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ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP COMMUNICATION AMONG KOREAN AMERICANS AND VIETNAMESE AMERICANS IN OKLAHOMA

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Leeva C. Chung
Norman, OK
1998

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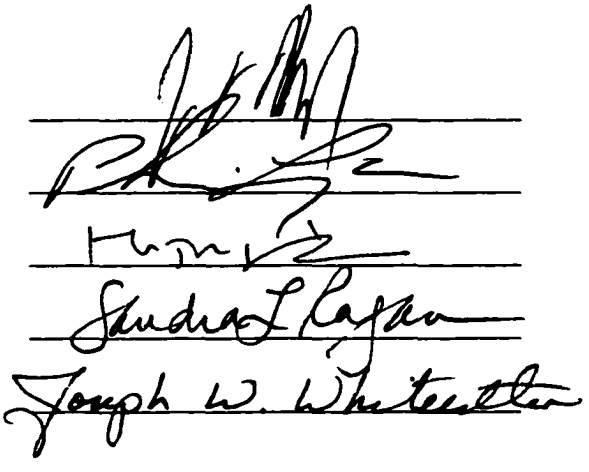
ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP COMMUNICATION
AMONG KOREAN AMERICANS AND VIETNAMESE AMERICANS
IN OKLAHOMA

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

BY



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ABSTRACT

Currently, Asian Americans are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States. This heterogeneous category includes immigrants, refugees, and American born residents. The need to understand "who we are" is a complicated and internally driven question (Ting-Toomey, 1981) that is based on who we consider to be the constructed social group to which we belong or the reference group to which we aspire to become a part.

Ethnic identity is frequently characterized as having objective, subjective, and situational components. Separating these components becomes difficult especially when research taps into the personal, diverse experiences of individuals. In any event, ethnic identity may be seen as an intricate interplay and dialectical tension that involves the process of "becoming" in a complex social setting.

The present study examined how ethnic identity is perceived and negotiated by two Asian American groups in Oklahoma City: Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. A total of 168 Korean Americans (n = 54) and Vietnamese Americans (n = 114) were interviewed to assess the subjective ethnic identity experiences. Standardized open-ended and closed-ended questions were utilized. Two open-ended questions were used to capture the ethnic identity experiences. Participants were asked to examine Berry and Sam's (1997) figure and explain if the ethnic "type" they chose best represented how they viewed their ethnic identity. The Ethnic Identity and Cultural Salience (EID) Questionnaire of Ting-Toomey et al.(in press) was replicated to confirm the original

factors found in their study and was used to gauge objective measurements of ethnic identity.

Results indicated that there was more of a difference between the self-perception of ethnic identity and measures of objective identity among Korean Americans than there is among Vietnamese Americans. 52.2% (N = 84) of the respondents indicated that they felt like outgroup members within their own ethnic group, while 41% (N = 66) did not feel like outgroup members, and 6.8% (N = 11) did sometimes. Results also confirmed that a significant difference exists concerning the perception of outgroup membership depending on the number of intimate friends individuals have outside the ethnic group.

The final element of ethnic identity salience assessed the situational context of ethnic awareness. Participants were asked about particular situations in which they felt most aware of their ethnicity. Both positive (n = 52) and negative (n = 51) situations were reported. Four comments reflect that certain individuals were always aware that they were an ethnic individual.

An emergent thematic analysis was employed to interpret qualitative answers concerning internal ethnic identity. A total of 194 comments were coded and these comments revealed nine different categories across the two different contexts, (i.e., the self-perception of ethnic identity and the perception of identity by ethnic group members). Four themes related to the perception of identity by ethnic group members. The most popular theme, called "Integration," represented the best indicator of an ethnic identity for six reasons: (1) individuals felt comfortable identifying with both groups; (2) individuals made a conscious effort to integrate; (3) individuals found the need for a more universal identity; (4); individuals had strong ethnic pride; (5) integration was a form of

self-definition; and (6) individuals identified more with the dominant group than with their own group.

Among those who perceived their identification according to the second category called "Separation," two distinct themes emerged from the data: one related to feeling excluded from the dominant culture and the second reflected a feeling of pride towards the ethnic group. Among participants who felt that the category called "Assimilation" best reflected their ethnic identity, there was the feeling that there was a need to blend both the ethnic and the dominant U.S. culture. Finally, a type called "Marginalization" constituted a fourth view of identity and one theme (n = 4) emerged from the data: individuals felt they did not belong to any particular group.

An additional theme disclosed three reasons why Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans were perceived differently by members of their own ethnic group. Of the 28 coded comments, results indicated that: (1) they were not considered to be a typical member; (2) they were not as American as others; and (3) the social context changes determined the perception.

Many of the Koreans Americans and Vietnamese Americans, who participated in this study, strove to integrate their ethnic identity with activities that they conducted in Oklahoma. Furthermore, members of both groups desired to be accepted members both of their own ethnic community and the dominant society despite reminders in interactions, in the media, and from symbols emanating from U.S. institutions that they constituted an outgroup.

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP COMMUNICATION AMONG KOREAN AMERICANS AND VIETNAMESE AMERICAN IN OKLAHOMA

Chapter I

Introduction

Background of the Problem

During the past 25 years, sweeping revisions in immigration laws have changed racial demographics in the United States. Older and newer Asian communities have expanded, enlarged, and emerged, making the Asian and Pacific Islanders (API's) the fastest growing ethnic group in the U.S. Comparatively speaking, the API's grew 108% between 1980-1990; while African Americans grew by 13%, Hispanic Americans by 53%, and Native Americans by 38% (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). Today, approximately 7.3 million Asian and Pacific Islanders are living in the United States. Edmonton and Passel (1994) argue "with growth at rates exceeding 1% for the next 50 years, increasing from 7 million in 1990 to 35 million in 2040 . . . gains would increase the proportion of Asians in the United States population from 3% in 1990 to 10% in 2040" (p. 339).

The past century of Asian immigration to the U.S. has led the American establishment --or members of the dominant culture-- to determine that a shared sense of social and political identity exists among all Asian Americans. In fact, Asian Americans have been thought to share similar patterns of beliefs, historic events, and traits that set them apart from other ethnic groups. This collective group identity stems from this shared lumping of social and political identity by the U.S. establishment, a lumping that includes categorical groupings in the U.S. census. Census data have racially lumped the API's into a broad category of "Asian," which neglects the diversity of groups whose family origins

extend from East Asia and Southeast Asia to the Indian subcontinent, as well as the Philippines and Indonesia. Asians (or Asian Americans) from each of these countries, however, consider themselves to be politically and culturally distinct (Espirito, 1992).

Asian Americans have different historical and social experiences, including long-standing animosities toward each other. Once separated and divided, Asian Americans now find themselves sharing communities with each other and, at the same time, experiencing similar struggles. With the increasing number of Asians in America, there is the need to understand how groups from diverse cultures can interact together and understand each other while living in a multicultural society. Diversity among the Asian Americans may result in new integrative perspectives. In fact, Espirito (1992) observes that Asian Americans will transform their identity and adopt an Asian American panethnicity, which is "the development of bridging organizations and solidarities among several ethnic and immigrant groups of Asian ancestry" (p. 14).

Intercultural communication scholars have isolated individualism and collectivism as two of the most heuristic dimensions of cultural variability (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1988). The strength of this dimension lies in the "clearest individual-level equivalents in cultural level tendencies" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1997, p. 56). While individualistic cultures, such as the U.S., emphasize individual goals, collectivistic cultures, such as China, stress the primacy of group goals over individual preferences.

The major difference between individualism and collectivism is the reliance on and importance of the group. Collectivistic cultures rely on ingroups to look after them in exchange for the individuals' loyalty, but in individualistic cultures, individuals assume responsibility for their family and themselves. According to Tajfel (1975), ingroups are

"groups of people about whose welfare one is concerned, with whom one is willing to cooperate without demanding equitable returns, and separation from which leads to discomfort or even pain" (p. 75). The importance of ingroup/outgroup membership has been addressed in numerous studies. For example, ingroup or outgroup membership has been found to influence personal relationships (Leung & Bond, 1984) and has been used successfully by researchers to understand an individual's behavior (Gudykunst & Bond, 1997). While there is a plethora of research and theories utilizing intergroup behavior between U.S. and non-U.S. cultures (Bond & Hewstone, 1988; Giles & Johnson, 1981,1987; Gudykunst, 1993; Triandis, 1988), ethnic variability within the U.S. has been neglected.

Asian Americans are an emerging minority group whose ethnic experiences and ethnic relationships within the larger culture have not been delineated. An individual's associated within ethnic groups may differ in behavior from the activities bound up with the group identity (Kim, Lujan, & Shaver, in press). This difference can be attributed to the degree and salience of an individual's ethnic identity, as variability exists with ethnic group membership and in the perception of ingroup membership. This study examines the more subjective nature of ethnic identity. Subjective analysis encompasses ethnic identity from the perspective of the individual, based on personal experiences. This orientation sees individuals as unique human beings. In this approach, ethnic identity is a phenomenon rich with ideographic descriptions and explanations. These explanations are obtained through qualitative analysis and the researcher's first-hand knowledge (Roosens, 1989; Whitecotton, 1996).

Recently, the trend among researchers in the social sciences has included European American identity (Alba, 1990; Carter & Helms, 1993). The difference is that White identity refers to the attitudes about racial group membership (White) rather than ethnic group membership (e.g., German, Italian, Polish) (Carter & Helms, 1993). In this study, ethnic individuals in the U.S. refers to visible minority group members who are perceived by others as non-white (e.g., Asian American, African American, Hispanic American) and who continually negotiate their individual ethnic identity and membership in the mainstream culture. Typically, the result is a painful struggle of belonging to both groups (Cross, 1995; Parham & Helms, 1981; Phinney, 1989; Ting-Toomey, 1993). This intergroup communication encounter is a struggle between an ethnic individual's perception of being "different" coupled with the inability to blend with both cultural groups. Elaine Kim (1996) explains her own personal account of the problematic aspect of intergroup communication encounters when she visited Korea, birthplace of her parents:

> Because I spent my early years living as something of a freak within mainstream society, which decreed that there was no way to be 'Asian' and 'American' at the same time, I often longed to be held securely within the folds of a community of my 'people'... Like many other U.S.-born Korean Americans, I was changed forever when I visited Korea...Finding myself among so many people similar to me in shape and color made me feel as though I came from *somewhere*...But like other U.S. born Korean Americans, I came to understand that there is no ready-made community, no unquestioned belonging, even in Korea...they let me know that I could not possibly be Korean. (p. 357)

Given the complexity involved in the formation of an ethnic identity, one intriguing area of interest is how individuals construct the boundaries between ingroup and outgroup members. Because ethnic identity involves elements of ethnic group belonging and issues relating to larger cultural identity, both of these two factors must be taken into consideration in order to understand how behaviors and communication patterns are based on ethnic identity. Although certain individuals may identify more with the U.S. culture, one cannot also assume that they place little importance on ethnic values and traditions.

In addition, the importance of ingroup networks to ethnic identity development is another concern among research scholars. Zhou and Bankston (1998) point out that an ethnic community consists of various social ties between ethnic group members. However, membership in the group is a matter of degree and variation. If norms, values, and social relationships within an ethnic group influence the adaptation process of group members, the influence logically should depend on the extent to which individuals share the norms (Kim, 1989). Thus, participation in social relationships and acceptance of group norms and values are interrelated: the more individuals associate with a particular group, the greater the normative conformity to behavioral standards and expectations prescribed by the group. At the same time, however, expectations among ethnic communities may hinder successful adaptation into the U.S.

This dissertation attempts to understand ethnic identity and intergroup communication among the two largest Asian groups in Oklahoma: Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. Oklahoma presents an appropriate setting for understanding the communication patterns and complexity of identity experiences because both ethnic

groups have established relatively viable communities in the state. The Vietnamese community has seen a large increase in the past decade. According to Zhou and Bankston (1998), "secondary migration and Vietnamese sponsored resettlement resulted in the emergence of distinctive Vietnamese communities. Nonetheless, the early attempts at dispersion gave rise to Vietnamese communities in such places as New Orleans, Oklahoma City...that previously received few immigrants" (pg. 35). Although the Korean American community is not as numerically strong, there are pockets of Korean American growth that can be seen in the number of churches, restaurants, and shops throughout the state of Oklahoma.

Historically, Oklahoma has never had a high number of Asian American-born residents (Litton, 1957). The first record of Asians living in Oklahoma occurred in 1890, when 25 Chinese were reported in the census. Due in part to the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendment of 1965, which abolished America's discriminatory national origin quotas, an unprecedented number of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, and Southeast Asian immigrated to the U.S. As communities developed around large cities, many immigrants moved toward smaller cities and towns. Since the late 1970's, Oklahoma has seen a significant growth of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans

According to the U.S. census (1990), there are approximately 5000 Koreans and 7500 Vietnamese Americans living in the state of Oklahoma; these two groups represent 14% of the state population. While overall numbers may appear to be comparatively small, these two groups have doubled in size since the 1980 census and reflect similar patterns of growth in the overall U.S. According to census statistics, there was a 56%

increase of Asian Americans living in Oklahoma between 1980-1990. The majority of Koreans and Vietnamese in Oklahoma live in the metropolitan or urban centers, such as Oklahoma City and Tulsa, while less than 3% live in rural areas.

The Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans have developed small communities to meet the needs of both immigrants and residents. In urban areas, the visibility and the development of religious establishments are increasing in size and visibility among both Korean American and Vietnamese American communities. Religious establishments are important indicators of cultural adaptation. For example, Kitano and Daniels (1995) point out that the Christian church plays an active role in the Korean community, providing religious involvement, identity, and resources. Muzny (1985) found that the church was an important aspect of community among the Vietnamese in Oklahoma.

Statement of the Problem

As the resident population ages, 'new' ethnic communities emerge with a much younger Asian American population. The ethnic identity question is an important concern, for as the number of Asian Americans in Oklahoma increase, the need to understand how this diverse, heterogeneous group of people view themselves within the larger society grows as well. Past studies have assumed, albeit incorrectly, that the ethnicity of an individual automatically guarantees group membership. With the growing number of Asians in America, scholars will be challenged to understand the complexity of ethnic identity, as it is shaped and molded by group and societal influences. The goal of this study will be to integrate the ethnic identity experiences of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans by viewing the subjective, objective and situational components.

Looking at the experiences of these two Asian American groups may benefit similar populations in Oklahoma and the rest of the country.

Definition of Terms

Defining ethnic identity has been problematic across disciplines. Ethnic identity has been given labels such as revitalization (Wallace, 1956), reinvention (Hobsawm, 1983), ethnic resurgence (Friedman, 1989), social identity (Tajfel, 1978), and ethnogenesis (Roosens, 1989). Aboud (1987) conceives an ethnic self-identity as "the sense of oneself as a member of an ethnic group, possessing attributes common to that group" (p. 32). Isajiw (1990) conceptualizes ethnic identity as a social psychological phenomenon. Ethnic identity is distinguished by internal and external characteristics. The internal characteristics are made up of cognitive, moral, and affective dimensions. The subjective sense of self is central to the internal characteristics of each individual. They are the "feelings of group obligations. . . [that] account for the commitment a person has to his group solidarity that ensues" (Isajiw, 1990, p. 36). Cognitive characteristics include the knowledge of history and heritage, values, and self-image. The affective dimension includes the feelings and attachment associated to an individual's ethnic group. These affective feelings bring comfort, sympathy, and preference for in-group members. The external characteristics are the observable social and cultural behaviors, such as ethnic activities and cultural practices.

Labels such, as "ethnic identity/ethnic identification," "cultural identity/cultural identification," "racial identity," and "ethnolinguistic identity" are confusing and prevent the establishment of definitional similarities and differences, thus compartmentalizing research. Kim (1997) argues that "ethnicity and ethnic identity are empirically

inseparable. They are two aspects of the same phenomenon, as the collective (ethnicity) and the individual experiences of it (ethnic identity or ethnolinguistic identity) mutually define each other." (p. 264). The collective nature of ethnicity is a form of ethnic attachment and a source of ethnic group strength (Yinger, 1986). The individual nature of ethnic identity represents an integration of the contextual elements, group membership, and internal experience.

In this study, ethnic identity refers to the conscious attempt by an individual to identify with an ethnic group (Kim, 1995). By identifying with an ethnic group, an individual may create this identity based on past history or the collective group experiences. Ethnic identity is multidimensional and complex, (Ting-Toomey, Yee-Jung, Shapiro, Garcia, Wright, & Oetzel, in press) and is based on the formation, practices, and transformations of both group culture and ethnic background.

Intergroup communication is defined as the nature of ingroup and outgroup communication between groups and within groups. More specifically, it is "whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification, we have an instance of intergroup behavior" (Sheriff, 1966, p. 12). When intergroup communication takes place at the group level, group loyalty and attachment become salient. When intergroup communication is studied between individual interactants, the emphasis is placed on the amount of emotion directed toward outgroup members (Miller and Brewer, 1984). This research will give more importance to intergroup communication at the group level.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation attempts to address ethnic identity issues and to understand the intergroup communication of ingroup and outgroup members among Koreans Americans and Vietnamese Americans. Past and current literature among Asian Americans has been conducted among larger populated cities with stronger communities. The experiences of Asian Americans are a reflection living and interacting in the larger, more established communities. By doing so, the collective lumping of the ethnic group based on ethnicity and heritage, assumes that the perception of outgroup members are individuals associated with the dominant group.

While past models of ethnicity have incorporated ethnic identity development communication, these models (e.g., Cross, 1995; Helms, 1990; Parham & Helms, 1988) do not reflect the Asian American experiences in the U.S. for they are based on the patterns and experiences of other ethnic groups. In addition, few studies have offered personal accounts that reflect ethnic identity salience during communication interactions (Kim, Lujan, & Shaver, in press), particulary with regard to Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma. Understanding how Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans make their identity choices based upon individual conceptualizations represents an important contribution to the ethnic identity literature.

In sum, this dissertation will describe patterns of ethnic identity experiences among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. It will seek to show how these experiences are shaped at a number of contextual levels that determine what opportunities are available to Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans and how they respond to those opportunities.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

In order to provide a context for the research that follows, this chapter reviews the ethnic identity literature in three sections: (1) identifying research theories important to address in terms of the trends in ethnic identity research, with specific reference to the subjective claims of identity; (2) presenting a justification and advantages of acculturation and identity negotiation theory; (3) offering a rationale for this study; and (4) concluding with an overview of the research questions.

General Approaches to Ethnic Identity

Across social science disciplines, researchers were determined to understand the persistence of ethnic identities in a country filled with a variety of ethnic groups with strong, dominant identities. Throughout much of the U.S. history, the country was described as a "melting pot" (Zangwill, 1909) where immigrants were assumed to "blend" and "melt" into the society without problems, which encouraged a process of Americanization (Gordon, 1964; Glazer, 1997). However, ethnic individuals consistently embraced, adopted, and formed ethnic identities despite integration pressures within the society. Scott (1990) argued that "instead of ethnic identities being replaced by national identities, it has been more of a case of persisting ethnic differences impeding the formation of stable nations" (p.148).

The 'melting pot' metaphor for American society suggested a type of conformity and a reminder of the difficulty many groups have had assimilating into the society.

Phinney (1990) claimed that the need to identify with the dominant group and adopt the cultural values and characteristics was a strategy used to elevate the status of an ethnic minority. On the other hand, Glazer (1997) argued that assimilation was an ideal that became somewhat disreputable because assimilation was "opposed to the reality of both individual and group difference and to the claims that such differences should be recognized and celebrated" (pp. 96-97). Ethnicity and ethnic identity were much more complex processes than a simple 'melting pot' model. For example, many ethnic minority groups tried to 'blend' and 'melt' into the society (e.g., African Americans, Japanese Americans) but were met with much resistance. At the same time, ethnic individuals continued to embrace an ethnic identity despite the pressure to assimilate.

Past studies emphasized that ethnicity was a category that was manipulated by the political economy (Whitecotton, 1996), constructed through the processual and adaptive nature of group bounding (Barth, 1969), and negotiated through situational contexts (Ting-Toomey 1993). In short, ethnic identity was more subjective than objective. To illustrate a few theories employed within the subjective analysis, four views or analyses were reviewed. First, ethnic identity was viewed as a sense of group membership based on shared political and economic conditions. A popular theme in this literature held that positive group interaction was an essential component of an ethnic identity. This idea incorporated sociological and psychological perspectives, including theories of assimilation (Gordon, 1964), acculturation (Berry, 1980), and social identity (Tajfel, 1975). Second, ethnic identity had been addressed as a developmental model. In this

perspective, identity transformation occurred throughout the lifespan of an individual and was based on experiences of ethnic discovery (Cross, 1991; Parham & Helms, 1981). Third, the process of identity formation was concerned with how individuals understand the implications of their ethnic identity (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1989). Finally, communication had been linked with ethnic identity research as an outcome of adapting to the dominant group (Kim, 1989) and through the process of identity negotiation within the individual and among ethnic group members (Ting-Toomey, 1993).

Group Membership

Assimilation

The earliest research interest in ethnic identity stemmed from sociological studies of assimilation. The main thrust of this body of research was concerned with the circumstances or social conditions that were associated with ethnicity. Assimilation can be defined as the process by which an individual of a minority group takes on the characteristics of the majority group (Gordon, 1964). The main goal of assimilation was for an individual to become accepted as part of the dominant group. The formula that best characterized this process was A + B + C = A. (Schaefer, 1984). In this formula, B and C represented minority groups who conform to A, the dominant group, and became undistinguishable from A.

The most frequently cited researcher who employed the assimilationist perspective was Milton Gordon. According to Gordon (1964), the progression towards assimilation was measured by an individual's ability to adapt and fit in with the dominant group, both

politically and economically. Complete assimilation occurred when economic and sentimental ties with the traditional culture disappeared. In essence, ethnic individuals vanished into the acculturated mainstream society (Espiritu, 1992).

Gordon (1964) observed that the critical issue was not the assimilation of ideas, but whether or not individuals in a minority group were able to interact with persons in the majority group on some common basis. For example, Rutledge (1990) found that the Vietnamese in Oklahoma "retain aspects of their heritage and invite Americans to appreciate their background and history. Simultaneously, Vietnamese refugees had adapted to a new environment and to newly introduced cultural aspects of their host society, while maintaining a strong sense of self-identity and self-esteem" (p. 146).

In her research among Korean immigrants, Kim (1989) pointed out that ethnic groups in the U.S. adopted many of the values, attitudes, and outlook of the majority group through communication and interaction with dominant society members. Adaptation reflected the progress towards assimilation. As such, there was evidence that some ethnic groups in the U.S. have structurally assimilated into the society. For example, Fugita and O'Brien (1991) pointed out that "most Japanese Americans live in predominately Caucasian neighborhoods, have Caucasian friends, participate in mainstream community affairs, and have begun to marry in significant numbers with Caucasian Americans." (p. 4).

Berry's Model of Acculturation

In order to understand how ethnic individuals see themselves in relation to both their ethnic group (traditional ethnic group) and the society at large (dominant group), Berry and associates (Berry, Kim, & Boski (1987); Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki (1989); Berry, Trimble, & Olemedo (1986); Berry & Sam, 1997) developed a popular theoretical model based in large part upon Gordon's (1964) discussion of assimilation. While Gordon's work emphasized the structural variables that determine complete assimilation into the dominant group, Berry's research emphasized the psychological aspects of acculturation within the cultural context. Specifically, the focus of these studies related to the consequences that occurred when two dominant cultural groups came into contact with each other in pluralistic societies. The two consequences important to Berry's work were the psychological behaviors associated with an individual of an ethnic minority group avoiding and/or interacting with the dominant group. This form of intergroup contact resulted in changes among ethnic individuals, the ethnic group, how individuals could live together, and how individuals identify their place within the group and within the larger society as a whole.

From this perspective, Berry et al. (1986) demonstrated how individual minority group members could have either strong or weak ethnic identities. Using four strategies or outcomes, individuals were assessed according to their answers to two "yes/no" issues/questions: (1) Is it of value to retain my cultural identity; (2) Is it of value to have positive relations with the larger (dominant) society? The answers to these two questions

led to four specific identity types that were labeled "separation," "marginalization," "assimilation," and "integration." The relationship and difference between each of the ethnic types were clearly related (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Acculturation strategies. Adapted from J. Berry and D. L. Sam, 1997, p. 296.

Question 1
Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics? ↓

Question 2 →
Is it considered to be of value to maintain positive relationships with the dominant society?

	YES	NO
YES	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
NO	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION

If an individual answered NO to the first question and YES to the second question, this was a separation identity type. Separation referred to individuals who emphasized the value of retaining their ethnic culture and avoid interacting with the dominant group (Berry et al., 1986). Separation implied a higher degree of acculturative stress that occurred through contact with the dominant group. If an individual answered No to both questions, they were the marginalization identity type. In the early literature, marginalization referred to individuals who felt torn between the dominant group and the ethnic group and had loyalty to neither. The marginal individual was:

> living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he [she] were permitted to do so, with his [her] past and his[her] traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he [she] now seeks to find a place. (Park, 1928, p. 892)

Marginality was the co-existence between two strong cultural traditions and the "little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)" (Berry, Trimble, & Olemedo, 1986, p. 307).

Choosing YES to both questions constituted an integrated identity type. According to Berry and Sam (1997), when individuals were secure in their own ethnic culture, they accepted differences within the larger society, which was a precondition for multicultural acceptance. Integration was "...a dynamic set of social processes that allows a trade-off between intragroup identity and intergroup bonds, between in-group and out-group concerns" (Pettigrew, 1998 p. 19). Integrated individuals felt comfortable being a member of both cultural groups and "the maintenance of the cultural integrity of the group, as well as the movement by the group to become an integral part of the society" (Berry, 1984, p. 120) were the most essential elements in this identity type. Integration implied a form of bicultural identity. Bicultural individuals wove two strong cultures by integrating past experiences with present conditions and found a balance to accommodate the two cultures at the same time.

Individuals who answer YES to the first question and NO to the second question were the assimilated identity type. The assimilation type differed from the integration type in three respects. First, there was complete identification with the dominant society, even though individuals in the integration type did not attempt to change their ethnic identity to the host society. Second, assimilated individuals had similar sub-processes to the dominant group with reference to behaviors and attitudes and did not lose the ethnic culture despite strong interaction with the dominant group. In this type, integrated groups had retained distinct differences from the dominant group and experienced more prejudice and discrimination, factors that encourage the retention of observable differences (Sommerlad & Berry, 1970). Finally, assimilated individuals had not stressed mutual contributions and adjustments with the dominant society, as opposed to individuals in the integrated types who stressed the unilateral process. Berry et al., (1986) argued that among assimilation identity types, " . . . not every person in the acculturating group will necessarily enter into the acculturation process in the same way or to the same degree" (p. 296).

Thus, in terms of explaining ethnic identity patterns among Asian Americans, assimilation might be viewed as a dubious concept. First of all, the process of assimilation did not explain why some groups who chose to assimilate did not necessarily 'blend in' with the majority culture. Omatsu (1992) argued that assimilation theory erroneously compared Asian Americans to earlier generations of European American immigrant groups. The stages of assimilation were slower for the Asian Americans and

some stages had simply not taken place. For example, Hurh & Kim (1984) argued that the Koreans in America had adopted an 'adhesive adjustment' in America, which meant that although they were adopting the ways of the dominant culture, there remained a strong and persistent sense of attachment to the Korean culture.

Secondly, assimilation theory focused mainly on the minority group's adaptation to the majority group. This framework stressed the cultural factors (i.e., language, traditional customs) that hindered adaptation and ignored the institutional barriers in the dominant society (Omatsu, 1992). Further, the pressure to assimilate was placed on the ethnic group, not on the dominant group.

Finally, assimilation theory completely missed most of the significant changes that occurred in the later part of the century. The redefinition of the American identity constituted distinct new cultures that were not merely extensions of the immigrant's homeland. The reality was that assimilation was a one way process that did not account for the impact of the ethnic culture on the host culture since the theory suggested that one group simply took on the characteristics of another. Kitano and Daniels (1995) argued that "acculturation patterns [were] seldom linear and predictable; parents may selectively adopt American ways, and the most completely Americanized youngster may hold onto some old-country values" (p. 113).

Social Identity Theory

Social scientists have been increasingly looking at the self, in relation to the membership group, as an explanatory concept to understand the complexity of human

behavior. Self-identity, as a basic concept of the self, stemmed from the role(s) an individual assumed or desired to assume for him/herself (Hicks, 1977); roles that one chose to establish were a source of security for each group member. As cohesion increased, forms of mutual self-identification and solidarity would be achieved through the strength associated with an ethnic identity. An additional consideration when studying ethnic identity research was the emphasis an ethnic individual placed on the self and the self-concept.

Perhaps the most well researched theoretical area in regard to group membership was social identity theory. Social identity was defined as that "part of an individual's self-concept, which derives from his [her] knowledge of his [her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). The primary tenant of social identity theory stated that a positive sense of self-identity was a result from a positive sense of group identity.

Social identity research required the distinction between the dispositional and categorical aspects. Dispositional characteristics were generally those elements that made up an individual's personal identity. The categorical aspects were those aspects that made up the large percentage of an individual's social identity. A social group consisted of "two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or...perceive themselves to be members of the same social category (Turner, 1972, p. 15.). Research interest did not lay exclusively in the personal aspect of ethnic identity, per se, but in the aspects central to memberships in certain groups.

Social identity research and theory were concerned with group interaction and behavior, the cognitive aspects of group functioning, and intergroup relations. According to Tajfel (1982), "...an individual feels, thinks, and behaves in terms of his social identity created by the various groups of which he is a member and in terms of his relation to the social identity of others, as individuals or en mass" (p. 94). The relationship between the individual's group and other groups acted as a guide to intergroup conduct. When members of the ingroup interacted with each other, they compared themselves on a number of value dimensions against the perceived outgroup. These comparisons led to positive or negative social identities (Tajfel, 1978). A positive social identity would have developed depending upon the various social categories available to the individual. Social comparison led group members to search for specific characteristics and qualities of their own group, which allowed them to differentiate between themselves and outgroup members. The value attached to group membership was that aspect of social identity, which formed part of an individual's self-concept (Tajfel, 1978).

According to Tajfel (1978), the desire to act appropriately was based upon the impact and importance of group membership on individual behavior. Thus, an individual would identify with group that contributed to a sense of positive distinctiveness. Positive distinctiveness that he/she developed referred to awareness of being a member of the group, positive association with this group membership (pride), and emotional investment. Positive ingroup distinctiveness afforded individuals a positive social identity

and allowed for individual satisfaction with their own ingroup members. The ethnic group had been associated with ingroup membership.

Any form of change that occurred took place on two levels, within the individual and within the group. Brewer (1991) noted that the desire for change occurred when the existing group membership provided an individual with a negative social identity that was reinforced through the tension of unsatisfactory membership. In addition, our social identities stem from perceptual and motivational components. In order to activate ingroup-outgroup evaluations, both components must have been present. Ingroup-outgroup evaluations existed because there was a tension between the need to be seen as both unique and as a member of the group.

Extensive research has been conducted using social identity theory to explain group membership across a variety of situations. Smith and Bond (1993) found that social identities were activated during interaction among individuals when they were perceived to be atypical members of the group. These social identities took prevalence during conversation. If the individual was perceived to be a typical member of the same ethnic group, ethnic identities were activated. Related to social identity theory was the work conducted by Giles and associates (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987). According to Giles et al. (1977), there were three factors that contributed to group vitality: the social status of the group, demographic characteristics, and institutional support for the ethnic group language/dialect. Ethnolinguistic vitality served as the key

importance to the degree to which members of a group would act as a distinct linguistic group during intergroup encounters.

Alba (1990) and Waters (1990) studied the link between ethnic identity and group membership. According to Alba (1990), individuals with weak intergroup ethnic identities had a stronger tendency to marry out of their ethnic group than individuals with strong ethnic identities. The main reason for this finding was that individuals with weaker ingroup ethnic identities were less ethnic and might share more things in common with the dominant society than did individuals who strongly identify with their ethnic group. Furthermore, a weaker ingroup ethnic identity "may not be a product of the marriage itself but a prior condition which enhances the probability of intermarriage" (p. 58). The result was that ethnic identity was a critical construct on the formation and development of close, interethnic and intraethnic relationships.

Waters (1990) conducted in-depth interviews among European-Americans in suburban communities in the U.S. and her research focused on the choices European-Americans had regarding the display of their ethnicity. She pointed out that their ethnicity was symbolic. This symbolic identity:

> Fulfills. . . [the] need to be from somewhere. . .an ethnic identity is something that makes you both special and simultaneously part of a community. . .comes to you involuntarily through heredity, and at the same time is a personal choice. . .allows you to express your individuality in a way that does not make you stand out as in any way different from all kinds of other people. (p. 150)

This statement emphasized the choice an individuals made in their desire to stand out as an individual, as well as to conform and to become a part of a community.

The findings of these two studies indicated that ethnic differences appeared to be strongest among those generations closest to the immigrant experience. Ethnic differences weaken, or became less distinct, among those later down the generation line. According to Alba (1990), as each generation was removed from the original immigrants, erosion of ethnic culture naturally resulted. However, for some ethnic groups, such as the Asian Americans, personal choice was not a factor. Ethnic individuals were 'marked' into categories ascribed by other groups based on physical characteristics. This finding implied that ethnicity was generally not a voluntary choice for all groups because it could be imposed. As Waters (1990) argued, the ways "in which ethnicity is flexible and symbolic and voluntary for White middle class Americans are the very ways in which it is not so for non-white and Hispanic Americans" (p. 156). While ethnic identity might not be a salient issue or factor for Euro-American groups, it mattered tremendously for other ethnic groups.

In sum, social identity theory explained individual behavior with reference to an individual's group membership, not exclusively in terms of the individual characteristics of identity development. The pressure towards conformity during interaction with the concepts available for the construct of others behavior shaped the perception of people and events (Tajfel, 1969). Social identity theory stressed group membership as the most important aspect of an individual's ethnic conception. Whether group membership was

defined with reference to the society in general or in terms of the specific ethnic group was a matter of personal choice.

Ethnic Identity Development Perspective

Some of the most prolific and well-cited research in racial identity among African Americans has been the work conducted by Cross (1971, 1978, 1991, 1995) who has proposed a model of nigrescence. Nigrescence referred to the psychology of becoming Black from the level of racial, rather than from ethnic similarity. This process of resocialization constituted "the transformation of a preexisting identity (a non-Afrocentric identity) to one that is Afrocentric" from experiences, events or circumstances (Cross, 1995, p. 97).

Transformation of an identity occurred across an individual's lifespan through a five-stage process. These five stages were (1) pre-encounter; (2) encounter; (3) immersion-emersion; (4) internalization; and (5) internalization-commitment. The movement and changes across the stages were influenced by an individuals' reaction to social and environmental pressures and circumstances (Cross, 1971;1995).

Many other racial identity theories (e.g., Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1989; Cross, 1978; Parham & Helms, 1981) also described a variety of the modes of identification individuals choose to adopt. Helms and associates (e.g., Carter & Helms, 1987; Parham & Helms, 1981) conducted numerous studies. Most significant was the Parham and Helms (1981) scale developed from Cross's stages of racial identity, which named the stages as pre-encounter, encounter, emersion/ immersion and internalization. This scale

was known as the Black Racial Identity Scale (RIAS-B). Missing from the measurement was the internalization/commitment stage because Helms and associates argued that it did not constitute a unique single stage of development. Further, Helms (1995) recently replaced the word 'stage' with 'status' in order to "encourage more conceptually complex analyses of people's expressions or manifestations of their racial identity than typically have occurred heretofore" (p. 183). The decision stemmed in large part from the difficulty in assessing identity as a fluid, dynamic interplay rather than a static category assigned to ethnic individuals.

Atkinson, Morten and Sue (1979, 1983, 1989) developed a five-stage adult Minority Identity Development Model (MIDM), which has been refined and elaborated as the Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (R/CID) (Sue & Sue, 1990). This model was based on the exploratory study of Sue and Sue (1973), who proposed one of the earliest conceptual schemes to understand how Asian Americans adjusted to cultural conflicts. The authors observed that Asian Americans exhibited three distinct types of resolutions when faced with cultural dilemmas: (1) traditional, consisting of individuals who remained loyal to their ethnic group and who retained the traditional Asian values and cultural expectations of the family; (2) marginal, consisting of those who were "over-westernized," rejected traditional Asian values, and whose pride and self-worth were defined by their ability to acculturate into the white society; and (3) Asian American, those who rebelled against parental authority and, at the same time, attempted to integrate

their bicultural elements into an identity by reconciling viable aspects of their heritage with the present situation.

Most important to the model was the belief that all ethnic groups in the U.S. experienced a common form of oppression. Locating the beliefs and attitudes within the ethnic individual assisted the need for Asian Americans to reconcile the internal struggle between asserting a strong sense of self and desiring group identity. The R/CID consisted of five stages that ethnic members experienced as they understood themselves "in terms of their own culture, the dominant culture and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures: conformity, dissonance, resistance and immersion, introspection and integrative awareness" (Sue and Sue, 1990, p. 96). At each stage of identity, there were four corresponding beliefs and attitudes that ethnic members might hold.

First, the Conformity stage was defined as an individual's preference for the dominant culture's values and norms and the desire to assimilate. The individual held positive attitudes toward the dominant group but had negative, self-attitudes toward him/herself and the ethnic group in general. Second, the Dissonance stage referred to the gradual transition marked by a state of confusion. The ethnic individual had conflict with both self and group appreciating values and depreciating attitudes. The third stage was termed Resistance and Immersion. The aspect of resistance referred to the acceptance of racism and oppression as reality, but provided the sense of guilt individuals felt with respect to previous conformity attitudes. The Immersion aspect was associated with the individual who was completely embracing the values and attitudes characterized by his or

her ethnic group. The fourth stage was a period of Introspection, a positive exploration of identity issues. In this stage, the ethnic individual has a sense of comfort and security within him/herself. However, the resistance and negative attitudes were now utilized in a positive exploration of identity. Finally, Synergetic Articulation and Awareness was marked by a sense of confidence, self-fulfillment, and security with regard to the ethnic identity. The individual had the desire to eliminate various forms of oppression they were faced with and has the openness to adapt to the dominant group.

In sum, the models reflect the individual differences of consciousness and adoption of ethnic identity by addressing individuals at different stages. One of the difficulties of assessing stages of ethnic development is the superficial nature of an identity. Two Asian Americans might demonstrate the same attributes associated with the ethnic stage, but the process of arriving at that point may vary a great deal. Individual differences and variability of attitudes toward an ethnic identity did not explain the degree of consciousness of actual adoption of the identity.

More importantly, these models and developmental stages reflected the degree of oppression minorities felt toward the dominant society in the U.S. This oppression was the consequence of the unequal treatment perceived among ethnic minorities. However, unlike many ethnic groups in America, Asian Americans were a widely mixed population with natives, immigrants, sojourners, and refugees. Therefore, such an umbrella use and notion of "oppression" used in the above African American racial identity models would be difficult to apply to this heterogeneous group of people.

There are some additional qualifications that must be considered when examining Asian groups. For example, South Asian populations had a higher regard for hierarchy in social relationships (Ibrahim, 1993) than other Asian groups. This form of hierarchy played a key role in terms of the respect for tradition and a higher need for egalitarian relationships. Ibrahim, Ohnishi, and Sandhu (1997) claimed that while the individual might embrace individualism, "reality requires an acceptance of hierarchical systems, relationships, and the importance of the group" (p. 46).

Second, the Asian immigrant population had an easier time accepting cultural differences than did other ethnic groups in the U.S. because it was a reality of life (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Sandhu, 1997). Ibrahim et al. (1997) argue that "every successive generation born and raised in the United States will become more acculturated to mainstream culture" (p. 42). This diversity variable, which was missing from the identity achievement models, must be considered when conceptualizing the Asian immigrant experience. In addition, any form of dissonance "comes when [Asian immigrants] realize that hard work is not enough, that cultural differences cannot be overcome, and acceptance by mainstream American or the American born ethnic minorities will not occur based on the perceived differences by mainstream America" (p. 43).

Ethnic Identity Formation

Each individual has a complete image of self that was largely a product of the individual interactions within his or her social environment. How individuals viewed

themselves was cogently influenced by the significant persons within his/her social world (Espiritu, 1992).

Theories of ego identity formation were provided by the work of Erikson (1964, 1968). Erikson focused on the subjective sense of identity that was achieved through the experience of an identity crisis. An identity crisis was an internal war within an individual that served as a form of a "wake-up" call or an awakening. The process of self-achievement involved the exploration of abilities, options, interest, and religion, which led to the commitment to develop an individual's personal identity. As Erikson (1968) described, "the young person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel a progressive continuity...between that which he conceives himself and that which he perceives others to see in him and to expect of him" (p. 81).

Erikson's conceptual model of ego identity development was adapted and extended by a number of researchers who agreed that a form of an achieved identity from an awakening/crisis led to a period of exploration and identity commitment (e.g., Marcia 1966; 1980; Phinney, 1989). Marcia (1966, 1980) was the first to use Erikson's model to describe in more detail the period of identity development among young adults and adolescents in terms of the process of synthesizing childhood identities. Specifically, he centered the ego identity status on Erikson's two main elements of crisis and commitment.

According to Marcia (1966), crisis refers to, "...a period of engagement in choosing among meaningful alternatives. . . [and] commitment refers to the degree of personal

investment the individual exhibits" (p. 551). Thus, in order for an individual to form an adult identity, s/he experienced a form of crisis in ideas that were represented from childhood. Through exploration of possibilities and experimenting with possibilities, the individual would thus become committed to what he/she will be and become. Based upon these two elements, four distinct ego identity statuses emerged: identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achieved. Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966, 1980) correlated higher ego identity functioning with healthier psychological functioning.

The conceptual work of Erikson (1968) and the stages from Marcia (1966, 1980) generated many new research efforts. Phinney and associates (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1992) conducted numerous studies in an attempt understand the process of identity formation in terms of race, ethnicity, and minority status among young adolescent ethnic individuals. They proposed and validated a three-stage ethnic identity achievement process. The continuum of ethnic identity was presented as a form of low to high ethnic identity salience. The culmination of the three-stage process required a resolution or coming to terms with cultural differences between one's own group and the dominant group (Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990) based on the lower status perceived by the dominant society.

Communication Approaches

Kim's Identity Development

One of the first communication scholars to integrate the different types of communication networks and their effects on acculturation was Kim (1977, 1987). Her

research among Korean immigrants in Chicago found that Korean immigrants who participated in networks of the dominant culture were more acculturated than immigrants who had communication networks within their own ethnic group. Accessibility of mass media had been thought to have strong influence, but Kim (1987) found that it was not related to the process of acculturation. This finding was consistent with Min's (1998) study among Korean Americans in Los Angeles that reported mass media might deter communication with dominant group members. Min (1998) argued that for Koreans in the U.S., "their almost exclusive dependence on ethnic media has in turn strengthened their ties to the ethnic community and the home country, although it has hindered their assimilation into American society" (p. 228). One viable explanation was the fact that Korean immigrants were a highly homogenous group. This homogeneity contributed to the Korean ethnic identity and group solidarity (Min, 1998).

Hurh and Kim (1984) pointed out that among Korean immigrants in Los Angeles, the strong ethnic attachment did not imply little commitment to the dominant culture and "progress in time, status, and acculturation does not accompany regress in ethnic attachment" (p. 85). In essence, they did not resist acculturation/assimilation but adopted the elements of the dominant culture without discarding the native values. In another similar finding, Rutledge (1982) found that the Vietnamese in Oklahoma City "are not an isolated, independent, cultural unit, nor are they an assimilating unit in the traditional sense. They are instead a distinct ethnic unit; that is, one that employs factors of self-ascription in order to maintain a separate identity vis a vis another cultural or ethnic

group" (p. 95). The finding indicated that assimilation and acculturation were desirable among both Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. However, there is a strong desire to maintain ethnic distinctiveness and ethnicity.

One outcome of successful adaptation was the notion of an intercultural identity (Kim, 1995). To explain the stress-adaptation-growth process of an individual, Kim (1988) posited a model that combined psychological (affective, behavioral, and cognitive), social (interpersonal and mass communication), and environmental explanations. The inclusion of both the social and psychological dimensions of adaptation was conceived as different but interrelated facets of cross-cultural adaptation. Kim (1988, 1995) argued that during the process of adaptation, stress itself was the underlying factor that motivated an individual to make the necessary adjustments to find some form of balance. The degree of intercultural development would facilitate an individual's capacity to function in a multicultural society by undergoing the struggle to manage the stress, the need to successfully adapt, and maintain ethnic identity distinctiveness. The result was an intercultural identity, defined as the increase of an individual's capacity to integrate conflicting cultural demands into a cohesive new whole (Kim, 1995). Intercultural identity have both universalized and individualized orientations: universalized to transcend the ascribed cultural parameters and individualized as the self-other orientation becomes more particularized and personalized (Kim et al., in press). While most social scientists devoted time to drawing boundaries between ethnic group memberships, emphasis should be placed on merging boundaries together without the need to lock

oneself in a single cultural identity (Kim, 1995). In essence, an individual who expanded his/her identity by incorporating new cultural elements would not be perceived as a disloyal ethnic group member. Rather, the merging of ethnic boundaries should be perceived as a matter of personal necessity and value for the ethnic individual.

Identity Negotiation and Communication

Ting-Toomey (1993) developed a theory of identity negotiation that drew from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), acculturation theory (Berry et al., 1989), and racial identity development scales (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990). This theory might have great significance for intercultural and ethnic communication theory. Ting-Toomey (1993) viewed ethnic identity as a multidimensional construct, which included aspects of personal and collective self-concept, affiliation with ingroup and outgroup members, attitudes, and feelings.

According to Ting-Toomey (1993), humans had universal needs for security and inclusion. Ethnic identity represented a contradictory state between a sense of group belonging and a sense of wanting to become separate from the group. The contradictory state took the form of a dialectical tension, which was "the simultaneous presence of two relational forces that are interdependent and mutually negating. Their interdependence is evident in that the forces define each other" (Montgomery, 1993, p. 207). Thus, the ultimate challenge for an individual was to find the balance between both dialectical states. This tension, of ingroup membership and individuality, was anchored in the daily life and social practices of ethnic individuals. Ting-Toomey pointed out that:

> Self-identification provides the motivational key to communicative actions. How we conceive our sense of self and how we want to be perceived by others are fundamental communicative questions. In each interaction episode, the implicit or explicit messages express underlying self-views and, concurrently, our appraisals of the other's self-views. How we want to be defined by others and how our conversational partners want us to define them are expressed in and through communication processes. In addition, it is through communication that we can reframe and modify our self-views. Thus, self-identification is maintained, re-created, and changed through mutual enhancement processes. (p. 76).

Ting-Toomey et al. (in press) made a distinction between ethnic identity salience and cultural identity salience. Ethnic identity salience refers to "the extent to which people feel a sense of belonging, involvement of ethnic activities and practices, positive ingroup attitudes, feel that the ethnic group is a reflection of the self, and individuals' actively think about their ethnicity and ethnic identity" (Ting-Toomey et al., p. 37). On the other hand, cultural identity salience involved, "following of the larger U.S. cultural values and practices, a sense of assimilation to the larger U.S. culture, degree of positive/negative attitudes concerning intergroup contact, and a feeling that the larger U.S. culture is a reflection of the self" (p. 37, Ting-Toomey et al., 1994). Individuals who had a stronger identification with the ethnic factor would be more likely to display ethnic behaviors, while individuals who identified with the cultural identity factor would express more individual and assimilated values.

Ting-Toomey's (1993) theory was tested among four ethnic groups in the U.S. and developed an instrument to assess the degree of ethnic identity salience (Ting-Toomey et al., in press). This instrument delineated four ethnic identity dimensions: (1) belonging--where individuals had feelings of ethnic belonging and felt comfortable identifying with both ethnic group membership and the dominant culture; (2) fringe--individuals who had feelings of unsettlement because they did not identify either with the ethnic group and the dominant culture; (3) interaction--the desire among individuals who sought either separation from the dominant group or to seek interaction with them; and (4) assimilation--individuals held attitudes associated with the desire to blend into the dominant group.

Making a distinction between ethnic identity salience and cultural identity salience was been consistent with past research. Chung and Ting Toomey (1994) conducted a study among Asian and Asian American populations regarding the influence of identity on relational expectations of potential dating partners. Asian Americans who rated themselves with a high ethnic identity tended to hold unfavorable attitudes toward outgroup dating. Conversely, Asian Americans who had weaker ethnic identities tended to hold favorable attitudes toward outgroup dating. Significantly, this study found that individuals who felt strong about his/her ethnic group had a tendency to emphasize perceived differences between the ingroup and outgroup. Individuals who felt less strongly about their ethnic group emphasized perceived similarities between the ingroup and outgroup. Individuals with weaker ethnic identities would expect more rewarding

relationships, whereas strong ethnic exclusive individuals would expect problematic interactions among outgroup members.

Summary

The need to understand "who we are" with reference to the social group in which we belong was a complicated and internally driven question (Ting-Toomey, 1981). The complexity of belonging to a social group might be based on either a standard of performance. At the same time, who we consider to be the constructed social group to which we belong to or the reference group to which we aspire to become affiliated might be equally important. Ethnic identity had frequently been characterized as having objective, subjective and situational components. Separating these components became difficult, as research attempted to tap into personal, diverse experiences among individuals. In any event, ethnic identity might be seen as an intricate interplay and dialectical tension involving individuals who were striving to become self-actualized and the complex social setting within which they were existing.

Rationale for the Study

This dissertation examines the subjective nature of ethnic identity. As more Asian Americans of diverse backgrounds choose to settle in smaller communities across the U.S., the increase of interethnic encounters will become prominent. The implications of managing both internal challenges and the practical need to identify with group, ethnic identity continues to be a significant research area.

The Oklahoma Asian American populations consist of diverse groups of native-born residents, older immigrants, and new immigrants, making Asian Americans ideal groups to study. Specifically, the Korean American and Vietnamese American populations have increased and expanded in areas within the last 20 years, yet little attention is given to them in communication research. The majority of studies focus on population statistics (Edmuston & Passel, 1994) and the immigrant experience (Kim, 1979; Rutledge, 1982). Specific interaction patterns within the communities however, have been ignored. Although few studies exist regarding the Vietnamese American population in Oklahoma (Muzny, 1989; Rutledge, 1982), little is known about the Korean American population. This research study will contribute to the field of communication through the voices and experiences of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans and seek to understand how ethnic choices have been negotiated and perceived among these two groups. The investigation of ethnic identity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans is both theoretically significant. This research will help to determine the potential generalizability of the developmental ethnic identity models, in this case, to these Oklahoma populations.

Immigrants in the United States are, as Schutz (1945) argues, living multiple realities. Ethnic individuals must confront dialectical role choices, such as whether or not to adapt into the new society, resist complete assimilation, or withdraw from the dominant society's definition of 'ethnic group member.' Only when a number of comprehensive theories or conceptualizations are considered simultaneously can a more

generalized perspective surface and explain human behavior both separately and collectively. The above considerations and theories described above have led to a number of research questions:

RQ1. What is the relationship between ethnic identity dimensions and subjective perceptions of ethnic identity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans?

More specifically, the 'objective' ethnic identity dimensions described by Ting-Toomey et al.'s (in press) study --belonging, fringe, interaction, and assimilation will be compared to Berry's (1997) model of ethnic identity types, which consists of integration, assimilation, marginalization, and separation. The subjective answers to the two questions posed by Berry and Sam (1997), "is it of value to retain my cultural identity?" and "is it of value to have positive relations with the larger (dominant) society?" will be compared to the objective measurement of ethnic identity.

Past studies reflect a clear consensus regarding the positive association between the increase in relational involvement among and the dominant group and the increase of the psychological indicators for successful adaptation (see Berry et al., 1987; Berry et al., 1989; Kim, 1988; Rutledge, 1990) among immigrants. Individuals tend to see themselves in light of the respective cultural group membership (Brewer, 1986; Brewer and Miller, 1984). A stronger ethnic group is more likely to encourage the maintenance of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the individual and discourage assimilation into the larger society as a whole (Isajiw, 1990).

Despite the significance of these findings, little research has discussed the ingroup network among individuals who ethnically belong to the same group but yet are perceived as outgroup members. The complexity of the Asian American population is marked with an increase of historical and structural differences between first and later generations of immigrants. Often times, the number of years of residence in the U.S affects the perception of ingroup membership as well. For example, many Asian Americans do not refer to themselves as immigrants who live in the 'host country' but as 'American citizens.' Thus, the significant differences of motivation and ingroup belonging are important indicators of individual perceptions, which lead to the second research question:

RQ2. What is the relationship between intergroup communication and perception of ingroup or outgroup status for Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans?

In particular, how does the number of intimate friends that individuals have within the ethnic group and other groups relate their perception of themselves as outgroup members within their own ethnic group? As discussed previously, assimilation studies assume that individuals who have successfully adapted to the dominant group will acquire the values and traits associated with the group. However, little research has been conducted regarding the level of association or disassociation among intact ethnic groups. The number of friends may not be as important as the status or stage of assimilation, but may be a reflection of specific intergroup communication behaviors.

Studying ethnic identity movements among Asian Americans may help us understand the complexity of being physically marked into an ethnic category without necessarily adopting or embracing that identity. According to Nash (1989) ethnic markers provide a collective identity that consciously and unconsciously influences individual identity. A central and divisive issue within the Asian community is whether or not to adopt an 'Asian American' or simply an 'American' identity. The trend in the U.S. has been to place all Asians into the general Asian American category, rather than to define them with reference to a particular Asian country of origin. Thus, an Asian American encompasses individuals with Asian roots who live in the United States, native-born Americans, immigrants, students, and sojourners. For example, in Oklahoma, many Asians who are international students will refer to his/her identity as Asian American.

While the term may build stronger group identity, the characteristics and values of each Asian group are so different from each other that it is almost impossible to make intelligent generalizations about 'Asian Americans' as a whole. Uba (1994) claims there is no single Asian American culture because individuals reconcile their Asian cultural traditions among a rich and expansive repertoire. This leads to the third research question:

RQ3. How do Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans view their ethnic identities?

Ethnic group membership does not necessarily correspond to cultural group membership and identification with the dominant group. Past and current perspectives indicate that there is little agreement on the specific factors that are most salient and

applicable in assessing individuals' ethnic identities. If ethnic identity refers to a group of individuals who share a common identification with the group (Roosens, 1989), what is it that makes the group 'common' and what separates one ethnic group from other ethnic groups? It is negligent to assume that all individuals in an ethnic group will share a single, common identification, when group culture is rich in linguistic and religious diversity. Espirito (1992) argues that even cultural similarity does not explain why some individuals feel little solidarity with their own ethnic group.

Chapter III

Methods and Procedures

The present chapter delineates and reviews: (1) participant criteria and recruitment; (2) the sample profile of the participants from sociodemographic variables; and (3) the analysis procedures utilized to answer the proposed research questions.

Participants

Criteria

To participate in this study, participants met three criteria: (1) U.S. resident or citizen; (2) basic English speaking ability; and (3) age of at least 21-years. The first criterion of citizenship and/or residency was used because capturing the ethnic identity experiences for Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans was most practical among those who were more likely to comprise the "best of both worlds," in terms of having knowledge and practice with two cultural groups. Second, in order to ask and assess answers generated from the participants, at least basic English must be communicated between the researcher and the participant.

Each respondent was over 21-years of age. There were two reasons for implementing the age criteria. First, individuals who were younger than 21 might have had difficulty expressing the identity development, change, and problematic issues that occurred throughout their relatively younger life span. The early years of identity development had been identified as the most problematic years of study when an ethnic individual was searching for "who they are" in relation to other (see the work of Phinney, 1989, for a more detailed discussion). Gupta (1998) compellingly argued that it was about the first years of college when a "...confused sense of self stays with them

[students]...when they are deciding which minority group to identify with and belong to" (p. 128). The complex, personal development that occurred during the younger ages might interfere with identity clarification that was mandatory for this study.

Second, results of the U.S. census indicated that the mean age of the Korean American population in Oklahoma was approximately 28 years of age, while the Vietnamese American population was 24 years of age (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). Obtaining participants over 21 years of age reflected the similar age trends and a more realistic sample population of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma.

Participant Recruitment

The initial pool of participants was based on personal contacts of community leaders in Oklahoma who were known to the researcher[1]. Once the study began, additional participants were selected through a convenience snowball sampling procedure (Henry, 1990). Of the 168 participants, five were acquaintances of the researcher. These five participants played a vital role in aiding in the recruitment of additional participants from various churches, Asian Society groups, festivals, and active Asian American student organizations. The original attempt to individually recruit by randomly selected telephone calls and appointments with community leaders were unsuccessful[2].

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1 I was introduced to the community leaders of the Asia Society from the Asian American Student Association in 1993. Although none of these leaders were close, personal friends, the established contact was vital to connect with individuals in both communities.

2 Both communities are, to some degree, closed. Being connected via networks was the only way to gain access in the community.

At the conclusion of each interview, participant were asked if they knew someone who might be potentially interested in participating in the study. This procedure was employed as an alternative to probability sampling procedures, given the absence of comprehensive information on the sampling population of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma.

Participant Profile

The overall sample size for this study contained 168 respondents. The sociodemographic profile of the sample is summarized in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Insert Tables 1, 2 and 3 about here

There were 76 males (45.2%) and 92 females (54.8 %), 54 Korean Americans and 114 Vietnamese Americans. Of the 168 respondents, 159 (94.6%) were US citizens and nine were U.S. residents (5.4%). The age of the respondents ranged from 21-62, with a mean of 29.8 (SD= 10.78). Overall, 74 (or 44%) were undergraduate and graduate students, 62 (36.9%) were professionals, 13 (7.7%) were unemployed, 12 (or 7.1%) owned their own business, and 7 (4.2%) were blue-collar workers. Thus there were more non-students (n = 94) than students (n = 74) in this sample.

The respondents for this sample were asked about their place of birth. 92 (or 54.8%) were born in Vietnam, 41 (or 24.4%), in Korea, 34 (or 20.2%) in the U.S., and one (.6%) participant was born in Germany. Length of years in the U.S. ranged from a period of five years to 34 years, with a mean of 19 (SD= 5.41) total years of residence. The

respondents reported living in Oklahoma from one year to twenty-nine years, with an average mean of 16.7 (SD= 6.85).

A majority of the respondents were single (114 or 68.3%) and 51 (30.5%) were married, 2 (1.2%) were divorced, and two participants failed to report a marital status. Of those who were married, ethnicity of spouses were Korean (17 or 32.1%), Vietnamese (17 or 32.1%), European-American/American (14 or 26.4%), and other (5 or 9.4%).

Survey Instrument

Ethnic Identity and Cultural Salience (EID)

The Ethnic Identity and Cultural Salience (EID) Questionnaire was used in order to confirm the original factors found by Ting-Toomey et al. (in press). The EID consisted of items from adapted scales used in past research and new items that Ting-Toomey et al. (in press) incorporated. The EID has been shown to have an overall reliability of .88 and has been tested among four different ethnic groups assessing acculturation, ethnic identity development, and other-group orientation. Specifically, to assess acculturation attitudes, items from Berry et al. (1989) were used. To assess the racial/ethnic identity development perspective and intergroup distance, items were adapted from the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B) (Parham & Helms, 1990). These items were reworded from the original perspective of the African American perspective to include a broader range of group interaction. The EID consisted of 51 questions designed to determine the salience of ethnic identity. The questions were developed to address variables that pertained to four dimensions identified as belonging, fringe, interaction, and assimilation.

Ting-Toomey et al. (in press) reported tests of the items and the content domain of each factor. The EID was used with a five-point likert scale for which 1 equaled 'strongly

disagree' and 5 equals 'strongly agree,' therefore, the higher scores represented more favorable agreement with the statement. The EID combined the four scales and revealed four factors, including belonging, fringe, interaction, and assimilation. All four dimensions yielded high reliability coefficients across four ethnic groups. Belonging ($\underline{r}$ = .91) refers to the feelings of attachment among the ethnic group (e.g., 'I feel an overwhelming attachment to being a member of my ethnic group'). The 14 items that represented belonging were: 1, 3, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 28, 32, 33.

The second factor, fringe ($\underline{r}$ = .89, combines feelings of discomfort associating with the ethnic group and among other ethnic groups (i.e., #47 'I generally do not feel comfortable being around members of other ethnic groups'). 11 items used to measure fringe were: 5, 14, 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 35, 38, 40, 42. The third factor, interaction ($\underline{r}$ = .89), referred to the desire to interact with other ethnic group members (i.e., #46 'I frequently involve myself in activities with members of other ethnic groups'). The 14 items assessing interaction were: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51. Finally, the fourth factor, assimilation (r =.83), referred to stronger feelings of attachment to the dominant group (i.e., #39 'The overall US culture is an important reflection of who I am'). The nine items that represent assimilation included: 24, 26, 27, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43.

In addition to the EID, demographic information was also obtained. Participants were asked to provide their gender, age, occupation, years in Oklahoma and the United States, ethnicity and ethnic label preference, marital status (and ethnicity of spouse), language spoken while growing up.

Interview questions

To determine content validity, survey questions were first piloted among three cultural informants who were Korean American and Vietnamese American. The cultural informants served as representatives of the ethnic group. This technique was used to uncover any potential problems that might cause difficulty for participants to answer, such as phrasing and sensitivity of the questions. Several suggestions were made to improve the clarity and readability of each question.

To assess the subjective ethnic identity experiences among the participants, standardized open-ended and closed-ended questions were utilized. Two open-ended questions were used to capture the ethnic identity experiences. Participants were asked to examine Berry and Sam's (1997) model and pick one of the four ethnic types from their answers. Participants were asked to explain why that ethnic type best represented how they viewed their ethnic identity. To account for situational identity, participants were asked to explain specific experiences in which they felt an awareness of being 'Korean' or 'Vietnamese.'

Close-ended questions were used to gauge the number of acquaintances, friends, and intimate friends each participant had among their own ethnic group, with other Asians, and in other ethnic groups. To assess outgroup membership, participants were given a short definition of an outgroup. They were and then asked: 'Have you ever felt like an outgroup member in your own ethnic group?' To better understand their answers, a final question asked for their perceptions of how their ethnic group viewed them. In other words, "Are there differences of how your ethnic group views you and how you view yourself?"

Procedures

Data Collection

Prior to conducting the survey, leaders of the Korean American and Vietnamese American communities in Oklahoma City were contacted to get a sense of the community and obtain willing participants. The leaders agreed to contact members of their community, through their churches, society meetings, and social functions. In addition, local leaders in Norman were contacted by telephone and interviews were arranged. Thus, the snowball procedure consisted of direct contact and ingroup introductions that led to potential meetings with interviewees. From contact with leaders in both communities, informants were recruited to provide additional sources within their own networks. Many participants agreed to participate as long as a third party introduction or contact person was involved.

Following the recruitment efforts, the researcher scheduled appointments with a majority of the participants at their desired location. One-third of the data was collected with the participant alone, another one-third among groups consisted of three or more participants, and the final one-third of the data were collected by mail and fax. Upon arrival, all interviewees read the consent form (see Appendix A), the form was explained, and they were asked to sign the form, which all did. Approximately five minutes was used to brief participants about the survey and answer any questions they might have had. All participants were assured confidentiality. During the data collection process, participants were hesitant about the anonymity of the study. Thus, to ensure their level of comfort and ease, participants were given the choice of being interviewed or completing

the questionnaire in writing or orally on tape. Ninety-nine percent of the participants chose to be interviewed; a majority did not feel comfortable being taped.

The interview was divided into three parts: (1) basic demographic information; (2) closed and open ended questions; and (3) a 52-item EID scale generated from Ting-Toomey et al. (in press) (see Appendix B). The demographic questions gathered information about specific numbers of friends (friends, close friends, and intimate friends). Participants discussed their perceptions, experiences with, and feelings about their ethnic identity. Finally, participants were asked to complete the EID. Each interview took approximately 30-45 minutes.

Data Analysis

Data analyses were conducted in two stages. First, analyses to answer the two specific research questions were conducted. Demographic variables, responses to Berry and Sam's (1997) ethnic identity type model, and the EID scale were entered into SPSS 7.1 for personal computers. All statistical analyses were performed using this statistical package. The second stage included coding the data using thematic analyses based on Glaser and Strauss's (1968) grounded theory.

Research questions

The first research question asked about the relationship between ethnic dimensions and subjective perceptions of ethnic identity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. The analysis for this question was divided into three parts. The first part was designed to measure ethnic identity by using the Ting-Toomey et al. (in press) 51-item Ethnic/Cultural Identity Scale (EID). The four dimensions found on the EID (belonging,

fringe, interaction, and assimilation) were tested with a factor analysis that confirmed the general structure of the scale (see table 4).

Insert Table 4 about here

Reliabilities for the scale, each factor, and between both ethnic groups were calculated using Cronbach's alpha, which was used to obtain overall reliability for the factors and items within each scale. This step evaluated whether or not the scale provided reliable data for the sample in this study.

The second part of the data analysis required three steps. First, total mean scores for each of four ethnic identity factors were computed and summarized. Second, a new variable was created to find the highest mean score of the four ethnic dimension factors for each of the participants. From the results of their four mean scores, the highest mean of the four factors was entered as the new variable. The final part of the data analysis used a nonparametric test statistic to determine the interrelationship between perceived ethnic identity types and objective ethnic dimension measurements by running cross-tabulations (or contingency tables). The first variable, perceived identity, was tabled against objective identity to form an eight-fold table. Contingency tables were used when three or more categorical variables exist in the data. These tables identified associations to understand the interrelationship between variables.

The second research question asked about the relationship between and intergroup communication and perception of ingroup or outgroup status for Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. Analysis for this question was divided into two parts. The first

part, which examined communication interaction, was designed to determine the number of intimate friends each subject had who were ingroup and outgroup members. Again, the nonparametric statistical analysis test of cross-tabulation was conducted to examine if the self-perception of being viewed as an ingroup or outgroup member was related to the number of intimate friends an individual had within their own group, other Asian groups, and non-Asian groups (e.g., European American, African American). The second part of the analysis was designed to address group perceptions of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. A thematic analysis was employed to determine the most salient issues and explanations of ethnic identity perceptions regarding ingroup or outgroup status.

A coding scheme was developed combining Blumer's (1979) and Glaser and Strauss' (1967) data analysis models to form concise categories from raw data. According to Glaser and Strauss, grounded theory followed did not stem from a priori knowledge but from the data itself. Specifically, grounded theory "fits the situation being researched and work when put into use. By 'fit' the researcher means that the categories must be readily (not forcibly) applicable to and indicated by the data under study; by 'work' we mean that they must be meaningfully relevant to and be able to explain the behavior under study" (p. 3). Thus, grounded theory was discovered empirically rather than expounded a priori (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The first part of the data analysis loosely followed McCracken's (1988) guidelines for breaking down interview data analysis into four steps. First, data were sorted initially by participant number and questions, and then transferred to index cards. Second, responses to each open-ended question were read and reread to confirm or

disconfirm emergent relationships and to recognize general properties of the data. Third, general themes were identified and sorted in a hierarchical fashion.

Elements were placed into common categories based upon emerging themes of perceptions of ethnic identity. Spradley (1979) suggested: "while coding an incident for a category, compare it with previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category (p. 106). Categories were named based on the logic of the data it represented (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The data from the index cards were read and reread by individual coders who were responsible for identifying the content and general ethnic identity themes. In order for themes to emerge, they must have had a high degree of generality (Spradley, 1979), which were seen in the repetition of key words and phrases in the response (Owens, 1984).

To assess intercoder reliability, the presence or absence of an emergent theme for each question was tabulated for the percentage of agreement. Results revealed an intercoder reliability of .91 using Holsti's (1969) formula. According to Holsti (1969), "raw data are systematically transformed and aggregated into units that permit precise description of relevant content characteristics" (p. 94). Coefficients of .80 and above were considered acceptable (Kaid and Wadsworth, 1989). In this study, intercoder reliability tested high (see Table 5).

Insert Table 5 about here

Additionally, the third research question, which asked how do Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans view their ethnic identities, was analyzed by the same

thematic methods as described above. The analysis of this question was divided into two parts: subjective and situational identity experiences. The subjective component of ethnic identity was designed to understand how individuals could explain their ethnic identity type by identifying the reasons why their ethnic identity choice was appropriate. Situational identity was studied to reveal the positive and negative associations with feeling like an ethnic group member.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

This chapter will present the results of the statistical analysis, the results of the confirmatory factor analysis, and the results of the research questions. The three research questions deal with the subjective nature of ethnic identity experiences among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. The major emerging themes will be identified by the analysis of data obtained from the personal interviews.

Research Question One

Factor Analysis

In the initial examination to explore the dimensions of ethnic identity, confirmatory factor analysis was completed on the data, confirming the Ethnic/Cultural Identity Scale (EID) developed by Ting-Toomey et al. (in press). The four dimensions of belonging, fringe, interaction, and assimilation were measured in the present study (see Table 4).

Insert Table 4 about here

The scale had an overall reliability of .86. The reliability of each of the factors was assessed for internal consistency. The alpha score was .87 for the Korean Americans and .85 for the Vietnamese Americans. Results of the confirmatory factor analysis yielded 32 of the 51 items from the EID and loaded on same four distinct factors (see Table 4 for items).

Overall scale reliability of these items was .82. Alphas were very similar for each population: .82 for the Korean American sample and .83 for the Vietnamese Americans.

Two-Way Contingency Tables and Correlations

The first research question focused on the self-perception of ethnic identity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. To answer this question, mean scores of the EID factors were totaled for each respondent. The highest mean scores were coded with a numerical variable. A two-way contingency table analysis was conducted to evaluate whether subjective ethnic identity type perceptions matched the participant's mean scores with their highest overall mean scores from the EID measurement (see table 6).

Insert Table 6 about here

The procedure for computing a coefficient between the subjective and objective ethnic identity was based on the chi-square value associated with the contingency table. The formula using Cramer's V coefficient:

$$\underline{V} = \frac{\underline{X}^2}{N}$$

Where X^2 was the chi-square-calculated value and N was the number of observations summed across all categories. Wickens (1989) observed that Cramer's statistic was most valuable when tables had both different sizes and different total frequencies. The composite measure reduces them to a common ground.

Subjective versus objective ethnic identity perceptions among both Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans were found to relatively associated (Cramer's $\underline{V}$ = .20). The statistic indicated significant similarity between the perception of ethnic identity and objective ethnic identity. Differences, however, did exist but not statistical differences. The proportion of individuals who loaded highest on belonging, assimilation, interaction, and fringe were .32, .11, .39, .15, and .02 respectively (see Table 7).

Insert table 7 about here

Subjective versus objective ethnic identity perceptions among Korean Americans were found to be significantly related (Cramer's $\underline{V}$ = .351). This confirmed the contingency table analysis of the difference between perceived ethnic identity and objective ethnic identity among Korean Americans (see Table 8).

Insert table 8 about here

Subjective versus objective ethnic identity perceptions among Vietnamese Americans was not found to be significantly related (Cramer's $\underline{V}$ = .23). Results did not confirm the contingency table analysis of any difference between perceived ethnic identity and objective ethnic identity among Vietnamese Americans (see Table 9).

Insert table 9 about here

After confirming the factor analysis, correlation coefficients were computed between the demographic variables and ethnic identity types to account for any confounding variables in the analysis. This analysis served two purposes: (1) to examine whether identity types were interrelated with friendship networks; and (2) to examine whether background variables were interrelated with each other. Using the Bonferroni approach to control for Type I error across the correlations, a p value of less than .005 was required for significance.

Age correlated negatively and significantly with birthplace r (df, N = 168) = -.458, $p \leq .001$, suggesting that older respondents were born out of the United States. In terms of interpersonal networks and age of the participants, correlations were negative and significant (total number of intimate friends from other groups r (df, N = 168) = -.15, $p \leq .005$ and total number of intimate friends r (df, N = 168) = -.21, $p \leq .001$. Results suggest older adults did not have many intimate friends, specifically intimate friends from other groups. There was no significant relationship with age and outgroup perceptions.

Subjective identity was significantly correlated with number of intimate friends from groups other than Asian and their own r (df, N = 168) = .24, $p \leq .001$, total number of intimate friends r (df, N = 168) = .15, $p \leq .005$, years in Oklahoma r (df, N = 168) = -.19, $p \leq .005$, and years in the U.S. r (df, N = 168) = -.17, $p \leq .005$. These findings suggest that those who were the integrated identity type were more likely to have lived in the U.S. and Oklahoma longer than those who were the marginal or separated ethnic identity type. In addition, those who are more assimilated and marginal were more likely to have intimate friends who are not a part of their ethnic group.

Research Question Two

Research Question Two asked about the relationship between intergroup communication and ingroup or outgroup status for Korean American and Vietnamese Americans. Before performing analyses, frequency data was used to assess the number of participants who answered the closed question, "Have you ever felt like an outgroup member in your own ethnic group?" As previously mentioned, 52.2% (n = 84) of the respondents indicated that they felt like outgroup members within their own ethnic group, while 41% (n = 66) did not feel like outgroup members, and 6.8% (n = 11) answered sometimes. As a result of frequency data analysis, a cross-tabulation was used to determine the relationship between ingroup/outgroup perception and the number of interpersonal friends.

Two-Way Contingency Tables and Correlations

Two-way contingency tables were used to evaluate and assess the relationship between ingroup/outgroup perceptions (does the participant feel like outgoup members in their own ethnic group) and communication in interpersonal relationships, in terms of the number of friends and intimate friends. The two variables were outgroup perceptions with three responses (yes, no, sometimes) and the number of intimate friends (with a range of 0-9) within their own ethnic group.

In the first contingency table, outgroup perceptions and intimate friends within the same ethnic group were found to be significantly associated (Cramer's V = .31).

Insert tables 10 and 11 about here

An additional test was conducted among outgroup perceptions with three responses (yes, no, sometimes) and the number of intimate friends (with a range of 0-9) among other ethnic groups who were non-Asian or within their own ethnic group. Outgroup perceptions and number of intimate friends with non-Asians was found to be significantly related (Cramer's $\underline{V} = .32$). The statistic indicated significant similarities between the perception of outgroup membership and the number of intimate friends who are not from the ethnic group and pointed to differences.

To assess the reasons why Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans felt there were differences in how members of their ethnic group viewed them and how they viewed themselves, a thematic analysis was employed. A total of 28 comments were coded. Among the individuals who answered yes (51.9% or $\underline{n} = 80$), three distinct themes emerged to account for the differences: (1) not a typical member; (2) not as American; and (3) identity depends on the context. To illustrate the examples in a simple manner, N referred to the participant and the number that followed N was the participant number. The ethnicity of each participant in the following examples was not provided to protect the anonymity of participants from unintentional/accidental disclosure.

The most common reason for perceived differences was that the individual <u>did not act like a typical group member</u> ($\underline{n} = 23$) (see Appendix C for examples). This theme referred to participants who felt like they did not act as 'ethnic' as others in the internal group or were "too American." Included, as a key factor was the inability to hold decent conversation speaking the ethnic language. One female, a 31-year-old graduate student, was born out of the U.S. and lived in Oklahoma for the past 15 years. She was an U.S. citizen and was married to a Chinese man. She said:

At times, they view me as an atypical group member, I think more American. They think because I am open minded, outspoken and less conservative I am not [ethnic] enough. But I view myself as being in-between two cultures.

This perception might be closely associated to assimilation conflict behaviors between native-born Americans and immigrants. For example, individuals who showed and displayed American values/tendencies were not only perceived as outgroup members, but somewhat 'different' than other members in the ethnic group. This difference indicated that these individuals had lost all the aspects of the ethnic culture, and thus, did not belong. At the same time, when they interacted among European Americans, European Americans did not think they were "typical" Americans. Thus, the dilemma of "which group do I belong to?" was a problematic account in this theme.

On the other hand not as American (n = 13) (see example in Appendix C) posed a different plight. In this theme, participants often perceived themselves as more ethnically associated and attached to the ethnic group. However, during interaction, these ethnic individuals were perceived as Americans and not as a member of their ethnic group. To account for differences, participants made statements such as: "I think I am very Vietnamese and American at the same time, but each of the two groups see me as not totally one or the other;" "Korean's think I am too American but I am Korean." This theme accounted for both dual identity and fringe behaviors. In one sense, ethnic individuals were not perceived by either group as being a clear "fit" which implied an indication of marginality. In order to associate with both groups, the individual claimed ties to both groups. Ethnic individuals who were seen as more American asserted their ethnic identity among the ingroup in order to become accepted.

The final theme to emerge was context (n = 8). This theme was the most intriguing because the context and status of the individual with whom one interacts with might influence the interactants' perception. For example, N133 was a graduate student who was born in the United States. She was 29 and single. In her experience:

> Definitely!! [Ethnic] people (especially the elders) are very traditional and conservative. If everything is not done in a traditional manner, critical judgements are immediately cast on the person responsible. They think I am too 'American' even though people of my same age think of me the same way I do. [Ethnic] people do not see you for who you are, they only see that you as different, therefore you must be bad.

The above theme indicated the residue of strong cultural values associated with status, age, and deference. Traditional Asian values emphasized the importance of reserve and formality in interpersonal relations (Sue, 1973). These traditional values reflected the biggest problems among different generations of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. The struggle often implied reconciling the conflict between the need to retain cultural values and pursue individuality.

The final element of ethnic identity assessed the situational context of ethnic awareness. Participants were asked about particular situations in which they felt most aware of their ethnicity. Both positive (n = 52) and negative (n = 51) situations were reported. Four comments reflected the constant awareness of being an ethnic individual.

In terms of positive situations, the most common theme to emerge was during holidays (n = 20) and religious events (n = 15). Religious events included attending church and going to the Buddhist temple. Ingroup events (n = 17) included going to a

restaurant, special family gatherings, and socializing with members of the same ethnic group. When an individual was the only ethnic individual (n= 6) who interacted among non-Asians, the situations (e.g., at a concert, bar, school, and dating) included positive and unique elements of being different. Talking the same language (n = 5) with ingroup members was the last of the positive situations. The internal feelings attached to the positive situations included levels of ingroup comfort and pride. The ability to recognize and attach similarity with other ethnic group members reflected the high level of comfort.

The most common negative situation among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans referred to situations where they were the only ethnic group member (n = 32). The wide range of situations included parties, work, professional activities, and school. Eight comments reflected situations where some form of negative or derogatory comment directed toward the individual. Finally, negative situations involving ethnic group members speaking the ethnic language during interactions received six comments.

The most common feeling in a negative situation was being in an uncomfortable or awkward position. This level of "uncomfortability" was due, in large part, to the feelings associated with self-consciousness. For example, N22 was born and raised in Oklahoma. He was a student and was 25 years old. He recalled when he was in his sixth class, everyone was assigned to bring their baby pictures to class:

> Well, I brought mine to class. Everyone had a hard time trying to figure out who was who. When my picture came up, everyone in the class all yelled out my name. I could not figure out how they all knew! Was I that different? That is when I figured out I was different.

This ascribed difference played an important role for those who were marked as an 'ethnic individual,' despite the fact that one associated or disassociated with the ethnic group. Pointing out difference was very common. For example, N45 pointed out that when someone asked him, "Where are you from?" or "What are you," he became frustrated and angry. He explained although he has lived in Oklahoma for many years and was an 'American,' he disliked the foreigner mentality because he felt as an American, "why must people always point out my background?"

Research Question Three

To address how Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans viewed their ethnic identities, participants responded to two different ethnic identity components: self-perception and situational context. Given four identity types, frequency data from the self-perception of identity revealed that the majority of participants viewed their ethnic identity as integrated (84.5%), 7.1% viewed themselves as separation, 5.4% chose assimilation, and 2.4% chose marginalization.

A total of 146 comments were coded and they revealed nine different categories across the two different contexts: self-perception of ethnic identity and perception of identity by ethnic group members. Self-perception was based on Berry and Sam's (1997) model and the comments on their answers to the two questions. Perception of ethnic group members was in reference to the question, "are there differences in how you view yourself and how your group views you?" Ten themes emerged when given the reasons why their ethnic type chosen best represented how they viewed their ethnic identity.

Six themes emerged from the Integration ethnic identity type: (1) feeling comfortable; (2) conscious effort; (3) universal identity; (4); ethnic pride (5) self-

definition; and (6) dominant group (see Appendix D for examples). The category feeling comfortable received the most comments (n = 39). This category represented comments regarding how participants felt identifying with and accommodating to both their ethnic group and the dominant culture. Words such "natural, and "comfortable" were associated with this theme. N134 was born in the U.S. and spoke her ethnic language while growing up. She was a 21 year old college senior. She claimed:

> I view myself as an integration type of person. I am comfortable with my own ethnic group and with the dominant culture. I feel it is important for people to be able to move from one culture to the other with ease. I believe in the importance of realizing one's own culture. And accepting the values and customs of the other. I feel most comfortable when I am accepted by my ethnic group and by the dominant culture, equally.

Thus, the ability to move across boundaries implied that there was no internal struggle or pressure to embrace both groups, despite cultural differences between the ethnic culture and the dominant American culture.

Another aspect to emerge from the data among the integration ethnic identity type was the conscious effort category (n = 28). In this theme, comments referred to the work and effort it had been to find their place and/or fit in America. Unlike feeling comfortable, this overall theme was represented by participants who made an effort to adapt to the dominant culture. This theme incorporated both a conscious effort to either adapt to both cultures (n = 16) or to integrate to both cultures (n = 12). The conscious effort comments to adapt to both cultures referred to the need to belong to the dominant society, while respecting the ethnic values of the ethnic culture. This theme included a

55-year old airplane mechanic. He has lived in Oklahoma for the past 19 years and was married to a woman from his own ethnic group. N75 said:

> Yes, since we are in America, it is important to be an American and a good citizen. One group should not dominate over the other. But, you have to maintain your cultural identity to educate others of your background. I always share my food with my co-workers.

On the other hand, the effort to integrate to both cultures included individuals who were in the process of attempting to fit into or belong to the dominant culture, despite the fact that they might not have felt a part of the U.S. culture. N4 was a 31 years old and worked as a technician. He lived in the U.S. for 14 years and in Oklahoma for the past two years. He was single. When discussing his experience, he made a conscious decision to be accepted in America. According to N4,

> With my group members, I feel more like them. At the same time, I think I fit in with Americans too. I try hard to do this because it is important to identify with the dominant culture in order to understand their situation and culture.

N46 was a 32 year-old law student, who lived in Oklahoma for two years, but had been in the U.S. since 1981. Although he was a U.S. citizen, he planned to move back to his birth country upon completion of his degree. He said:

> There is no way we can stick within our own group and become successful. My parents raised me to have an open-mind in whatever I do and I think that has helped me in America. I had to adapt to the U.S. values in order to survive here.

Unlike the theme comfortable with both groups, this theme clearly exemplified some of the decisions individuals had to make in order to live in America. In a sense, this theme

represented a dialectical tension for the participants. On the one hand, they were not comfortable adopting both cultures simultaneously. At the same time, however, they must, for the sake of equilibrium (e.g., survival and children) and/or a goal (e.g., success in America). For if they fail to adapt successfully, some form of the original culture might be sacrificed.

The third most frequent category was universal identification remarks (n = 15). This theme represented comments regarding the need to get along and interact with all groups, no matter the color of one's skin, background, or ethnic group. This theme demonstrated the high number of participants who were surrounded by the diverse atmosphere, whether at work or at school. N111 was 28 year-old student. Born out of the U.S., he lived in Oklahoma for the past 23 years. He said:

> Unlike the more traditional societies, which stress the importance of group membership as defining oneself and one's position in society, the United States stresses that all ethnic groups are equal and are allowed to participate in all activities of life. After all, the US was founded with one of its principles [being that] where competing interests are allowed to vie with one another peacefully, instead of being suppressed.

Another respondent, N2, was living in Oklahoma for 25 years. She was interracially married to an American for the past 23 years and held a position as an administrative director. She was 48 and considered herself to be American. She represented the universal theme because:

> I know who I am and I am proud to be who I am. It does not matter if I am one or the other because both are equally important. I have easily adapted to any group,

since I was a child. My family did not support me hanging around others who were different. I have always accepted others and adapted to others' values and customs. I constantly maintain harmony with everyone. My work has all races and colors. We are all God's children.

The ethnic pride (n = 12) category, which contained comments concerning the importance of maintaining ethnic values, customs and identity, received 12 comments. In this study, ethnic pride should not be mistaken for ethnocentrism, which was the thought that one's group was the "center of everything" and the standards of performance was based on this reference point (Sumner, 1940). Instead, these comments reflected an appreciation for the traditions of the ethnic heritage and, at the same time, a fear that the ethnic culture would disappear. Specifically, ethnic pride appeared to represent loyalty to the ethnic origin, and a fear of loss associated with assimilating into the mainstream culture. N81 lived in Oklahoma for the past 16 years. He was 26-year old student, single, and was a U.S. citizen. He stated:

> Yep, I am [ethnic]. If I lose that then I lose myself. No matter how successful I am at adapting to the other culture there will be big empty hole inside of me. Since I am now living in another country, I must adapt, but I will never forget where I come from. If I am successful, I can always be a [ethnic] person.

The self-definition references (n = 7) category was a little more complex. This theme indicates the relative ease one has with embracing both groups. At the same time, there was a lack of conscious thought or problems one had accepting an ethnic identity. In other words, they were not striving (or in the process) to become integrated but were already integrated. N35 was a 60-year old doctor lived and worked in the U.S. for 34

years and Oklahoma for the past 12 years. He was married to the same ethnic spouse and had three children. He said:

> I live as myself. I do not consciously try to attempt to integrate into the society because I am integrated. Now before, I used to think everything was better in my [ethnic group]. But now, I see myself as a human being, who has become both (N35).

In one sense, this theme was closely related to the universal identification theme. However, these comments specifically discussed the importance of how both cultures molded and shaped their perception of self in terms of ethnic group belonging. In other words, without influence of both groups, individuals would not be who they were at the present time.

Finally, identifying with the dominant culture ($n = 6$) was characterized as feeling closer to the values and identity of the American culture. All comments associated with this theme implied the importance of being perceived as an American rather than a blend of both cultures. N77 was 27-years-old and lived in Oklahoma for 14 years. He held a position as a sales-associate, and married a woman from his ethnic group. He said:

> I think it is very important to blend in with the dominant culture yet keep your own ethnic background strong. That does not necessarily mean being completely [ethnic] but I value fitting in more.

These statements reflected less of the desire of to lose the specific ethnic group identity and more a desire to belong to the wider culture. Unlike the traditional view of assimilation, these participants still had an indication of wanting to at least keep some aspect of the ethnic identity.

Among those who perceived their identification as Separation, two distinct themes emerged from the data: feeling excluded (n = 8) and ethnic pride (n = 4). In terms of feeling excluded, this theme represented the struggle faced by individuals when they tried to become a part of the dominant culture, but had too much difficulty to overcome. The barriers represent language, culture, and acceptance as a part of the American group. N34 was a successful attorney, who was born out of the U.S. but lived in Oklahoma for the past 23 years. He was single and spoke his ethnic language while growing up in the US. He agreed with the separation identity because:

> Try as I do, I can never be a part of the dominant culture. We can struggle to be a part of the 'melting pot' as a whole, but we will still won't be related, in a sense. The dominant culture will try to suppress the values, I mean, take what is good from your heritage, and use it as an advantage against us. I can become assimilated but they will always view me as a minority. My ethnic background is more important to me now.

Ethnic pride was identical to the ethnic pride theme found in the integration ethnic identity type. The theme of ethnic pride stressed the importance of maintaining ethnic values, customs and identity. N58 was a 39 year old male in the medical profession. He has lived in Oklahoma for the past 23 years. Married to a woman from the same ethnic group, he said:

> I feel that is very important to maintain my cultural identity because my children are growing up here in America and I am proud of where I came from. I don't want them to lose their culture. I tried to be neutral to the dominant group here in

America. I do respect the culture here, but I do not try to follow the ways of the American culture.

The theme which emerged from the Assimilation identity was the need to blend both (n = 6). This was the identical theme found in the Integration theme of the dominant culture. In this theme, individuals addressed the importance of blending both cultures and merging identities. Comments included: "We are in America. It is important to become part of the society without worrying about your identity," "I see myself as a complete blend of both groups," and "Because this is the way to go; only a melting pot can merge all identities."

Finally, Marginalization was the fourth view of identity and one theme (n = 4) emerged from the data: do not belong. This expression of belonging to neither group was well stated by one participant, who lived in Oklahoma most of her life. N151 was a 29-year-old lawyer, who was single, and did not speak her ethnic group language fluently. She commented that:

> It doesn't bother me that I do not associate myself with my ethnic heritage. I am an American but I don't go out of my way to belong. I feel really distant from them and don't fundamentally agree with the traditional values. I never thought much about my identity because it is not important to me. Then again, I would not call myself completely American.

Not every participant felt that their answer best represented how they viewed their ethnic identity. The theme, does not define me (n = 14), reflected comments about the problematic nature of the specific ethnic identity types in the quadrant. The quadrant could be viewed as narrow enough for some to associate the general characteristics, but

did not explain why they felt attached or detached to their identities. For example, N3 was a 35-year-old business owner. He lived in Oklahoma for the past 13 years and was married to a woman from his same ethnic group. In his experiences, he did not feel integrated. Past interaction among Americans was difficult, as he expressed how rude they were to him. He considers his ethnic group to be more important to him. However:

> Because of my two children, I have to change, for them. I feel more separated (from the quadrant) because I do not feel like a part of the society. I started going to the American churches, socializing with Americans more. It's not easy. My dad's generation has problems with me. But I gotta look out for my son. I have to think about him. I gotta play with him, talk to him and teach him. How can I do that if I can't understand American values? So I am trying.

On the other hand, the complexity of the quadrant was reflected in the internal motivation for future success. For example, N110 was a female born in the U.S. She was 21-years-old, single, and was a student. Her problem with the four ethnic identity choices was that:

> I believe in the values of keeping [ethnic] culture alive in the US, especially for the young children growing up in the dominant American culture. However, I do not believe that avoiding interactions with the white community is beneficial, especially to an impressionable child. I believe in an eclectic society—a true melting pot but with a complete appreciation for your ancestral culture. Separation and isolation are not the answers to the problems we face.

The data processed as described above was analyzed to address ethnic identity perceptions using Berry and Sam's (1997) model of ethnic identity types. The above findings suggested that most individuals conceptualized their ethnic identity as a blending

and merging two cultures at the same time. To account for this new identity, was the conscious effort to become self-actualized or a member of two dynamic groups.

Chapter V

Discussion

Overview

This chapter will review the purpose and rationale for this study, followed by a discussion of: (1) the results of the research questions; (2) a review of the findings; (3) the theoretical implications in communication research; and (4) limitations of the study. The chapter will close with concluding remarks.

Review of Purpose and Rationale

This dissertation focused on the negotiation and self-perception of ethnic identity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. The complexity involved in the formation of an ethnic identity includes elements of ethnic group belonging and issues relating to the larger culture. Relationships between these broad elements are not simple. For example, even though an individual may have a strong identification with the overall U.S. culture, it is incorrect to assume he/she places little importance on ethnic values and ethnic traditions. Conversely, because an individual has a stronger identification with his/her ethnic group, it is also incorrect to assume that he/she places little importance on the U.S. cultural values and traditions.

Ethnic identity based on group membership constitutes an important concern because individuals born into the ethnic group are usually characterized as ingroup members. Questions of group homogeneity are best understood in relation to how an ethnic identity is shaped and molded by group, societal, and situational influences. Contextual accounts of ethnic identity may represent key indicators of identity-guiding behavior. One goal of this study has been to integrate the subjective, objective, and

situational components of ethnic identity. Awareness and knowledge of these ethnic experiences provides richer insight into how identities are negotiated from the perspective of the group, the situational contexts, and the individual. More importantly, the situational specifics clarify how individuals perceive his/her ethnic awareness or achievement.

Specifically, this study focused on Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma. These two groups currently account for 14% of the Oklahoma State population (U.S. Census Population Report, 1990). Although Oklahoma is not, by any means, one of the most populous states for these two groups, the Korean American and Vietnamese American communities are nevertheless increasing in size, accessibility, and visibility. In order to understand how Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans have made their ethnic choices, this study addressed the nature of subjective identity in relation to a number of specific research questions.

The first research question asked: What is the relationship between ethnic dimensions and subjective perceptions of ethnic identity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans? Previous research has shown that individuals tend to see themselves in light of the respective cultural group membership (Brewer, 1986; Miller & Brewer, 1984). A stronger ethnic group is more likely to encourage the maintenance of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the individual and discourage assimilation into the larger society as a whole (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbacj, & Reiz, 1990). Little is known about these two ethnic groups in the U.S. in general and specifically in Oklahoma.

While the strength of group membership has been a salient element of identity, little research has discussed aspects of intergroup communication that is based on ingroup and

outgroup perceptions. Thus, the second research question asked: What is the relationship between intergroup communication and perception of ingroup or outgroup status for Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans?

Past and current perspectives indicate that there was little agreement concerning which specific factors was most salient and applicable in assessing an individual's ethnic identity. The ethnic identity choice an individual perceives to be most salient has led to the third research question: How do Korean American and Vietnamese American individuals view their ethnic identities?

Research Questions

Ethnic Identity Factors. When examining the first research question, which is concerned with the relationship between the subjective and objective perceptions of identity, four factors emerged and confirmed the use of Ting-Toomey et al.'s (in press) EID. These factors are referred to as: (1) belonging; (2) fringe; (3) interaction; and (4) assimilation. To a certain extent, the results of the factor analysis concerning ethnic identity supports past research (e.g., Berry et al., 1986; Kim et al., in press; Ting-Toomey et al., in press) that ethnic identity is a multi-dimensional construct and cannot be viewed in simple one-to-one correlations.

The results provide substantive support that subjective views of self-identity are not consistent with objective self-measurement of ethnic identity. Many study participants who perceived their identity as integrated had higher means in the fringe dimension. Fringe, or marginality, is closely associated with the lack of ingroup membership or ties to both the ethnic group and dominant group. This finding suggests that while ethnic group members have strong feelings connected with their ethnic group,

these feelings do not imply a strong sense of security with that ethnic identity or a sense of belonging attached to the ethnic group.

The nature of the sample may, in part, account for the discrepancy between individuals who perceived their ethnic type associated with belonging, but were in fact, fringe. A majority of the participants in this study were U.S. citizens and had lived in Oklahoma for at least 17 years. In addition, participants were either professional workers or students, and the mean age was approximately 30-years old. Therefore, given the number of years living and being employed in the U.S., there seems to be a clear indication that these participants have a strong need to identify with the U.S. culture. This need is a form of investment—many participants were not born in the U.S. but have established their life as an American citizen. The status of these participants cannot be classified as "immigrants" or early arrivals. While past research has placed adaptation and acculturation process as the more significant indicator of identity (see Kim et al., in press), in this study, participants are not merely 'immigrants,' but individuals whose identities have been transformed.

More importantly, the findings of this research lend credence to Ting-Toomey's (1993) argument that humans have universal needs for security and inclusion. Because these needs are contradictory, the choice between group belonging and the need to become separate from the group becomes an internal struggle. These choices relate to those individuals who are on the fringe, in terms of negotiating their ethnic identity through interacting with the ethnic group and the dominant society.

Intergroup Communication. Many researchers point out that Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans are a highly homogenous group, with clear ethnic identities and

strong group solidarity (Min, 1998; Muzney, 1985; Rutledge, 1992). Unlike that research, this study found that a large majority of the participants indicated that they felt like outgroup members within their own ethnic group. As indicated above, there was a significant relationship between these outgroup feelings and the number of friends and intimate friends they had from other groups.

This research finding fills an important research gap concerning the nature of ingroup/outgroup boundaries. Specifically, past research (Alba, 1990; Fugita & O'Brien, 1991; Kim, 1988; Kitano & Daniels, 1995; Waters, 1990) have indicated that individuals who have a number of friends from other ethnic groups (e.g., European Americans) were more likely to be identified in the assimilation identity type. In contrast, such participants conformed to the fringe/marginalization type rather than assimilation type.

These findings indicate that if participants are perceived as outgroup members, their ingroup network will be closely associated with members like themselves--individuals who are anything but members of the ethnic group. In essence, intergroup communication occurs within intact ethnic groups. Perhaps the reason for this finding has to do with the visibility of ethnic communities in Oklahoma. Oklahoma does not have the strong ethnic community support found in cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and Washington, D.C. Thus, the likelihood of strong group solidarity is less likely to occur. In addition, unlike past immigrant populations, ethnic individuals in this study are more likely to work in the multicultural environment.

More importantly, the findings relating to the second research question lend credence to the assumption that ingroup/outgroup membership may not based on ethnicity or group homogeneity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans in

Oklahoma. For example, participant N35 made a strong comment regarding ingroup and outgroup differences among the Koreans. He explained that Korea is a homogenous society, where individual's in the same age group will do things at the same time, such as graduate, work, and marry. Differentiating between the ingroup and outgroup is a reflection of social class and rank in society, as well as education. These differences have nothing to do with ethnicity, but more to do with the desire to maintain status within the ingroup. Since many respondents indicated that they form friendships within their own ethnic group, this finding becomes an important issue. Although participants are U.S. citizens, a majority of the respondents were born outside of the U.S.

Perceived Identity. In this study, the perception of identity was composed of individual accounts, situational contexts, and ethnic group accounts. From the emergent theme analysis, it appears that the numbers who report themselves as assimilated and marginal are far fewer than those who identify their ethnic identity type as integrated. This finding is consistent with research that indicates that symbolic identity is more popular among European Americans, who have more room and choices to maneuver themselves (Alba, 1990; Waters, 1990). However, physical ethnic markers influence the life of an ethnic minority. As Ting-Toomey et al. (in press) contend, "ethnic and cultural identity maintenance issues involve the continuum of perceived intergroup acceptance and rejection dimension" (p. 18). As a result of ethnic markers, Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans identify strongly with their respective ethnic groups in Oklahoma.

When describing why integration as an ethnic type best reflected how they felt about their ethnic identity, participants indicated that motivation and feeling comfortable with both groups were the most important reasons. Motivation, here, refers to the

conscious effort an individual makes to become integrated, whereas feeling comfortable refers to the blending and merging of two cultural groups--their own group and the dominant culture. To a large extent, these findings are not consistent with Berry and associates findings among ethnic group members. Integration implies the psychological and internal attachment to both groups. According to Berry and Sam (1997), integration implies the psychological and internal attachment an individual has to both groups. In this study, participants did not naturally feel integrated; instead, they expressed ethnic pride and attachment to their own ethnic group. Sodowsky, Kwan, & Pannu (1997) offer an explanation for the discrepancy of the findings. They argue that Berry's ethnic typology model allows for movement across the four orientations over time and across situations. However, this does not totally account for changes that take place, nor account for the demonstration of the actual strength of feelings among the assimilated or integrated individuals. In essence, Berry's model is more of the idealized or self-actualized form of an identity, a process involving what an individual wants to become, as opposed to being, where individuals are striving to become integrated. Thus, integration is not the indicator of feeling harmonious with both groups.

To account for ethnic identity experiences, the context appears to be a salient indicator and an important "trigger" of group membership among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. Situational accounts of ethnic identity sparked both positive and negative responses. Many participants indicated a feeling of pride and of group identity when speaking the ethnic language or attending ethnic community events and festivals. In other words, positive group identification is closely associated with cultural ties, a finding consistent with Zhou and Bankston (1998). In a recent study, they found that among

Vietnamese students living in Louisiana, the more literate they were in Vietnamese, the stronger their identification with Vietnamese membership. These findings indicate that language is an important dimension of Vietnamese ethnic identity. As Zhou and Bankston observe "strong ethnic identification motivates and improves the learning of an ethnic language but the process of learning and the immersion in one's culture afforded by the experience of reading one's language can also reinforce the sense of group identity" (p. 127).

On the other hand, negative experiences or uncomfortable situational experiences occurred when an individual was the only ethnic group member in a specific social situation. Particulary, the presence of a physical marker that identified the individual as being 'unique' or 'different' exposed strong and intense feelings of outgroup awareness especially when this difference was emphasized by others. For example, one Korean storeowner discussed his frustration at customers who come into his store and mock his accent. Although he has been living in Oklahoma for 15 years, being marked as 'Korean' by people who were not Korean never escaped his life, his daily activities. This account illustrates the responses of those participants who felt more separated from the dominant group because they were perceived as being 'different.' This flawed perception leads to the expectation that these 'different' ethnic individuals do not have the ability to fit in the dominant society.

In addition to the situational aspect of ethnic identity, perhaps the most significant finding relates to the contextual cues explaining ethnic group perceptions of an individual's ethnic identity. Many individuals were perceived as 'too American' or 'not a typical group member' when interacting with older Koreans or Vietnamese. This study

supports previous findings that Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans both place large importance on age and status of the individual when interacting with group members (Muzney, 1982; Rutledge, 1992). One viable explanation is the importance of power distance among collectivistic cultures. According to Hofstede (1980), power distance refers to the degree of hierarchy and role relationships established within cultural groups. This finding indicates that the following or disregarding of contextual cues during interaction with ethnic group members will either activate or disassociate ingroup membership. In other words, ethnic identity is attributed to understanding the multiple layers of identity included in role and hierarchical cues.

Individual self-interest and collective group interests do not always coincide perfectly among Korean American and Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma. The importance of ingroup belonging requires coordination not only with other ethnic group members, but also by the individual to meet these competing demands. The individual engages in a juggling act in which she/he strives to maintain (simultaneously) a balance between individual identity, interpersonal relationships, and collective interest.

Theoretical Implications for Communication Research

Based on this study, ethnic identity constitutes a process of constant negotiation that occurs through communication. Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans negotiate and renegotiate their ethnic identity based on the nature of the relationship with ingroup and outgroup members. In line with past and present literature, ethnic identity is a very subjective phenomenon as much of an individual phenomenon as it is a group phenomenon. A specific identity does not appear to dictate which aspects of integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization types an individual will display.

Examining ethnic identity as a subjective phenomenon, ethnic identity is found to demonstrate the contradictory nature of ethnic identity operating as a dialectic (Ting-Toomey, 1993). As previously mentioned, dialectics are both conflicting and interconnected opposites (Montgomery, 1992). Ethnic identity as a dialectic indicates the contradictory state regarding a sense of group belonging and a sense of individual needs. This tension, of seeking ingroup membership and avoiding outgroup rejection is anchored in the daily life and social practices of both the Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans.

The present study demonstrates that the contradictory nature of ethnic identity exists for three general reasons: (1) ethnicity and ethnic identity is very contextual and situational; (2) ethnic identity is less a static group phenomenon than a social process of becoming; and (3) ethnic identity is highly variable. These three issues have clear implications for communication research and for advancing theoretical applications.

First of all, social identity theory indicates that the stronger individuals identify with their group, the more bias they will show in favor of those groups against salient outgroups (Brewer, 1979). The key difference between this earlier finding and this current finding is that both Koreans Americans and Vietnamese Americans perceive the internal ethnic group as the outgroup. The general categories of 'Korean' and 'Vietnamese' are highly contextual, as collective group identity no longer implies ethnicity. Participants who are ethnically Korean or Vietnamese are viewed as American. These individuals may not feel American but this difference of ingroup status is a clear indication of the problematic nature of ethnic identity.

This study attempts to expand the framework of social identity theory in order to understand the structural features of the social environment, perceptions, and motivations at the individual level. Intercultural communication studies need to identify the contextual and situational parameters that trigger affective responses to ingroup and outgroup membership and to further explicate the determinants of social category salience. Examining collectivistic group salience will help develop a broader understanding of the nature of internal group differences.

Understanding the contextual cues will have an important implication for communication research. For example, behavioral cues are clear indications of being perceived as an outgroup member within the ethnic group. Intercultural communication research is concerned with the process of encoding and decoding data when strangers interact with each other. Although the intercultural stranger implies a stranger within the ethnic group, there is little research evidence regarding intergroup behavior within the ethnic group.

These study advances the importance of the behavioral cues associated with outgroup perception during interaction. If participants can and do account for feeling like outgroup members, several important questions arise, such as how do individuals negotiate their ingroup salience or outgroup relevance when interacting with ethnic group members? What are the behavioral cues among members of the same ethnic group, which account for the discrepancy of perceived difference? Does time spent interacting outside of the ethnic group contribute to outgroup membership? Or is the age of the person with whom one interacts (older or younger), depend on positive ingroup perception? These questions have clear implications for future intergroup communication studies by

understanding the nature of expectations. Expectations involve the anticipations and the predictions about how others will communicate during interaction. If an individual violates these expectations that are held, he/she will become aroused and must assess the situation (Burgoon & Hale, 1988).

Although behavioral cues were not discussed earlier, this finding may theoretically advance the work of Burgoon's (1995) expectancy violations (EV) theory. Burgoon (1995) isolates four focal constructs in the EV theory: expectancies, expectancy violation, communicator valances, and violation valence. Group-based and individual anticipatory patterns concerning individual members are defined as "expectancies." Expectancy violation refers to the enacted actions that are sufficiently discrepant from initial anticipations and are noticeable (e.g., personal space violations). Communicator valence refers to whether the interaction with that particular communicator is viewed as rewarding or costly. Finally, violation valence refers to the positive or negative evaluations people assign to the violating action. Burgoon (1995) suggests that the concept of communication expectancy is a universal one, the meanings, the tolerable range, and the evaluations (positive-negative valence) of expectancy violations.

The application of this theory for ethnic identity research can tap into the internal cognition and affect in approaching intergroup encounters. When the expectations are violated among interactions with internal ethnic group members, the interpretations of such violations (reward or cost) will help understand the nature of perception. This theory may determine to what extent the violation of an expectation influence the degree of ethnic identification with the ethnic group. As Burgoon (1992) states, "people...hold implicit evaluations of others, and [these]...various evaluations...is typical of their

culture and in line with their personal preferences should lead them to place others on some underlying continuum that ranges from favorable to unfavorable" (p. 57).

Second, ethnic identity among the Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans is less a static group phenomenon than a social process of becoming. When asked about the perception of identity, a majority of both Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans indicated the 'integration' as their best choice of the ethnic identity type. This result indicates that this dialectical tension, between the need to be recognized as a member of the ethnic group in America and to be recognized as a member of a community supports Ting-Toomey's (1993) identity negotiation perspective. Ting-Toomey (1993) observes that the contradictory state of regarding a sense of group belonging and a sense of wanting to become separate from the group are aspects associated with ethnic identity. In order to achieve balance between both dialectical states, the individual must constantly and consciously negotiate and renegotiate identities. This state of needing to belong to both groups equally is, in one sense, a form of self-actualization. In other words, becoming self-actualized by having a universal identity/intercultural identification (Kim, 1993).

The static and linear aspects of Berry's theoretical model and the racial identity development models (Cross, 1995; Parham & Helms, 1981; Phinney, 1989) do little to explain behavior both separately and collectively. One of the problems associated with the models is the lack of accounts to explain the degree and salience. Although the four identity types and stages are useful for to sort and classify individuals as an ethnic type, the model is not accurate in reflecting the details of differences and in the intensity of feeling and/or commitment to the ethnic group (Kim, Lujan, & Shaver, in press).

This study expanded the generalizability of these models by incorporating actual explanations regarding the nature of an ethnic identity. Because ethnic individuals must confront dialectical role choices, such as whether or not to adapt to the new society, resist complete assimilation, or withdraw from the dominant society's definition of an 'ethnic group member,' the interview data allowed for deeper understanding. In this study, participants felt the quadrant choices given in the model were too narrow for them. These four choices did nothing to explain why they felt attached or detached to their identities. Thus, the implication for theoretical advancement must refine and question the static, objective notion of ethnic identity. This refinement includes looking further into specific situational accounts that represent each of the types or stages.

In this study, accounts of ethnic identity perception offer two clear implications for communication research. First, the qualitative analysis indicates a large discrepancy between Berry and associates definition of the ethnic types and the perceptions reflected among participants in this study. Berry and associates views the integration ethnic type as a coping mechanism for ethnic minorities who attempt to retain both their cultural values and contact with the dominant group. In this study, integration is a conscious strategy that makes it appear that individuals adapt or integrate to both groups; although it is a matter of degree. This degree of willingness accounts for individuals who were not integrated, but have stronger feelings of group belonging. Integration is not a matter of personality (i.e., biculturalism) but a matter of survival, a chance to strategize for future success and healthy interaction with both the perceived ingroup and outgroup.

The notion of separation has clear implications for the field of intercultural communication. In the past, intercultural communication scholars viewed ingroup bias as

a reflection of the degree and strength of group belonging resulting in ethnocentrism and prejudice (see Miller & Brewer, 1984, for a detailed discussion). The results of this study indicate that separation represents an outcome of the interaction among dominant group members; separation clearly reflects the problems of adaptation, as opposed to ingroup favoritism--both Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans indicate their desire to adapt into mainstream culture, but are faced with problematic encounters. In other words, many of the participants who were separated felt as if they were clearly marked as different, despite all attempts to adapt and belong. Thus, in the process of belonging to the dominant group, the members in the dominant group react unfavorably, and push them back into their respective ethnic groups.

Second, the accounts of ethnic types expand the notion of 'fringe' or 'marginalization' among ethnic minorities. Fringe is the state of incomplete identity, where participation in two dominant cultures leaves room for confusion. In this study, fringe as an ethnic identity type appeared to be the norm among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. As ethnic groups continue to interact in a predominantly European American state, boundaries become blurred as cultures begin to interlock with one another. The end result is the complex form of identification that impacts the construction of an ethnic identity.

Communication research can address the strategic response of shifting identities. Understanding the strategies integrated individuals used during communication interactions will be an additional benefit the area of intercultural communication. Emphasis should be placed on merging boundaries together without having to lock oneself in a single cultural identity (Kim, 1995). In essence, an individual who expands

his/her identity by incorporating new cultural elements is should not be perceived as being disloyal to the ethnic group. Rather, the merging of ethnic boundaries should be perceived as a matter of personal necessity and value. Pathak (1998) observed that merging ethnic boundaries is a form of cultural fusion. In other words, "cultural fusion is the connecting of various cultures in a manner that once incorporated, the original culture then becomes a defining part of the other cultures. The cultures co-consitute each other" (p. 88).

Finally, ethnic identity is highly variable and this variability shows distinct and clear heterogeneity in the Oklahoma population sampled. The present findings indicate significant differences among the Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans, in terms of their perception of identity. The Korean Americans in Oklahoma show significant differences among objective and subjective identity claims. Vietnamese Americans do not indicate the same degree of differences. These results have theoretical implications for communication research in the area of adaptation and acculturation research. According to Kim (1995), "it is the very 'stress' that pushes an individual to make adjustments in, and restructure his/her existing conditions and regain an internal equilibrium . . . to realize an increased adaptation to the external challenge (pg. 10).

Past research conducted among Asian Americans has focused on the larger, more populated areas of ethnic concentration. At the same time, smaller communities, such as Oklahoma City, have been ignored or treated as if they were the same as those in larger cities. This is not the case. The Korean American and Vietnamese communities are strikingly different and this difference accounts for the discrepant findings.

To understand the results, the variability between the Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma needs further elaboration. First of all, the Korean American community lacks the depth, visibility, and spatial layout of the Vietnamese American community. Although restaurants and produce stores are available to the Koreans, the overall numbers are minimal in comparison to the Vietnamese. While churches and social groups may constitute "community" and "community events" among Koreans, the Vietnamese have a stronger ethnic community.

Second, unlike the Vietnamese, who tended to have a younger mean age and more students within the sample population, the Korean Americans sampled have working class backgrounds and are more ingroup and collectively oriented. This is an important distinction because many of the Korean American immigrants were middle-class professionals in Korea and "left for the pursuit of mobility and modernity (Park, 1997, pp. 14). Thus, they are more likely to experience conflicts. With collectivity, this finding is, supported by Kibria (1997) who found that in Los Angeles, "among Korean Americans, the racial understanding of national boundaries was strong; more homogenous, as Korean identity is a matter of blood. Racial affinity with other Asians brings Koreans an automatic categorization as 'Oriental' (p. 531).

At the same time, this study did not support the contention that Vietnamese in Oklahoma will eventually assimilate into the larger society. In 1978, Oklahoma ranked 12th of 50 in terms of distribution of Vietnamese in the United States. Montero (1979) assessed the socioeconomic adjustment of Vietnamese refugees in America in five waves of telephone surveys (July, 1975-August, 1977) with data collected by Vietnamese

interviewers. Findings revealed considerable downward occupational mobility, and Montero (1979) concluded:

> We suspect that the Vietnamese will not embrace the ethnic enclave to the degree exhibited by earlier Asian American immigrants. For one reason, the Vietnamese refugees have not met with the severe hostility and blatant discrimination earlier Asian groups encountered... we suspect that many Vietnamese will not be drawn to the ethnic enclave at all, but upon achieving greater proficiency in the English language will move headlong into...complete socioeconomic adaptation and assimilation into the larger American society. (p. 62)

These findings reflect the nature of the communities within Oklahoma. As remarked above, Korean Americans have different backgrounds and history than do the Vietnamese. Most of the Vietnamese are professional people who came from professional urban backgrounds in Vietnam. Peasants and working class people more rarely came. Further, the Vietnamese came exclusively from the south, an area that was not only highly capitalized but, at least in urban environments, had rejected some of the Confucian and Buddhist values characteristic of the rural peoples. Therefore, in the U.S. environment, they could adapt more readily to the individualistic nature of the dominant American society and, unlike the more working class Koreans, reject collectivist values. As Thuy (1976) argues, "the Vietnamese are noted for their adaptability" (p. 87).

This does not mean however that the Vietnamese were assimilated or failed to exist as an ethnic group. As Rutledge (1982) has observed of the Vietnamese in Oklahoma City:

> The Vietnamese in OKC are not an isolated, independent, cultural unit, nor are they an assimilating unit in the traditional sense. They are instead a distinct ethnic unit; that is, one that employs factors of self-ascription in order to maintain a separate identity vis a vis another cultural or ethnic group. (p. 95)

The most important aspect of his findings is that the Vietnamese occupied an intermediate position between assimilation and retaining a distinct cultural identity even though they could clearly be identified as an ethnic group. How this compares to the findings of the present study is not entirely clear. In the first place, Rutledge focused on the Buddhist Vietnamese in Oklahoma City and the present study did not control for religion. Second, the Vietnamese sample included mostly professional people and students while Rutledge focused on a more working class population without stipulating the exact nature of his sample. Only future research can further clarify in more detail the relationship between the two studies. The findings from this study, on the other hand, might be more comparable to those of Muzny (1982) who focused on the Vietnamese Catholic population who are more likely to be professional in orientation. However, Muzny gives little details concerning the nature of ethnic feelings among the Vietnamese Catholics. The motivation was the desire to adapt to Oklahoma in order to increase their acceptance while maintaining their distinctiveness.

Along similar lines, Hurh and Kim (1984) point out that among Korean immigrants in Los Angeles, the strong ethnic attachment does not imply little commitment to the dominant culture. "Progress in time, status, and acculturation does not accompany regress in ethnic attachment" (p. 85). Unlike the Vietnamese, most of the networks among Koreans exist within their own ethnic group regardless of the number of

years they have been in the U.S. Korean Americans do not resist acculturation/ assimilation but adopt the elements of the dominant culture without discarding the native values.

By understanding the community difference, the variability within each group now has practical implications. First of all, the networks associated with Koreans within their own ethnic group, regardless of the number of years in the U.S., are stronger. Second, the degree of integration among both groups is highly variable. For example, the definition of integration among the Vietnamese Americans implies a strong need to adapt to both groups. On the other hand, Korean Americans perceive integration as a form of ingroup separation.

Limitations

In the absence of a comprehensive demographic profile of the Asians in Oklahoma and special efforts to contact residents, the combined sampling procedures in this study appear to underrepresent the Koreans Americans in Oklahoma. Based on the census data, 100 Korean Americans were originally targeted for this study. However, when interviewing and surveying participants for this project, it was revealed that only 2000 Koreans actually are residents of Oklahoma. Thus, the Korean American sample did not reach the target 100, compared to the Vietnamese Americans. Thus, the same size and the nature of data collection particularly among the Korean Americans may limit this study.

There were problems with data collection because of the ingroup nature of the Korean American and Vietnamese American communities. The semi-closed communities made it quite difficult to gain access and trust. In order to assess the sample group, this researcher had to have a formal introduction prior to meeting and interviewing the

majority of the participants in person. This is not an unusual situation for researchers to confront with studying ethnic communities in the U.S. or elsewhere. The situation is similar to those found by anthropologists and sociologists when studying cultures outside of the U.S.

A formal introduction and approval by community leaders or other participants allowed the researcher to gain permission to contact others that might be interested in the project. Without such introduction, access to the community could not be gained. To access churches, it was important to identify regular church members to ask for interested parties willing to participate in the study. The church members became the connection between the specific ingroups and the researcher.

In addition, administering the survey-questionnaire form proved problematic. In response to the questionnaire form, participants were uncomfortable when reading the survey or filling out the objective measurement in the presence of the researcher. In order to make the participant feel more comfortable, options were given and one-third of the participants either faxed the data back or mailed it directly to the researcher. The participants who were willing to complete the data in person may be different than those who did not want to complete the questionnaire in person.

If the participant did not want to read the survey, the study was conducted as a face-to-face interview. Both subjective and objective questions were answered verbally and written down during the time. One of the problems that developed during the face to face verbal open-ended questions was the hesitancy of the participants to disclose information about their experiences, particularly experiences that were negative or bad. Perhaps the issue of bias is taken into consideration, because they may have felt the

researcher was judging them as a "model citizen" of the United States. An additional limitation was speaking English. Participants might have been more comfortable speaking their native language, and their answers might have been different.

While a majority of the respondents felt that the survey was relatively straightforward, many older adults found the survey questions to be overly complex. For example, questions regarding the self-perception of ethnic identity were difficult for them to answer given the contextual, social environment and the individuals with whom they were interacting. Many participants voiced the qualification that "it depends on the context." This response relates to Hall's (1976) notion of low and high context communication. Thus, future research needs to address the importance of situational contexts in Asian American values and situational contexts that may either promote or hinder identity development.

Notions regarding reciprocity and mutual obligations are also important in conducting future research among Asian Americans. Community leaders suggested that mutual obligatory events could have a snowball effect and enable the researcher to contact more potential participants. In other words, by helping the researcher to gain access, this researcher reciprocated, by assisting participants and leaders with requests.

Future Studies

In addition to studying the salience of ethnic identity based on individual perception and group membership, the nature and character of contextual elements are important for researchers to consider. As previously mentioned, adolescence represents a difficult period with regard to ethnic identity awareness and belonging (Phinney, 1989) and is marked by 'crisis' (Erikson, 1968). Parham and Helms (1981) also argue for the

need to incorporate lifetime perspectives into identity research. As the older Asian Americans continue to age, the lifespan perspective may allow one to elucidate the specific events and occurrences in which ethnic identity fluctuate and change. Further, incorporating the lifespan perspective (Manheim, 1987) may also help to explicate the problematic, complex nature of ethnic identity.

In brief, the lifespan perspective allows the researcher to identity the period when individuals undergo changes in ethnic identity perspectives and to pinpoint the specific events and occurrences that bring about these changes. These changes constitute a developmental process: to discover the psychological and physiological influences of this development and change among older adults and to discover what effects, if any, these influences have on an individual's ability to interact with others. Future research incorporating the lifespan perspective must take into account this context, which is essential to consider as individuals age and move within ethnic boundaries. These comparisons within the lifespan may offer a better indication as to how ethnic identity develops and changes, from contextual situations, and from interpersonal interactions among ethnic group members. But more importantly, the degree of importance of an ethnic identity within the situational accounts can be constructed using the lifespan perspective.

Future research should also examine Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans who are located in other cities across the U.S. A comparative study among both groups in various locales is needed to determine whether or not these ethnic experiences are similar in different settings. Examining the variations and similarities among these many locales may also increase understanding of how the community

environment helps or hinders the strength of ethnic identity attachment. For example, how is the degree of ethnic group belonging related to the strength of the community? Does the larger community promote ingroup bias or outgroup exclusion?

In light of the immigration patterns and the emergence of generational differences, future studies should examine the notion of an 'American' identity among Asian Americans. The responses from this study indicate that the label "American" is largely a matter of race, but at the same time, includes language problems and other barriers. In other words, how do ethnic individuals define American? To what degree does an individual feel American? The relational aspect of understanding all parameters among ethnic salience is a comparative study may shed light, in terms of outgroup or ingroup status.

Finally, there must be more attempts by researchers to make communication comparisons of communication patterns among and within the diverse ethnic groups in the U.S. These comparisons could help bridge the information gap between theories based on cross-cultural research (e.g., U.S. versus Japan) and those grounded cross-cultural comparisons exclusively in the U.S. The results of these overall comparisons would provide information on which theories to expand and refine, regarding the complex nature of ethnicity and ethnic identity.

Conclusion

Ethnic identity is quite dynamic and is constantly transformed to fit the needs of individuals in complex settings. The results of this dissertation indicate that there are several significant differences among all three contexts of ethnic identity. The findings are consistent with past research regarding the construction of ethnicity and ethnic

identity. Individuals in this study do not equate ethnicity to race (a biological concept); instead, ethnic identity appears to be socially constructed within the daily life experiences and along different perceived salient dimensions in different. Situational cues are a constant reminder of the socially constructed conditions of the ethnic awareness and difference. Defining an ethnic identity is a difficult task, for the only relevant criterion is the self-identity perceived by the person and the recognition of one's membership in a collective entity. The situational nature of identity challenges communication scholars to understand the impact of prescribing a general "group membership" ethnic identity which is not the ascribed self-identity. The other challenge is to find the behavioral cues associated with ingroup or outgroup status during an interaction with a member of the same ethnic group, and how these cues are perceived.

The present study confirmed Ting-Toomey et al's (in present) EID scale to examine Korean American and Vietnamese American perceptions of ethnic identity types and ethnic identity dimensions. The findings indicate that ethnic identity is highly subjective, situational, and contextual. In Oklahoma, these ethnic individuals are more likely to define their identity progress as more integrated. However, there is a significant difference between how one subjectively views his/her ethnic identity as opposed to an objective measurement of identity. Korean Americans are more likely to have contradictory responses than Vietnamese Americans.

In sum, this dissertation has been an attempt to address ethnic identity issues and to understand identity and intergroup communication in regard to perception of ingroup or outgroups for Koreans Americans and Vietnamese Americans. Past and current literature tends to focus the efforts on the Asian American experience from the perspective of

larger, more populated cities with stronger communities. Contrasting invisible and visible communities may be a better attempt to figure out who Asian Americans are, in the context of group stereotyping by the dominant group in American society.

With the increase in minority groups living in the U.S., the question of identification with group membership is an important concern because individuals born into the ethnic group are usually characterized as ingroup members. The range of issues is enormous, but one of the common threads is trying to figure out who they are in the context of being seen as one large, stereotypical group. Thus, questions of group homogeneity are being addressed among social identity theorists. Understanding the complexity of ethnic identity as it is shaped and molded by group and society level influences constitutes a major challenge for future communication researchers.

Finally, the present study has demonstrated that the (etic) perspective of objective identity measurements can be strengthened by the more qualitative (emic) experience of observation. In particular, there were three significant differences between the self-perception of identity and objective measurement. Many of the Koreans Americans and Vietnamese Americans who participated in this study strive to integrate their ethnic identity with activities that they conduct in Oklahoma. Asian Americans strive hard to be an 'American' despite constant reminders in interactions, in the media, and by symbols emanating from U.S. institutions that they may still be outgroup.

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Table 1

Socio-Demographic Profile: Sample of Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans

Socio-Demographic Variable	Number	Descriptive Statistics
Gender		
Male	n = 76	45.2%
Female	n = 92	54.8%
Age		
21-29 years	n = 113	Mean = 29.88%
30-39 years	n = 27	SD = 10.78
40-49 years	n = 16	Range = 21- 62 years
50+ years	n = 12	
Korean Americans		Mean = 36 years
Vietnamese Americans		Mean = 26 years
Profession		
Blue Collar	n = 07	4.2%
White Collar	n = 62	36.9%
Student	n = 74	44.0%
Business Owner	n = 12	7.1%
Unemployed	n = 13	7.7%
Ethnicity		
Korean	n = 54	32.1%
Vietnamese	n = 114	67.9%
Ethnicity Reported		
Korean	n = 39	23.2%
Vietnamese	n = 90	53.6%
Asian	n = 24	14.3%
Hyphen	n = 03	1.8%
Asian/Pacific Islander	n = 03	1.8%
Mixed	n = 09	5.4%
Ethnic Label Preference		
Korean	n = 23	14.0%
Vietnamese	n = 53	32.3%
Hypenation	n = 41	25.0 %
Asian	n = 19	11.6%
Asian American	n = 17	10.4%
American	n = 08	4.9%
Oriental/Human	n = 03	2.8%

Table 1 continued

Socio-Demographic Variable	Number	Descriptive Statistics
Place of Birth		
Korea	n = 42	24.4%
Vietnam	n = 91	54.8%
United States		20.2%
Other		.6%
Citizen of the United States		
Yes	n = 159	94.6%
No	n = 09	5.4%
Number of years in the United States		
5-15 years	n = 42	Mean = 19.21
16-25 years	n = 115	SD = 5.41
26-35 years	n = 11	Range = 5-34
Years in Oklahoma		
1-10 years	n = 36	Mean = 16.68
11-20 years	n = 66	SD = 6.85
21-30 years	n = 66	Range = 1-29
Marital Status		
Single	n = 114	68.3%
Married	n = 51	30.5%
Divorced	n = 02	1.2%
Ethnic background of spouse		
Korean	n = 17	32.1%
Vietnamese	n = 17	32.1%
European American	n = 14	26.4%
Asian/Asian American	n = 05	9.4%
Perception of Identity		
Integration	n = 142	85.0%
Assimilation	n = 09	5.4%
Separation	n = 12	7.2%
Marginalization	n = 04	2.4%
Have you ever felt like an outgroup member in your own ethnic group?		
Yes	n = 84	52.2%
No	n = 66	41.0%
Sometimes	n = 11	6.8%

Table 2

Socio-Demographic Profile: Korean Americans in Oklahoma

Socio-Demographic Variable	Number	Descriptive Statistics
Gender		
Male	n = 24	44.4%
Female	n = 30	55.6%
Age		
21-29 years	n = 20	Mean = 26.91
30-39 years	n = 17	SD = 8.23
40-49 years	n = 9	Range = 21- 62 years
50+ years	n = 8	
Profession		
Blue Collar	n = 03	5.6%
White Collar	n = 17	31.5%
Student	n = 14	25.9%
Business Owner	n = 10	18 .5%
Unemployed	n = 10	18.5%
Ethnicity Reported		
Korean	n = 38	70.4%
Korean American	n = 8	14.8%
Mix	n = 1	1.8%
Asian American/Pacific Islander	n = 7	1.8%
Ethnic Label Preference		
Korean	n = 23	42.6%
Korean American	n = 20	37.0 %
Asian	n = 4	7.4%
Asian American	n = 04	7.4%
American	n = 03	1.2%
Place of Birth		
Korea	n = 40	74.1%
United States	n = 13	24.1%
Other	n = 1	1.9%
Citizen of the United States		
Yes	n = 49	90.7%
No	n = 05	9.3%

Table 2 continued

Socio-Demographic Variable	Number	Descriptive Statistics
Number of years in the United States		
5-15 years	n = 13	Mean = 19.21
16-25 years	n = 32	SD = 5.41
26-35 years	n = 9	Range = 5-34
Years in Oklahoma		
1-10 years	n = 17	Mean = 16.68
11-20 years	n = 13	SD = 6.85
21-30 years	n = 24	Range = 1-29
Marital Status		
Single	n = 24	45.3%
Married	n = 27	50.9%
Divorced	n = 02	3.8%
Ethnic background of spouse		
Korean	n = 17	33.4%
European American	n = 9	32.1%
Asian/Asian American	n = 2	3.7%
Perception of Identity		
Integration	n = 47	85.0%
Assimilation	n = 4	5.4%
Separation	n = 2	7.2%
Marginalization	n = 1	2.4%
Have you ever felt like an outgroup member in your own ethnic group?		
Yes	n = 31	52.2%
No	n = 19	41.0%
Sometimes	n = 1	6.8%

Table 3

Socio-Demographic Profile:Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma

Socio-Demographic Variable	Number	Descriptive Statistics
Gender		
Male	n = 24	44.4%
Female	n = 30	55.6%
Age		
21-29 years	n = 93	Mean = 26.91
30-39 years	n = 10	SD = 8.23
40-49 years	n = 7	Range = 21- 62 years
50+ years	n = 4	
Profession		
Blue Collar	n = 04	3.5%
White Collar	n = 45	39.5%
Student	n = 60	52.6%
Business Owner	n = 02	1.8%
Unemployed	n = 03	2.6%
Ethnicity Reported		
Vietnamese	n = 91	79.8%
Asian/Pacific Islander	n = 16	14.0%
Mix	n = 3	2.6%
Asian American	n = 2	1.8%
Vietnamese American	n = 2	1.8%
Ethnic Label Preference		
Vietnamese	n = 53	48.2%
Vietnamese American	n = 21	19.1%
Asian/Pacific Islander	n = 15	13.6%
American	n = 05	4.5%
Other (Oriental)	n = 3	1.8%
Place of Birth		
Vietnam	n = 93	81.6%
United States	n = 21	18.4%
Citizen of the United States		
Yes	n = 110	96.5%
No	n = 04	3.5%

Table 3 continued

Socio-Demographic Variable	Number	Descriptive Statistics
Number of years in the United States		
5-15 years	n = 29	Mean = 18.67
16-25 years	n = 83	SD = 5.95
26-35 years	n = 2	Range = 5-28
Years in Oklahoma		
1-10 years	n = 19	Mean = 17.02
11-20 years	n = 53	SD = 5.95
21-30 years	n = 42	Range = 1-28
Marital Status		
Single	n = 90	78.9%
Married	n = 24	21.1%
Ethnic background of spouse		
Vietnamese	n = 16	66.7%
European American	n = 5	20.8%
Asian/Asian American	n = 3	12.5%
Perception of Identity		
Integration	n = 95	83.3%
Assimilation	n = 5	4.4%
Separation	n = 11	9.6%
Marginalization	n = 3	2.6%
Have you ever felt like an outgroup member in your own ethnic group?		
Yes	n = 53	48.2%
No	n = 47	42.7%
Sometimes	n = 10	9.1%

Table 4

Ethnic Identity Factors

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Mean
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	-.615*	-.018	-.093	.202	3.66
2. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.	-.208	-.015	.648*	-.047	3.95
3. I think a lot about how my life would be affected by my ethnic group membership.	.661*	.052	. 012	.022	3.47
6. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	-.196	.077	.685*	.120	3.54
9. I participate in cultural practices of my own ethnic group, such as special foods, music, or customs.	.560*	.157	.279	-.146	4.23
10. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.	.152	-.018	679*	-.202	3.69
11. I enjoy being with around people from ethnic groups other than my own.	.022	.022	.708*	.066	3.67
12. I am increasing my involvement in activities with people from my ethnic group.	.628*	.092	.130	-.193	3.80
13. I am determined to find my ethnic identity.	.663*	-.012	-.086	.091	3.54

Table 4 continued

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Mean
15. I feel an overwhelming attachment to being a member of my ethnic group.	.688*	-.010	-.010	.066	3.34
16. I involve myself in causes that will help members of my ethnic group.	.625*	.071	-.049	.044	3.75
17. I feel excitement in my own ethnic environment.	.745*	.127	-.076	.016	3.73
18. I find myself thinking more about my ethnic group membership than when I was younger.	.579*	.123	.081	-.016	3.72
20. I am active in social clubs, which includes mostly members of my own ethnic group.	.600*	.266	-.222	-.043	3.29
22. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	.584*	.002	.057	.021	3.23
23. I often feel lost about who I am as an ethnic being.	.100	.620*	-.055	.063	3.33
24. I believe that the best way for members of different ethnic groups to get along is to assimilate to the overall US culture.	.002	.010	.071	.501*	3.02
26. It is important for me to identify closely with the US culture.	.011	.114	.125	.663*	3.43
28. The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	.683*	-.008	-.008	.030	3.75

Table 4 continued

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Mean
30. I often feel confused about which ethnic group I should identify with.	.208	.596*	-.179	.019	3.57
31. I feel good about the ethnic group I belong to.	.658*	.095	.108	-.138	4.14
32. The ethnic group I belong to is an important to my sense of what	.749*	-.046	.010	.037	3.89
33. In general, belonging to my ethic group is an important part of my self image.	.759*	-.083	-.005	.142	3.70
34. I usually go by the values of the overall US culture.	-.133	.127	.089	.733*	3.29
36. It is important for me to internalize the overall US cultural values.	.039	.151	-.065	.649*	3.20
38. I often feel "left out" when others around me talk about ethnic identity issues.	.120	.560*	.039	.171	3.14
39. The overall US culture is an important reflection of who I am.	-.052	-.109	.331	.636*	3.14
44. I do not spend much time with members of the other ethnic group(s).	-.033	.571*	.052	.041	3.24
46. I frequently involve myself in activities with members of the other ethnic group(s).	-.003	.067	.764*	.158	3.39

Table 4 continued

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	**Mean**
50. I generally do not trust members of other ethnic group(s).	-.040	.523*	.134	-.133	3.32
51. I feel unable to involve myself comfortably in activities with members of the other ethnic group(s).	-.049	.581*	.248	-.051	3.28

Table 5

Intercoder Reliability for Emergent Theme Analysis

Self-Perception of Ethnic Identity	Total percentage of agreement
INTEGRATION	.896
Feeling comfortable with both groups	1.0
Conscious Effort: Adapt to both cultures	.84
Conscious Effort: Integrate both cultures	.80
Universal group identification	.88
Ethnic Pride	.80
Self-Definition	.88
Comfortable with Dominant group	1.0
ASSIMILATION	1.0
Need to blend both	1.0
SEPARATION	1.0
Feeling Excluded	1.0
Ethnic Pride	1.0
MARGINALIZATION	
Neither Group Member	1.0
DOES NOT DEFINE ME	1.0

Table 5

Continued Intercoder Reliability for Emergent Theme Analysis

Group-Perception of Ethnic Identity	Total percentage of agreement
OUTGROUP PERCEPTIONS	.95
Not a typical group member	1.0
Perceived as Too American	1.0
Depends on the Context	.90
Total Overall Reliability	. 95

Table 6

Frequency of Objective Ethnic Identity

Objective Identity	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Belonging	57	33.9
Assimilation	18	10.7
Fringe	57	38.1
Interaction	25	14.9
In-Between	4	2.4
Total	168	100.00

Table 7

Crosstabulation: Subjective Ethnic Identity Type by Objective Ethnic Identity Factors

Ethnic Type	Ethnic Identity Factors					
Ethnic ID Type	*Belong*	*Assimilate*	*Interact*	*Fringe*	*In-Between*	*Total*
Integration						
Count	49	14	56	20	3	142
Assimilation						
Count	3	3	1	2	0	9
Separation						
Count	3	0	7	2	0	12
Marginalization						
Count	0	1	1	1	1	4
Total						
Count	55	18	65	25	4	167

**Cramer's V: Approximate Significance .049

Table 8

Crosstabulation: Subjective Ethnic Identity Type by Ethnic Identity Factors Among

Korean Americans

Ethnic Type	Ethnic Identity Factors					
Ethnic ID Type	*Belong*	*Assimilate*	*Interact*	*Fringe*	*In-Between*	*Total*
Integration Count	17	4	19	7	7	47
Assimilation Count	2	2	0	0	0	4
Separation Count	0	0	0	1	0	1
Marginalization Count	1	1	0	1	1	1
Total Count	19	7	19	8	8	53

**Cramer's V: Approximate Significance .020

Table 9

Cross-tabulation: **Subjective Ethnic Identity Type by Ethnic Identity Factors among Vietnamese Americans**

Vietnamese American

Ethnic Type	Ethnic Identity Factors					
Ethnic ID Type	*Belong*	*Assimilate*	*Interact*	*Fringe*	*In-Between*	*Total*
Integration Count	33	10	36	13	3	95
Assimilation Count	1	2	0	2	0	5
Separation Count	3	0	7	1	0	11
Marginalization Count	1	0	0	1	1	3
Total Count	39	11	43	25	17	114

**Cramer's V: Approximate Significance .101

Table 10

Cross-tabulation: Outgroup Perception and amount of Intimate friends within the ethnic group

Number of Intimate Friends from the same Ethnic Group

Outgroup	*0*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*Total*
Yes Count	23	16	18	10	4	8	1	0	1	1	82
Sometimes Count	1	1	5	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	11
No Count	15	6	10	10	10	9	7	3	2	4	66
Total Count	39	23	33	21	14	16	4	1	3	5	159

Cramer's V: approximate significance .023

Table 11

Cross-tabulation: Outgroup Perception and amount of Intimate friends from other groups

Number of Intimate Friends from Other Groups

Outgroup	*0*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*Total*
Yes										
Count	31	15	9	10	6	5	1	3	8	82
Sometimes										
Count	6	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	11
No										
Count	52	7	2	1	3	0	1	0	0	66
Total										
Count	89	25	11	12	9	6	2	3	2	159

Cramer's V: approximate significance .006

Appendix A

SURVEY OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AND COMMUNICATION PATTERNS AMONG KOREAN AMERICANS AND VIETNAMESE AMERICANS IN OKLAHOMA

The purpose of this study is to examine the development of ethnic identity among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans. In order to understand similarities and differences in communication, it is important that I obtain a broad sample. The first part of this survey asks open-ended questions about your personal experiences and will take approximately 20 minutes. I will tape record your answers with permission only. The second part asks you to complete a survey, which will take about 10-15 minutes. Please answer the questions by giving the response that best describes your perception of your ethnic identity. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Participation is voluntary. You may discontinue participation at anytime. By signing this page, you are giving consent to participate in the research. Your answers will be totally anonymous and will be held in the strictest of confidence. Please call Leeva Chung should you have any questions at (405) 325-3111 or Dr. Jon Nussbaum at (405) 325-1568 .

Thank you in advance for your assistance!

Leeva Chung, Doctoral Candidate
Department of Communication
University of Oklahoma
101 Burton Hall
Norman, OK 73019

I have read the above information. I understand I can discontinue participation at anytime and realize my answers will be held in the strictest of confidence. My signature is my permission to participate in this study and give my informed consent:

_____

Name

_____

Signature

Appendix B

PART ONE: In order to interpret your answers to the questions on the survey, I need to know a little bit of background information. Please answer the following questions. Please circle, check the appropriate answer(s), or fill out the information with the space provided.

1. Sex: Male Female

2. Age: _____years old

3. Profession: _____

4. Ethnicity: _____

5. What ethnic label do you prefer to be called? Please be specific:
   _____

6. Place of birth: _____

7. Are you a citizen of the United States? Yes No

8. How many years have you lived in America? _____

9. How many years have you lived in Oklahoma? _____

10. Marital status: _____

11. If married, ethnic background of spouse:_____

12. How many languages do you speak?_____

13. What are they?_____

14. Growing up, what language did your parents speak to you at home?
    _____

15. While you were growing up, did your parents want you to take an active part in activities within your ethnic group? Check (√) one:
    _____ Take an active part in activities with others from outside the ethnic group.
    _____ Stick within own ethnic group.
    _____ Both of the above.
    _____ None of the above.

PART III: The following questions requires either your written or verbal response. Please answer the following questions as best as you can.

16. Past research has shown that individuals identify the strength of group relations by answering two questions from a two dimensional model. Please answer YES or NO to the following two questions:

Question 1
Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics? ↓

Question 2 →
Is it considered to be of value to maintain positive relationships with the dominant society?

	YES	NO
YES	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
NO	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION

If you chose

- YES to question 1 and YES to Question 2 is **Integration:** Individuals feel comfortable with ethnic group membership and identifying with the dominant culture.
- YES to question 1 and NO to Question 2 is **Separation**: Individuals emphasize the value of retaining ethnic culture and choose to avoid interaction with the dominant group.
- NO to question 1 and NO to Question 2 is **Marginalization**: Individuals do not feel a part of the ethnic group or the dominant culture.
- NO to question 1 and YES to Question 2 is **Assimilation:** Individuals have the desire to blend into the dominant group.

a. Which one of the four options is your answer? _____.

b. Based on the above description, do you feel this best represents how you view yourself? Please explain why or why not.

17. Think about the people you are in current contact with in your life. How many do you consider to be (you may put a percentage):
    A. Casual acquaintances (persons in which you engage in pleasant conversation, but do not tell personal info about yourself): _____
        a. How many are from your ethnic group? _____
        b. From other Asian groups? _____
        c. Other? _____
    B. Friends (persons who you know relatively well, but you would not tell your deepest darkest secrets with): _____
        a. How many are from your ethnic group?: _____
        b. From other Asian groups? _____
        c. Other?:_____
    C. Intimate friends (above, but you would tell the secrets to): _____
        a. How many are from your ethnic group?:_____
        b. From other Asian groups? _____
        c. Other?_____

18. Have you ever felt like an outgroup member in your own ethnic group?

19. Are there particular situations when you feel very aware of being "Korean" or Vietnamese?" How does this make you feel?

20. Are there differences of how members of your ethnic group view you and how you view yourself?

PART 3: Every person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two groups. People differ in how important their ethnicity is to them, or how they feel about it and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity/ethnic group and how you feel and react toward it. Please indicate the degree to which each statement is true of your attitudes. If you **strongly disagree** (SD) with the statement, circle 1. If you **disagree** (D), circle 2. If you are **neutral or unsure** (N), circle 3. If you **agree** (A), circle 4. If you **strongly agree** (SA), circle 5.

	SD	D	N	A	SA
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I think a lot about how my life would be affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
7. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5
9. I participate in cultural practices of my own ethnic group, such as special foods, music, or customs.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I enjoy being with around people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I am increasing my involvement in activities with people from my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I am determined to find my ethnic identity.	1	2	3	4	5

	SD	D	N	A	SA
14. I often regret that I belong to the ethnic group I do.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I feel an overwhelming attachment to being a member of my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I involve myself in causes that will help members of my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I feel excitement in my own ethnic environment.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I find myself thinking more about my ethnic group membership than when I was younger.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I generally do not feel comfortable being around members of other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I am active in social clubs, which include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
21. It is easy for me to get along with members of different ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I often feel lost about who I am as an ethnic being.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I believe that the best way for members of different ethnic groups to get along is to assimilate to the overall US culture.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I usually do not feel comfortable around members of my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
26. It is important for me to identify closely with the US culture.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I generally identify strongly with the overall US culture.	1	2	3	4	5
28. The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I feel I do not have much to offer to the ethnic group I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5

	SD	D	N	A	SA
30. I often feel confused about which ethnic group I should identify with.	1	2	3	4	5
31. I feel good about the ethnic group I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5
32. The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
33. In general, belonging to my ethnic group is an important part of my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5
34. I usually go by the values of the overall US culture.	1	2	3	4	5
35. I feel very "confused" about my sense of ethnic membership .	1	2	3	4	5
36. It is important for me to internalize the overall US cultural values.	1	2	3	4	5
37. I feel comfortable identifying with both my ethnic heritage and the overall US culture.	1	2	3	4	5
38. I often feel "left out" when others around me talk about ethnic identity issues.	1	2	3	4	5
39. The overall US culture is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
40. I often feel "suspended" and "lost," as far as ethnic group membership is concerned.	1	2	3	4	5
41. It is important for me to be accepted by both my ethnic group and the overall US culture.	1	2	3	4	5
42. I feel like I live on the "fringe" in terms of a sense of ethnic group belongingness.	1	2	3	4	5
43. The values of my own ethnic group are very compatible with that of the overall US culture.	1	2	3	4	5
44. I do not spend much time with members of the other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5

	SD	D	N	A	SA
45. I feel unable to involve, myself in activities with members of the other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5
46. I frequently involve myself in activities with members of the other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5
47. I generally do not trust members of the other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5
48. I have many friends from other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5
49. Sometimes I feel it would be better that my ethnic group did not mix with members of the other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5
50. I often find myself referring to members of the other ethnic group(s) in a negative way.	1	2	3	4	5
51. I feel unable to involve myself comfortably in activities with members of the other ethnic group(s).	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for participating in this research project

Appendix C

OUTGROUP PERCEPTIONS

Not a typical group member

- Although I am [Ethnic group], I can identify stronger with the dominant culture more. I blend better with Americans. [Ethnic] people see me as a banana! Yellow on the outside, white on the inside (N84F, 22 student, single, US born, 6 yr.)
- In appearance, other and older [ethnic] members think of me as really traditional and see me as typical, until they hear me speak the language. As for me, I feel like half a member and half a non-member, or a new member. I do feel more comfortable now than I did before (N119F, 22 student U.S. born).

Perceived as Too American (N = 13)

- Absolutely. I tend to think I am very [ethnic group] and American at the same time. I belong to both cultures. But each of the two groups see me as not totally one or the other (N72M, 22 student, single born in OK)
- People of my ethnic background view me as if I am not a member of the group because I do not speak the language that well, But I view myself as a [ethnic group] (N140F, 29 sales, single born in the US).

Depends on the Context (N = 8)

- I have adopted both cultures into my life equally. At times, it is difficult to "fit in" to both groups. One the one hand, I am too "Asian" for my Caucasian friends and too "Americanized" for my Asian friends. It is harder to find friends who are open-minded to both cultures equally (N25F, single, born in the US).
- It depends on the age of the members. The people around my age probably view me the same as I do. But the older generation think I am too "American" and lost much of my culture (i.e., language). (N32F, 29 attorney, single 23 years in OK

Appendix D

PERCEPTION OF INTEGRATION

Feeling Comfortable

- Yes this represents my views because I believe you should be proud and comfortable with who you are in order to be a productive member of the society. I feel a part of both the ethnic group and America (N94F, 24 student, 23 years in OK).
- Yes, I take pride in my culture, at the same time I value a good relationship with the so called "dominant culture." Rather than being assimilated into the dominant culture, I like to introduce my culture to the dominant and add a twist to it (N59M, 35, engineer, married to same ethnic group, 23 yrs in OK).

Conscious Effort: Adapt to both cultures

- We cannot deny that we are [ethnic group] by birth since we are a homogenous nation. We adopted America as our country to live in. So, we have to be a good citizen of this country in everyway possible to make our lives and country a better place to live (N163M, 58, Union Officer, married same background, 25 yrs in OK).
- Yes because not only is it important to know about yourself, but also others' culture. This is the only war I can learn from others. I have the desire to blend with both groups, not only mine but the dominant culture (N164F, 26, single 14 yrs in OK).

Conscious Effort: Integrate both cultures

- I have worked hard to become accepted by both cultures, especially the dominant group. Owning my own business, I would have had so much difficulty if I did not try to adapt to America (N20F, 44, business owner, married same ethnic group, 24 yrs in OK).
- I am the person that I am because of my cultural identity and this will always be important to me. However, I am living in a different country and it is also important to me that I try to be integrated, and I understand and be familiar with the environment that I live in (N38F, 22 pharmacy rep, single, 15 years in OK)

Universal identification remarks)

- Yes because it is vital to incorporate the aspects of all cultures pertaining to one's life to better enhance themselves and promote open-mindedness (N13F, 22,
- People will always consider me a minority based upon my appearance and this is fine with me as long as my relationship with others is not compromised in any way by the human's natural tendency to group one another. I believe that one should maintain one's identity but at the same time, work with all groups to achieve positive results. (N39M, 24, professional, 22 yrs in Oklahoma)

Ethnic Pride

- I think my ethnic group is as good and as important as others. I feel comfortable to involve myself with other Asian groups, I can learn more about my own group's values as much theirs (N21F, 24, housewife and married to same ethnic group, 2 yrs in Oklahoma)
- I feel it is important that speaking one's own native tongue identifies my ethnic background. Therefore, being involved in one's own group will help me to understand my culture better (N130F, 23 student, single, 13 years in OK).

Self-Definition

- I naturally am from both cultures just because of my background. (N11F; 30, business owner, single, 24 years in OK)
- Yes because I am [ethnic group] American. I am not just [ethnic group] or just American. I am truly both (N135F, 22 student single, US born).

Comfortable with Dominant group

- Yes I agree, although "maintaining cultural identity" is a bit ambiguous. I think that it is important for me to remember my identity, ethnicity is rarely an issue in my life. I do not make it a point of reiterating that identity to others i.e., if other ethnic group members do not know what culture I was raised in, it does not bother me (N132F, 33 sales rep, married American, 25 years in OK).
- Although I was not born in the US and was raised with [ethnic group] values, I still identify stronger with the dominant culture. The reason for this is because I grew up here and I have married an American (N95F, 25, teller, 18 years in OK).

PERCEPTION OF ASSIMILATION

Need to blend both

- Because this is the only way to go; only a melting pot can merge all identities (N22M, 25, single and born in the US)
- I think it is very important to blend in with the dominant culture yet keep your own ethnic background strong. That does not necessarily mean being completely [ethnic group] but I value fitting in more (N77M, 27 sales associate, married to same ethnic group, 14 yrs).

PERCEPTION OF SEPARATION

Feeling Excluded

- Yes, even though I try to be a part of with the American group, but there are too many cultural barriers and language problems (N23M, 22 student, single 7 years in OK).
- Yes, because I feel that even though I try to be a part of the dominant culture, they will never be able to accept me. My group always accepts me for who I am (N42F, 42, medical tech, married same ethnic group, 17 yrs in OK)

Ethnic Pride

- I feel that is very important to maintain my cultural identity because my children are growing up here in America and I am proud of where I came from. I don't want them to lose their culture. I tried to be neutral to the dominant group here in America. I do respect the culture here, but I do not try to follow the values (N58M, 39, Medical field, married same ethnic group, 23 years).
- Yes, I feel strongly for my motherland; it is the country to which I will dedicate my education to. I feel more comfortable around people of my same ethnic group (N61F, 23 student, single, 13 years in OK).

PERCEPTION OF MARGINALIZATION

Neither Group Member

- Yes, because it's the only way to end this stereotypical view of a different race. At this time, the US is a mixing bowl. Only a melting pot can merge all of our identities together and create a new one (N22M, 28 unemployed, single and US born).
- I feel so distant from my ethnic group. I can't seem to "click" with them. Yet, they are always group together in their own kind. Then again, every racial group tends to stick with each other. I work well with the majority or dominant group, or anyone from any race besides my own. I don't try to or feel part of any (N152M, 21, student, single, in OK for 17 years)

NONE OF THE ABOVE

Does not define me

- No, separation does not define me because I have many friends who are of different ethnic groups. I just feel it is important to know where your origination is and that will not change no matter what you do" (N69M,26 engineer, single, 12 years)
- No. Separation does not define me. I do not try to avoid the dominant culture. I just feel more attached to my own culture (N83M, 30 engineer single, 8 yr.).

The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

February 6, 1998

Ms. Leeva C. Chung
712 Parsons
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Ms. Chung:

Your research proposal, "Ethnic Identity and Inter-Group Communication Among Korean Americans and Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma," has been reviewed by Dr. E. Laurette Taylor, Chair of the Institutional Review Board, and found to be exempt from the requirements for full board review and approval under the regulations of the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research.

Should you wish to deviate from the described protocol, you must notify me and obtain prior approval from the Board for the changes. If the research is to extend beyond twelve months, you must contact this office, in writing, noting any changes or revisions in the protocol and/or informed consent form, and request an extension of this ruling.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

Karen M. Petry
Administrative Officer
Institutional Review Board

KMP:pw
98-132

cc: Dr. E. Laurette Taylor, Chair, IRB
Dr. Jon Nussbaum, Faculty Sponsor, Communication
Graduate College

1000 Asp Avenue, Suite 314, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-0430 PHONE: (405) 325-4757 FAX: (405) 325-6029

APPLICATION FOR USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

Date: 3 February 1998

Name of Researcher(s): Leeva Chung

Title of Research Project: Ethnic identity and intergroup communication among Korean American, Vietnamese Americans in Oklahoma

Brief Explanation of the Research Activity Required of Subjects: Survey questionnaire (52 items); structured interview questions

Number of Subjects Needed: 200

Approximate Amount of Time Required: 30 minutes

Approximate Beginning and Ending Dates of Project: March 15 - April 30, 1998

Status of Institutional Review Board Action:
(attach copy of approval or exemption)

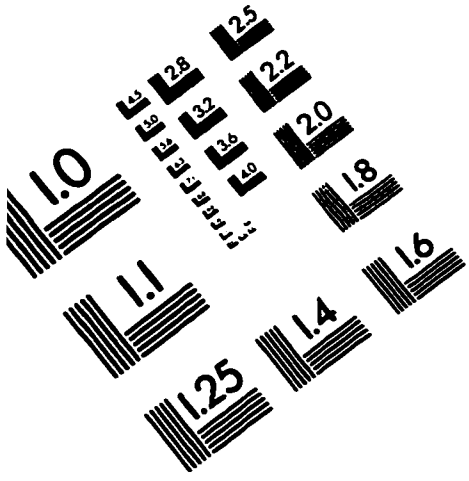
Action by Departmental Coordinators:

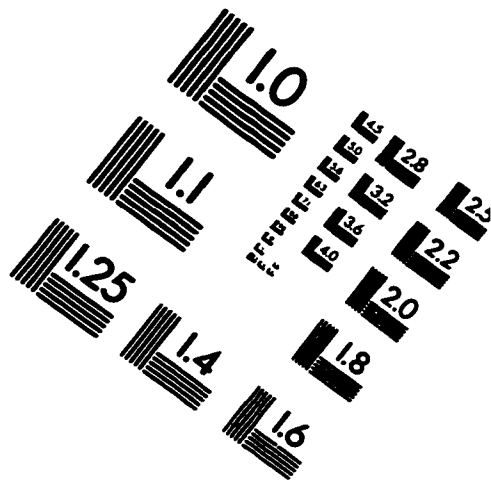
✓ Approved ____ Disapproved ____ Additional Information Needed

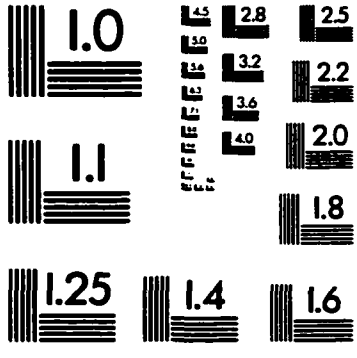
Date: 3-13-98

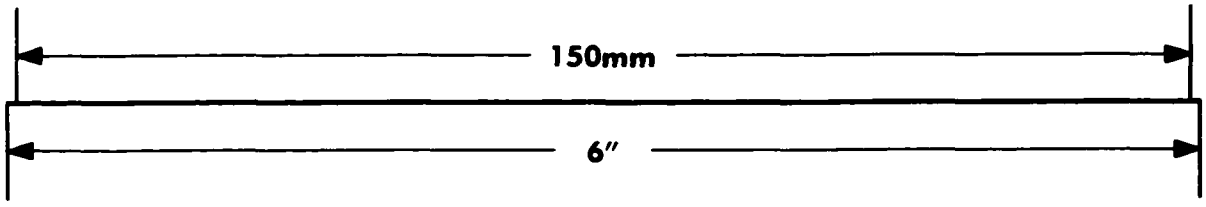
Hairong Pan

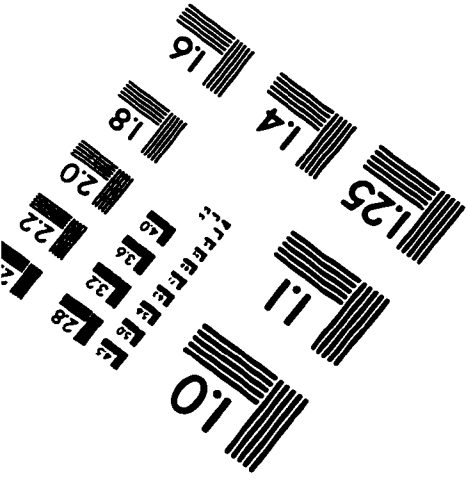
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

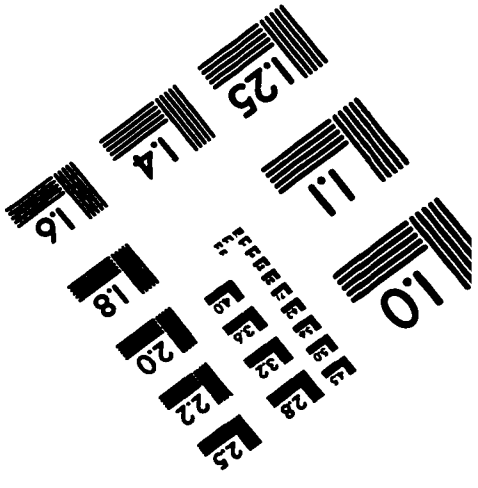












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