics of study participants according to federally defined racial and ethnic categories" (2010, p. 623).

As noted above, the original concept of race has been found to be problematic and lack scientific validity (e.g., it is largely a social construction). On the other hand, eliminating some concept or assessment of racial differences could encourage color-blindness. As suggested by Oppenheimer (2001), it would be desirable to be able to assess "race" (and ethnicity) in a way that involves mutually exclusive categories of race and ethnicity. This might help clarify the confusion among racial and ethnic terms found in this study and in society. Alternative methods of assessment could be used to modify existing counseling paperwork or demographic questionnaires in mental health centers. The results and outcome of this grounded theory analysis can also be applied to the U.S. Census.

**Race.** Of course, one option would be to continue to assess race and ethnicity as currently done in the U.S. census. As noted previously, this approach has problems, but respondents may have nonetheless adapted to this assessment to some extent. Another approach would be to apply the nationality terms currently used to assess race to also separately assess ethnicity (see discussion of ethnicity assessment below). A third possibility—although perhaps more controversial and not without its own problems—would be to provide mutually exclusive assessment of race by assessing skin tone. As noted previously, one problem with the current ethnic and racial labeling system is that the construct of race was used dichotomously and was not inclusive enough. Race as a social construction largely refers to skin tone or color (i.e., Black and White). Thus, an alternative way to assess race would be to expand the assessment of “race”
to be inclusive of other skin tones or types besides Black and White. For example, Fitzpatrick (1988) created a skin typology based on a history of sunburn and suntan experience to estimate skin tolerance to ultraviolet light. Six types of skin were delineated by Fitzpatrick based on how a person has historically reacted to 45 to 60 minutes of sun exposure. According to this classification by Fitzpatrick, after 45 to 60 minutes of sun exposure: skin type I always sunburns and does not tan (e.g., fair skin); skin type II also always sunburns, but minimally tans (e.g., fair skin); skin type III becomes slightly sunburned and moderately tan (e.g., medium white or beige skin); skin type IV does not sunburn and achieves a marked tan (e.g., olive or light brown skin); skin type V does not sunburn and tans profusely (e.g., medium brown skin); and skin type VI does not sunburn and tans profusely (e.g., dark brown or black skin). Jablonski (2004) noted that:

The erythema response or sunburn reaction is related to constitutive skin color: Dark-skinned individuals can tolerate longer sun exposure than light-skinned individuals can. The skin of individuals with dark constitutive pigmentation exhibits a sun protection factor (SPF) of 10-15, whereas that of moderately pigmented people (e.g., from the circum-Mediterranean) achieves an SPF of only 2.5. (p. 593)

Respondents could estimate their skin type based on their history of sunburn and suntan experience using Fitzpatrick's skin types. Researchers could use the percentages of skin types to describe their sample. Perhaps arguing in favor of assessment of skin tone is the fact that skin tone has been shown to have a strong impact on socioeconomic status, quality of life, and social relationships—that is, it may be a good indicator of the actual impact of “race” in our society (Bowman, Muhammad, & Ifatunji, 2004; Hunter, 2005). Of course, race is much more than someone's skin color. In addition, as noted above, assessing skin type or color in whatever context (e.g., in counseling, in the census) might be controversial and respondents could find
such questions insensitive or objectionable. In any case, this discussion points to the considerable difficulty in replacing the concept and assessment of race with alternatives, even though it may be desirable to do so.

**Nationality and ethnicity.** I propose that race or physical characteristics not be used as proxies for nationality or ethnicity. Nationality has a different meaning than ethnicity and the two are distinguished from each other. Nationality represents where a person is from, while ethnicity represents cultural orientations. To make things even clearer, I suggest that nationality and ethnicity be assessed with different questions. Nonetheless, there does not appear to be a problem in using nationality terms to also assess ethnicity as long as the context in which the nationality terms are used is specified. For instance, nationality can be based on a series of questions that ask (a) the nation and/or state in which one was born, (b) the nation or state(s) in which one was raised if different from the nation or state of origin, (c) citizenship or immigration status, and (d) generational status (e.g., 1st generation = being born outside of the U.S., 2nd generation = being born in the U.S. and either one or both parent were born outside of the U.S., 3rd generation = being born in the U.S., both parents born in U.S., and grandparents born outside of U.S., 4th generation = being born in the U.S., both parents born in U.S., and at least one grandparent was born in the U.S.). An example of a four-part response to this question could be: born in the U.S.A., raised in the U.S.A., U.S.A citizen, and both grandparents born in the U.S.A.

In terms of ethnicity, Cokley (2007) stated that "[i]ntermediate definitions of ethnicity distinguish groups who share a national origin and cultural characteristics", "such as language, beliefs, values, music, dress, and food" (p. 225). In this study, for the most part, beliefs about ethnicity were labeled according to geographical regions (e.g., Asia and Africa) and nationalities (e.g., "American" and Vietnamese). These two types of terms seemed to serve as proxies for
Assessing ethnicity simply according to nationality or a geographical region may provide a quick index of where someone attained the culture associated with their ethnicity. My recommendation is that nationality terms or geographical regions represent the ethnicity and culture(s) of whatever nation(s) or geographical regions are reported (e.g., "American", Pacific Islander, Asian, Mexican, Hispanic, Latino-Americano, Asian Indian, Chinese, African-American, European-American, German-American, and Filipino-American).

**Implications for Counseling**

The conclusions of this study have implications for health care practitioners, such as psychologists. Many psychologists are multi-culturally competent and may be aware of the differences between race and ethnicity. However, given all the confusion with these terms, the distinctions made between how race and ethnicity are used by participants in this study can help psychologists gain a deeper understanding of these constructs and how they function in society. My research implies that psychologists should be careful in how they talk about and assess race and ethnicity because of the connotations associated with the different terms. In some cases, the issue of differential labeling (or reactions to alternative labels) might be addressed in counseling when addressing race or ethnic identity. Additionally, the use of differential labeling for race and ethnicity may be a topic for discussion in diversity workshops (e.g., how do members of different groups react to alternative labels? Do participants see the differential labeling as a problem?).

**Strengths and Limitations**

Several of the strengths and limitations of this study coincide with the methodology of the grounded theory analysis approach. Because this study used a qualitative methodology, a different set of rules for validity can be applied in its evaluation. For example, the construct validity of the questionnaire is based on face validity, which is appropriate given that this is an
inductive and exploratory study. Overall, I believe that the questions on my survey adequately assessed the constructs of ethnicity and ethnic identity. A limitation of this study may be that the coding and analysis was performed by one researcher. Thus, I could not examine inter-rater reliability. However, gaining consensus from other coders is not necessary in a 'bottom-up' grounded theory study. Glasser and Strauss (1999) state that "the constant comparative method is not designed (as methods of quantitative analysis are) to guarantee that two analysts working independently with the same data will achieve the same results" (p. 103). Thus, one of the strengths of this study is that my analysis may provide insights that others may not see or conceive. Dependability or the qualitative form of reliability is based on the procedures used in the data analysis and if they were executed in a consistent or standard manner across participant questionnaires (Trochim, 2001). This was a strength of this study as I carefully followed procedures for a grounded theory analysis.

The conclusion validity of the study indicates that ethnic labels, ethnic identity, and racial identity are inter-connected constructs. I hypothesize that the labeling system influences inter-ethnic group relationships among people of different ethnic groups, but I cannot say that it causes the problems among diverse people. Racism may be more responsible for the problems found across ethnic and racial groups. Furthermore, the qualitative counterpart to internal validity is based on the credibility of the results. Participants appeared to be free and open in sharing their thoughts on race and ethnicity. Moreover, it appeared that the meanings in their responses were clear, honest, and credible. Ultimately, the participants are the ones who can judge whether or not my interpretations of their words are valid. The results section provides numerous quotations from participants' responses that readers can refer to in relation to my coding. Finally, I recognize that ethnicity and race are correlated with socioeconomic status. I did not notice any
pattern between participants’ socioeconomic status and their views of inter-ethnic group relations. Nonetheless, future research can further address the relationship between socioeconomic status and inter-ethnic group relations.

The qualitative counterpart to external validity is called transferability which relates to the extent to which my findings can be transferred to other contexts and times. I used non-proportional quota sampling to obtain data from two males and two females from each of the four predominant ethnic and/or racial groups in America. The fact that I purposefully assessed members from the four predominant ethnic groups in America and gained detailed information is a strength of this study. From a quantitative perspective, a limitation of this study may be that only sixteen participants partook in the study. On the other hand, sixteen participants is an adequate number for a qualitative grounded theory study. Furthermore, there was considerable saturation of responses across question groups. My results may be transferable to others who share similarities with the participants in my sample. However, the majority of the participants were from Washington state and were college students, which means that the results may not be generalizable to other regions or to non-college students.

Objectivity is a sought after quality in positivistic or quantitative research. Objectivity is intended to reduce bias. Qualitative researchers assume that they bring their personal experiences and worldviews into the research that they do and that everyone is unique in this respect. That being said, I tried to be as objective as possible by attempting to analyze each of the ethnic and racial groups or participants' responses equally and justly. Confirmability is the qualitative counterpart to objectivity (Trochim, 2001) and it asks 'was this researcher's work confirmable?' That is, would another person read the results and corroborate with the codes and connections I made with the categories?
**Future Research Directions**

In future research, investigators could explore the psychological implications or effects on individuals of various ethnic labels. Furthermore, investigators could explore any impacts that the current ethnic and racial labeling system has on inter-ethnic group relations. Such a study could compare the impact of current and alternative ethnic and racial labeling schemes on inter-ethnic and inter-racial group relations and what modifications need to be made. As Smith et al. (2010) concluded "there is a strong need to further test the validity and reliability of racial and ethnic identity survey items among larger and more representative populations of minority ethnic adolescents" (p. 635). Additionally, future research in this area can explore the intricacies of multi-ethnic and multi-racial identities and labels.

**Closing Remarks**

It is apparent that the current ethnic and racial labeling system, as revealed in this study, is inconsistent and inequitable. Oppenheimer (2001) stated that "[o]ver time, perhaps, the growing diversity of our population and the growing power of these different [ethnic and racial] groups may force the United States to redefine the social relations inherent in the terms “race,” “ethnicity,” and “ethnic group” to ones of greater equality" (p. 1054). It seems that the time has come to modify the ethnic and racial classification system that pervades society today.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX A

Research Study Consent Form
WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of Counseling Psychology

Title of Research Study:
Qualitative and Narrative Assessment of Self-Concept and Identity

Juan M. Alvarez, B.A. is a doctoral candidate at Washington State University. As part of his doctoral studies, he is conducting a research study aiming to understand personal and ethnic identity and how these relate to intergroup relations. He will be collecting and analyzing life stories of individuals from diverse groups at Washington State University to obtain various views of self and culture. You are invited to participate in this research study. WSU Office of Research Assurances determined that this study (IRB #11985) satisfies criteria for Exempt Research at 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2).

What you are being asked to do

This form explains the research study and your part in it if you decide to participate. The study will involve completing a written or typed questionnaire. The questionnaire will ask you to describe various aspects of yourself and identity. Moreover, you will be asked about your personal identity, social identity, ethnic identity, familial and cultural background, musical preferences, dress attire, views on inter-ethnic group relations, as well as about demographic variables, such as your age, major, GPA, sex, nationality, and physical references. The questionnaire will take approximately 1.5-2.5 hours to complete.

Do I have to participate? What will happen to my information if I participate?

Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You are encouraged to hold nothing back and tell your story as you see it. The validity of this study relies on truthful and honest responses. Rest assured that your responses will not be tied directly back to you, as this study is confidential. The information you give will be analyzed and studied in a manner that protects your identity, and all of your responses will be tied to a pseudo name of your choosing. Some people may not want others to read what they write, and this is okay. If you do not feel comfortable turning in your responses, you may keep them. However, it is preferred that you turn them in because this study values your responses.
Are there any risks? What should I do if risks occur?

There are no foreseeable risks to your health or status as a consequence of participating in this study. If you become tired while completing the questionnaire you can arrange to finish it on another day. If any negative feelings arise from completing the questionnaire you can call or visit WSU Counseling Services (509) 335-4511.

Are there any benefits?

Studies have shown that writing about one’s self and life can have positive emotional, psychological, and physical health outcomes.

What if I have more questions?

Do you have any questions? If you are unsure about what a question is asking please ask the primary researcher who will be available during the time you complete the questionnaire. Should you have questions about this research after completing the questionnaire, please feel free to contact Juan Alvarez at jmalvarez@wsu.edu.

__________________________________________________________________

Statement of Consent

If you have read and understand the information given to you on this form and consent to the research it describes then please provide your email address and phone number, which will only be used to contact you to complete the questionnaire or to arrange a follow up interview. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

Email address: _________________________________ Phone number: ________________________
APPENDIX B

Self and Culture Questionnaire

Use a number two pencil for all of your responses and please write legibly.

Demographic Questions
a. Please choose an alias to identify yourself: _______________ Age: _______________
b. Sex: check one: ( □ male, □ female, □ intersex ).
c. Please list any disability you may have: _______________
d. Are you religious or spiritual? Please specify: _______________
e. Did your parents or your caregivers identify with a historical ethnic group? If yes, which one(s)? _______________
f. What country were your parents born in and where were they raised (e.g., U.S. states, abroad)? _______________
g. What nation were you born in and what state(s) and county or counties were you raised? _______________
h. Physical attributes: Height: _______________; Weight: _______________; Skin tone: _______________; Hair color: _______________; Eye color: _______________
i. Do you identify with an indigenous heritage or cultural group (e.g., Native American ancestry)? Please specify: _______________
j. Are you a refugee? Please specify: _______________
k. Citizenship status: _______________
l. Gender Identity ( □ masculine, □ feminine, □ transgender, □ questioning, □ other )
m. Sexual Orientation ( □ Gay, □ lesbian, □ bisexual, □ heterosexual, □ asexual )
n. Language(s) spoken: _______________
o. Who was the first to go to college in your family’s history within the last century? (e.g., Are you the first, or were your grandparents the first, etc.): _______________
p. Major: _______________; Cumulative GPA: _______________; Year in school: _______________
Narrative Questions

Instructions. Please provide genuine, in-depth, and detailed written responses to the following questions.

Early Years

(Kindergarten through elementary school)

Personal Identity and Family Background

1. Who were you as a youth in elementary school? Please include what you think were some of your personal attributes (e.g., were you shy or outgoing; organized or easy-going; cautious or adventurous; friendly or antagonistic; sensitive or secure?). Please include examples or explanations of yourself in detail.

2. Can you tell me a little bit about your family (e.g., who did you live with in your family and what was their ethnic background(s))? Please also include the ethnic background(s) of any extended family members that you interacted with as a youth, and briefly describe the extent of interaction with them?

Social Economic Status

3. Please describe your social economic status when you were growing up (e.g., did you identify as being poor, or as being in the lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, or upper class) and include what your parents/caretakers did for a living?
4. Did your family own an automobile? If so, how many and what makes and models?

Please also describe any experiences and meanings related to owning such a vehicle(s).

Social Identity

5. How did you identify as a person within your school(s) during your childhood years (e.g., you may have viewed yourself as “popular” or “unpopular”, or perhaps you viewed yourself as “fitting in” amongst your school mates, or as an “outsider”, or somewhere in between these polarities)? Please explain.

Sociocultural Environment

6. Were there differentiated ethnic groups within your community? Please describe the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of the people you were surrounded by on a daily basis in your neighborhood(s) and schools while growing up?

7. What was the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of your friends during your childhood years?
Adolescent Years
(Middle school and/or high school)

Personal Identity
8. Who were you as an adolescent in middle school and high school? Please include what you think were some of your personal attributes (e.g., were you shy or outgoing; organized or easy-going; cautious or adventurous; friendly or antagonistic; sensitive or secure?). Please include examples or explanations of yourself in detail.

9. What types of behaviors and activities did you engage in during your adolescent years? (e.g., sports, musical instruments, media, art, hobbies, dance, and curricular or other extra-curricular activities and interests).

Social Economic Class Update
10. Did your social economic status change from childhood to adolescence? If yes, please explain how.

Social Identity
11. How did you identify as a person within your school(s) and community during your adolescent years in middle school and high school (e.g., you may have viewed yourself as “popular” or “unpopular”, or perhaps you viewed yourself as “fitting in” amongst your peers, or as an “outsider”, or somewhere in between these polarities)? Please explain.
Cultural Orientations

12. **Music:** What genres of music did you listen to during adolescence (e.g., alternative rock, classical, hiphop)? Please list the artists or bands you listened to and describe your favorite types of music, artists, or bands. Please also explain why you listened to them. If you were not interested in any types of music, please indicate why. Please also rate on a scale from 1-10, how engaged you were with the music you listed, with 1 indicating little or no engagement and 10 indicating extreme engagement.

13. What, if anything, did you identify with in the music? (e.g., The artist, life style, attitude, general message, or story) Please explain in detail.

14. **Dress:** How would you describe your style of dress during your adolescent years (e.g., skater, punk rocker, hipster, gothic, country, hunter, gangster, urban, preppy, casual, poor, etc.)?

15. Please describe the types of clothing and shoes you wore during this time, including brands.

16. Was your fashion attire or dress at all related to your sense of identity within society? If yes, please explain how your form of dress was related to your social identity. If no, please explain why your style of dress was not related to your identity.
**Ethnic Identity**

17. How would you describe your ethnicity as a cultural being during adolescence, and what multicultural and ethnic groups or sub-cultural groups did you belong to or associate with as an adolescent?

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**Sociocultural Environment**

18. Were there differentiated ethnic groups within your community? Please describe the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of the people you were surrounded by on a daily basis in your neighborhood(s) and schools during adolescence?

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19. What was the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of your friends during your adolescence?

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**Views on Interethnic Relations within the Community**

20. What were the relationships like among the members of multicultural or ethnic groups within your town or city during adolescence? Please specify the names of the multicultural or ethnic group(s) that you write about.

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Emerging Adulthood Years

(College years)

Personal Identity

21. Who are you today as an emerging adult in college? Please include what you think are some of your personal attributes (e.g., are you shy or outgoing; organized or easy-going; cautious or adventurous; friendly or antagonistic; sensitive or secure?). Please include examples or explanations of yourself in detail.

Social Economic Class Update

22. Did your social economic status change from adolescence to your present social economic status now? If yes, please explain how.

Social Identity

23. What is your identity, or how do you identify as a person within your college community and larger society as an emerging adult?

Cultural Orientations

24. **Music:** What genres of music have you mostly listened to during college (e.g., alternative rock, classical, hiphop)? Please list the artists or bands you listened to and describe your favorite types of music, artists, or bands. Please also explain why you listen to them? If you are not interested in any types of music, please indicate why. Please also rate on a scale from 1-10, how
engaged you are with the music you listed, with 1 indicating little or no engagement and 10 indicating extreme engagement.

25. What, if anything, do you identify with in the music? (e.g., The artist, life style, attitude, general message, or story) Please explain in detail.

26. **Dress:** How would you describe your style of dress during your college years? Please also describe the types of clothing and shoes you wore during this time, including brands.

27. Is your fashion attire or dress at all related to your sense of identity within society? If yes, please explain how your form of dress is related to your social identity. If no, please explain why your style of dress is not related to your identity.

**Ethnic Identity**

28. How would you describe your ethnicity as a cultural being during your college years? Please also describe the multicultural and ethnic groups or sub-cultural groups you are associated with now as an emerging adult?

29. How do you view your ethnic group’s status within the larger society?
30. How do you think members of other ethnic groups view your ethnic group within society? Please specify the ethnic groups that you write about.

31. How do you feel about your multicultural ethnic identity within society? What specific emotions come to mind when thinking about your ethnicity within society?

Sociocultural Environment

32. Were there differentiated ethnic groups within your community? Please describe the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of the students you have been surrounded by on a daily basis during college?

33. What has been the multicultural makeup or ethnicity of your friends during college?

Views on Interethnic Relationships within the Community

34. From your perspective, what have the relationships been like amongst the members of multicultural or ethnic groups within your town or city during your college years? Please specify the name(s) of the multicultural or ethnic group(s) that you write about.
35. Can you speculate as to why relationships among different multicultural and ethnic groups are the way you described them in this questionnaire? Please specify the multicultural or ethnic groups that you are writing about.

Challenges

36. What challenges (if any) have you encountered because of any of your identities (e.g., physical characteristics, gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, etc.)?

Ethnic Identity in U.S. Society

37. How might European-American ethnic group members think and feel about their membership in U.S. society? Please explain why.


39. How might Latino or Hispanic-American ethnic group members think and feel about their membership in U.S. society? Please explain why.

40. How might Asian-American ethnic group members think and feel about their membership in U.S. society? Please explain why.