

DISSERTATIONES PSYCHOLOGICAE UNIVERSITATIS TARTUENSIS

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**TWO FACETS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY:
PRIDE AND DIFFERENTIATION**

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

The dissertation is based on the following original publications which will be referred to in the text by their respective Roman numerals.

- I** Valk, A.; Karu, K. (2001). Ethnic attitudes in relation to ethnic pride and ethnic differentiation. *Journal of Social Psychology, in press.*
- II** Valk, A. (2000). Ethnic identity, ethnic preferences, self-esteem and esteem-toward-others among Estonian and Russian adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 15*, 637-651.
- III** Valk, A.; Kärner, R.; & Karu, K. Which identity for which people: personal, societal, and cultural factors in relation to ethnic identity. *Manuscript submitted for publication.*
- IV** Valk, A.; Karu, K. (2000). About the importance of the meaning of ethnic identity: strength and meaning of ethnic identity among resident and emigrant Estonians. *Trames, 2*, 169-185.
- V** Valk, A. (1998). Determinants of National Attitudes. *Language and Cultural Contact, 25*, 51-70.

INTRODUCTION

“There are not human beings in the world. I have seen in my life Frenchmen, Italians, Russians, etc, but what concerns human being, I have to let you know, I have not met him. If he exists it is unknown to me.”
Joseph Maistre (1753-1821)

As some other concepts in social and cross-cultural psychology (e.g. acculturation, collectivism) the notion of identity is used parallel at both cultural and personal levels. While there are numerous theoretical writings about ethnic, national and cultural identity (Anderson, 1996; Barth, 1969; Gellner, 1984; Smith, 1991; Yinger, 1994) on group level, no comprehensive theories concern ethnic identity as a psychological phenomenon.

1. Group and Individual Level Ethnic Identities

National and Ethnic Groups and Identities

For background purposes I will give a very short overview of the theories of nations and nationalism, and ethnicities and ethnic identity, both in history and in contemporary theory. In his short overview about the discussions held on national identity in Europe from 18th to 19th centuries, Bertriveau (2001) refers to two opposite theories on national identity. Initiated by Herder and followed up by Fichte, Maurras, and Gobineau, the first position argues that identity is initiated by a will to differentiate oneself from others and that there are objective criteria for this differentiation e.g. language and culture. This position is followed by the primordialistic approach to nations in the 19th century and the more modern, less

radical ethnicist approach in the 20th century (Armstrong, 1982; Smith, 1991). Ernest Renan, who best represents the near opposite viewpoint, argues that in the 19th century there were universal principles valid for all human beings “an individual is first of all rational and moral being and only after that limited by one or another language, or is a member of one or another race”. As a base of national identity he refers to the shared past: heroes, glorious battles, shared sacrifices; and present feeling of solidarity and a desire to live together.

Although the importance of shared past and feelings of solidarity are represented in almost all definitions of nations and ethnicities, the idea of differentiation is also still alive. One of the most prominent theorists of nations and nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1996: 6-7), defines nation as an “imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”... “The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.”...”it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.”

Thus, the feeling of belonging together for some reason, and defining the borders of the group of people with whom this feeling is shared, seems to be the two, opposite, yet complementary principles of national identity that in modern theory “invents nations where they do not exist” (Gellner, 1984).

The main difference between a nation and an ethnic group is the political dimension of the former. Nation may be defined as a politically mature ethnic group (Smith, 1991). While both ethnic group and nation can be characterised by a name and by being conscious of the nation/ethnic group, common culture, shared myths and history, feeling of solidarity and having a (memory of) homeland, nation is also characterised by having or striving towards political sovereignty and shared economic structures. When differentiating ethnic group and nation, several authors also refer to group status. A nation is comprised of a

majority group in a society. It has achieved the aims of nationalism by becoming a nation. It has its own territory, economics, and political power. Ethnic group is often referred to as a minority group or, as defined by Yinger (1994): “An ethnic group may be defined as a segment of a larger society the members of which are thought, by themselves and others, to have a common origin and culture, and who participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients”.

Ethnic/national identity is, as said above, on one hand, a characteristic of a group, often studied within sociology, history, ethnology, political science, philology, etc. but on the other hand, it is a characteristic of people belonging to that group, that is an object of psychological research. Although these two levels interact with and influence each other, there are clearly different objects, methods and co-factors for these phenomena. The studies included in the current dissertation are concerned with ethnic identity at the individual level.

Individual Level Ethnic Identity

The most widespread definition of social identity is given by Tajfel (1981: 225) and it says that “social identity is that part of individuals’ self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”. Thus, identity describes individual’s psychological relationship to particular social category systems (Frable, 1997). Ethnic identity that might be considered as an ethnic component of social identity has been defined as a sense of psychological connection to a group of people with common heritage and place of geographical origin (Frable, 1997).

Due to the belief in common descent, that is a unique feature of ethnic categorisation compared to other social categories, ethnic identity can be considered a somewhat special aspect of social identity. Although contemporary urban ethnicity cannot be equated with the deeper attachments and firmer boundaries of less mobile times and places, the ethnic factors continue to be significant elements in most societies (Yinger, 1985). Being partly ascribed (being born into an ethnic group) and partly acquired (identification, salience and meaning of the ethnic group membership) ethnic identity is, on one hand, stable and rooted in important social and family relations and, on the other hand, sensitive to individual differences, cultural, societal and personal life changes.

In her ten year old extensive review of research in ethnic identity, Phinney (1990) pointed out recommendations for future research that included the need to devise reliable and valid measures of ethnic identity, distinguish between general and specific aspects of ethnic identity, study the implications of ethnic identity for psychological adjustment, the impact of ethnic identity on attitudes toward other groups, and the role of context - family, community and social structure on ethnic identity. Although during the past decade a number of studies have been made on ethnic identity, mainly in relation to acculturation and psychological adjustment, Frable (1997) concludes seven years later in an overview of identity issues that there is far too little empirical work to capture the richly textured, theoretical conceptions of identity development, maintenance, and change. "Future research should include groups other than young children or college students, should explore functions of identity other than just self-esteem, adjustment, or well-being" (139).

The studies comprising this dissertation make a modest attempt to touch these and other problems concerning ethnic identity. More specifically the dissertation concentrates on five issues;

- the general structure of ethnic identity and devising reliable and valid scale to measure the structure (Studies **I, II, III**);
- complex interplay of belonging, pride and differentiation (Study **I, II, III, V**);
- personal, societal and cultural factors in relation to ethnic identity (Study **I-V**);
- meaning of ethnic identity for different ethnic groups (Study **IV**).

2. Structure of Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Identity Measures

Most of the previous studies have focused on the unique elements of ethnic identity that differentiate certain ethnic groups (Constantinou & Harvey, 1985; Garcia, 1982; Parham & Helms, 1981; Ting-Toomey, 1981) and do not allow

intergroup comparisons to be made. In the theoretical writings on social and ethnic identity there are, however, indications of several higher order factors that form social (or more specifically ethnic) identity and refer to the possible universal identity dimensions.

One of the oldest (James, 1890) and according to some authors (Lange, Westin, 1985) also most crucial distinctions is between *self-defined and other-defined aspects of ethnic identity*. Having its origin in the end of XIX century when William James (1890, 1999:70) defined man's social me as "the recognition which he gets from his mates", the idea that self (and later identity) is formed mainly on the bases of information attained from other people got its full power in the symbolic interactionist theory (Cooley, 1902, Mead, 1984). However, the self is not a passive acceptor of feedback. Instead, the self actively processes and selects information from the social world (Baumeister, 1999) or as stated by Lange and Westin (1985: 19): "the concept of identity process refers to a phenomenon extending from the deep unconscious roots of a person's psyche via shared intragroup stereotypes to the "outside" of social and personal identities imposed and/or perceived by the public. Who is the Self and who is the "public" depends, of course, on the point of view adopted in any particular case." This distinction is somewhat touched upon in Study III which concerns ethnic identity relations and the collective self-esteem, of which one of the four factors includes public collective self-esteem (perceived attitudes of others towards one's in-groups) that is rather closely associated with beliefs about discrimination (Luhtanen, Crocker, 1992). While perceived public opinions of one's group were closely connected to ethnic differentiation, very low correlations appeared between ethnic pride and belonging and public collective self-esteem. Thus, it proves that public opinion has selectively a very important role in forming ethnic identity.

An additional distinction I would like to refer to, is *ethnic identification* versus *ethnic identity* which somewhat overlap with the distinction between two senses of identifications: *identification of* and *identification with* as described by Lange (1987, 1989) or *self-definition* and *self-evaluation* that Liebkind (1992) points out as parts of an active process through which ethnic identity is achieved. According to Erikson (1968: 161) "identity formation, finally, begins where the usefulness of identification ends. It arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption in a new

configuration...”. Lange (1987) describes ‘identification of’ as the purely cognitive act of recognition and classification of somebody (including oneself) as the possessor of a particular labelled identity, in most cases connected with membership in some category or categories. Ethnic (self-)identification could be, thus, described as classifying oneself as a member of particular ethnic group. ‘Identification with’ denotes the wish to become maximally alike the positive inner model of an ethnic prototype. Although identification (of) is sometimes used as the one and only measure of ethnic identity it should be considered as a starting point and an important part of identity formation. Referring to the social identity definition given by Tajfel (1981), knowledge of one’s membership to an ethnic group (or groups) is respective to identification; the value and emotional significance attached to that membership denotes identity. In the studies included in this dissertation self-identification was asked about separately before testing ethnic identity. Further discussion on identification and identity, and differences between (ethnic)identity and collective self-esteem (based on ethnic identity) are given in study **III**.

Study **III** refers to several other general divisions of ethnic identity that might be valid across different groups. Besides attitudinal and behavioural identity, internal and external identity, member and group attachments, we argue that the crucial division in understanding the formation, change, orientation and implications of ethnic identity is between *feeling of in-group pride and belonging* and *feeling of being distinctive of other ethnic groups*. This distinction is in line with several previous authors, including prominent theorists of social identity: Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) and Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, Blackwell, 1987), and theories reaching back to the historical opposition of nationalism briefly described above. The feeling of being distinct and unique is an important source of both personal (Erikson, 1968) and social identity (Lange, Westin, 1985). How and why people categorise themselves or their group as different from or similar to others is described in detail in Self Categorisation Theory (Turner, *et al*, 1987). “Distinctiveness draws upon the capacity of the mind to construe representations of social reality in contrasts rather than in differences of degree. To perceive contrasts is to let the perspective of difference in one dimension overshadow the perspective similarity in many others” (Lange, Westin, 1985: 19; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, *et al*, 1987). As it was shown in studies **I**, **II** and **III** that two distinct facets of ethnic identity exist,

ethnic pride and belonging (EP) and *ethnic differentiation (ED)*. EP describes one's feeling of attachment to one's ethnic group as a whole, one's emotions and attitudes connected to belonging to the group, and one's interest in the culture, history, and customs of the group. ED describes one's desire to distinguish among ethnic groups. For individuals high in ED, it is important to know the ethnic origin of another person. These individuals prefer to communicate and interact with their fellow ethnic group members; they preferably choose in-group friends and elect to marry within their own group.

One of the concerns, in relation to ethnic identity, that Phinney (1990) points out in her review paper was the reliable and valid measures of ethnic identity, I would also like to stress that to study this concept, The Ethnic Identity Scale was elaborated through three stages of adaptation and validation (see for detailed overview study I). Starting from 166 items partly collected and adapted from former measures (Driedger, 1976; Harris & Verven, 1996; Makabe, 1979; Phinney, 1992; Realo, Allik & Vadi, 1997), and partly generated ourselves to describe as comprehensive as possible range of different components of ethnic identity, we found two factors that were valid for different ethnic and age groups. These almost separate ethnic identity factors, emerged among three different ethnic groups: Estonians living in Estonia, Estonians living in Sweden and Russians living in Estonia, and across lifespan (from 13 to 84 years old). To date there is only one well known and widely spread ethnic identity scale that is proved to be valid across different ethnic groups, The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. A few years after referring to the lack of reliable measures Phinney (1992) herself proposed the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure which is developed on the basis of samples of high-school and college students from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The single-factor structure of the scale (describing positive ethnic attitudes, ethnic identity achievement, and attitudes towards ethnic behaviours) was challenged last year in the study of Spencer and his colleagues (2000) who, using the same scale, proposed two general factors (identification and exploration) of ethnic identity on a sample of multiracial early adolescents. Both of the scales were, however, developed only among adolescents and/or young adults.

Thus, I would like to argue that the Ethnic Identity Scale, that proved the existence of two complementary factors that describe two basic components of

social (including ethnic) identity, is one of the important achievements of the studies comprising this dissertation.

3. Complex Interplay Between Belonging, Pride, and Differentiation

As we proposed in study **III**: 29: “Three key issues in understanding the basis of ethnic identity are; intergroup differentiation (or discrimination), strive for feeling of belonging, and strive for feeling of self-worth. The unique combinations of these variables that depend on personal, societal and cultural factors may help to explain differences in ethnic identity and its consequences in different settings and among different people.”

In an attempt to clarify the complex relationships between differentiation, pride and belonging I will give a very short overview of two almost separate research traditions. The first investigates already for more than twenty years one of the most important statements of the Social Identity Theory that ties positive social identity to intergroup differentiation. Research in this tradition follows a rule of minimal group experimental procedure. The another tradition uses real groups and studies the relationships between ethnic or racial identity and self-esteem. While the first tradition has made major contributions to understand the basic mechanisms in formation of identity, the second tackles the important issues of threatened self-evaluation of minority youths and psychological problems in the acculturation process.

Extending Festinger’s (1954) theory of social comparison, which postulates a human need to evaluate one’s own opinions and abilities in order to obtain favourable comparisons, Tajfel (1978) argued that not only individual opinions and abilities but also group memberships are evaluatively important in providing people with orientation and definition in society. In intergroup settings, individuals adopt comparison strategies that enhance differences between groups in ways that favour the in-group and provide positive social identity. There is extensive literature to test (see Brewer, 1979), support (Lemyre, Smith, 1985) and critique (Hogg, Abrams, 1990) this idea. In one critique of the Social Identity

Theory, Hogg and Abrams (1990) highlight two corollaries regarding the relationship of in-group bias and self-esteem. The first corollary states that successful intergroup discrimination enhances self-esteem and gained support from a recent literature review by Rubin and Hewstone (1998). The second corollary argues that depressed self-esteem promotes in-group bias. The literature review made by Aberson, Healy and Romero (2000) proposes, however, that as a general rule high self-esteem individuals show more in-group bias than do individuals with low self-esteem. Although the starting point for these studies was the Social Identity Theory and “positive group distinctiveness” was proposed “to protect, enhance, or achieve a positive social identity for members of the group” (Tajfel, 1982: 24), there still remains the question: *where is identity in these studies?*. Is it more in self-esteem or in intergroup discrimination (in-group bias) or in both? This problem is tackled by Rubin and Hewstone (1998: 57) who show that “the self-esteem hypothesis may be more applicable to specific, *social* (my accentuation), and state forms of self-esteem” and later stress that “A finer distinction is also required between in-group identification and social self-esteem. ... Indeed, failure to distinguish between in-group identification and social self-esteem may have hindered progress in both areas of research” (59). The need to distinguish between identification and self-esteem is reinforced by research suggesting that the self-esteem hypothesis may only be applicable to individuals who process a high degree of identification with the in-group (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Gagnon & Bourhis, 1996). Thus, self-esteem and identity, whose relationship is the major question of the second tradition, have in the first research tradition often unified, using not even social (collective) self-esteem or self-esteem specific to a particular group to measure “positive social identity” but global personal self-esteem.

Another major problem in most of these studies, referred to also by Rubin and Hewstone (1998), is that many of them do not distinguish between in-group favouritism and out-group derogation. Thus, although there is extensive research on the most important issue proposed by the Social Identity Theory: relationships between intergroup differentiation and positive social identity, the inability to differentiate identity (the importance of group membership) and evaluate identity (*how much I like my group* and my group membership), and in-group favouritism (attitudes towards in-group: *how much I like my group*) and out-group derogation

(attitudes toward out-groups), many questions remain unanswered. Some measures of discrimination may act as measures of specific social self-esteem.

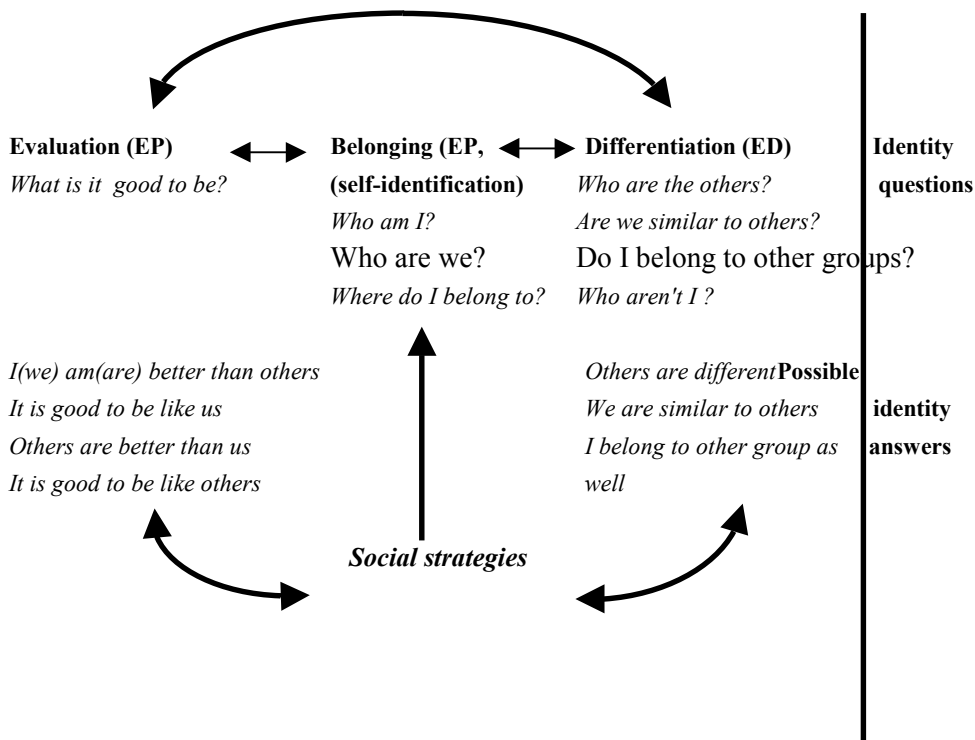
The seemingly distant tradition tackling the issue of identity and self-esteem, and in some cases intergroup differentiation, is seen in studies investigating ethnic(racial) identity relations to self-esteem (Goodstein, Ponterotto, 1997; Phinney, 1991; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Phinney, Chavira, & Tate, 1993). As it was the case within the first research tradition, conflicting results appear when examining ethnic identity in relation to self-esteem. In her review Phinney (1991) stresses the need to consider various components of ethnic identity and to take into account mainstream orientation, differences across groups, societal attitudes, and social settings of different age groups. See for further discussion studies **II** and **III**.

Study **III** gives an both empirical as well as theoretical discussion about the relationships between three key questions of belonging, pride and differentiation. Besides results that support previous studies, I would like to point out that "clear borders between one's own and other groups is an important condition for relating identity to in-group bias... Although all except low self-esteem individuals engage in in-group bias, the existence and strenghts of borders between one's own and other groups is a critical condition to figure out whether this bias is oriented towards out-group derogation or in-group enhancement." (study **III**: 28)

In order to demonstrate the connection between the three important questions concerning social(ethnic) identity and its relationship to in-group bias and self-esteem I propose the following schema (see figure 1). The central identity question is *who am I?* (as a group member) or *who are we?*. This question is, however, impossible to answer without the context that is given by the two other questions: *what it is good to be?* and *who are the others?* or *who am I not?*. The choice of social strategy (including in-group bias) that helps to give the best possible answer to the first question depends on the answers to the two latter questions. Some possible answers are given in the schema, but of course there might be other answers and therefore there are numerous combinations of these answer. For example, in case the question of differences between one's own and other groups is answered with "*not that big*" (low ED), a positive answer to the

“*who am I?*” question (high EP) is maintained via in-group bias based on positive in-group attitudes (not out-group derogation). See study **III** for empirical results.

Summing up, current discussion and the results of the studies **II** and **III** show that identity is reciprocally created through the answers to the three questions concerning belonging, evaluation and intergroup differences. Besides the critical role of self-esteem usually referred to in this respect, tendency to differentiate between groups plays an important role in understanding identity relations to in-group bias. Secondly, the results also refer to the importance of distinguishing between positive in-group evaluation and out-group derogation within the complex concept of in-group bias usually used in this respect. The results also refer to the rather unitary concept of self-esteem compared to identity. Identity patterns (high or low EP or ED) related almost similarly to ethnic collective self-esteem, collective self-esteem and global personal self-esteem. For the future, it seems reasonable to use the mutual benefit of the both research traditions described above and to apply and test the validity of the results found in the minimal group experimental conditions in the real life settings which would help to clarify some of the issues raised by Phinney (1991).



(incl. in-group bias)

**Strate-
gies**

Self-esteem; Personality; Group status; Inter-group relations; Others' attitudes

**Context
factors**

Figure 1. The formation of ethnic identity

4. Personal, Societal and Cultural Factors in Relation to Ethnic Identity

In the studies comprising this dissertation, as well as work by other authors, ethnic identity is perceived to be a multidimensional (as described above) (Phinney, 1996) and dynamic concept (Jeffres, 1983; Sue & Sue, 1990). Ethnic identity development is an evolving process that refers to individual changes over time in identification, attitudes, values, and behaviour through contact with different cultures (Berry, 1980; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Ethnic identity may also change during the course of one's life due to changing social contexts, family interactions, geographic location (Yeh & Huang, 1996), and psychological proximity to minority political movements (Hayano, 1981).

Personal Factors

In most cases ethnic identity is studied in the framework of social psychology with less emphasis on individual differences within the society. While there are a great number of studies on relationships between ethnic identity and self-esteem (see previous chapter), we found no previous research on ethnic identity relations to personality. Study III showed, however, that personality factors help to predict the orientation of ethnic identity. While open and conscientious people are high in EP, people low in Neuroticism and Agreeableness are high in ED.

Societal Factors

Breakwell (1986) describes the social context of identity as structurally comprised of interpersonal networks, group memberships and intergroup

relationships. In current studies (I-V) ethnic identity relations to societal factors were studied through the importance of group memberships (collectivism) on the levels of family, peers and society (study III: 25): “As it was expected ethnic identity would correlate most strongly with society level collectivism, since ethnic identity is generally defined in terms of group attachment while the attachment among ethnic group members is restricted to a very limited number of in-group friends and relatives. Members of an ethnic group belong first of all together because they share past, language, territory, etc., not because they know and like each other.” While minority group members have more vague connections to the culture, land, and other group level phenomena that often form the base for ethnic identity, we proposed that their identity is first of all connected to attachment to fellow ethnic group members: friends and family of the same ethnic origin. The results of the qualitative study among resident and emigrant Estonians showed this tendency (study IV). Study III raised the question of cultural differences in acquiring feelings of ethnic pride and belonging in different social relations: whilst among Russians EP related to strong peer collectivism, among Estonians EP related positively to familism. These relations and their culturally dependent nature should, however, be studied further.

Intergroup relations were studied via attitudes towards particular out-groups (having different historical, political and cultural relations to ethnic in-group) (study I, II, V), in-group and out-groups generally (I-III and V), and other people as such (II). The relationships between ethnic identity and ethnic attitudes are reciprocal and there are also contradicting theories about the relations. Although following the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981) ethnic identity is mainly focussed as a source of ethnic discrimination and out-group derogation, an alternative relation between out-group attitudes and identity is also important to point out. As it is referred to above, one of the key characteristics of identity are internalised views of important others. Thus, perceived attitudes of other groups toward myself as a member of particular group, or the group generally, form one base of identity. This is in line with the realistic conflict theory (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1935) that maintains that out-group threat and hostility lead to in-group identification. Longitudinal analyses greatly support the second theory that attitudes affect identifications (see for overview Howard, 2000). The relations between identity and out-group attitudes are further discussed in the

next chapter together with self-esteem, which plays an important role in understanding these relations.

Besides the discussion and complex interplay between identity, self-esteem and ethnic attitudes I would like to point out some important findings from studies **I**, **II** and **V**. Differentiation between ethnic identity facets EP and ED helps to understand the seemingly contradictory findings concerning the relationships between ethnic identity and ethnic attitudes. While EP was in most cases not correlated with ethnic out-group attitudes and was positively correlated with ethnic in-group attitudes in our studies, ED was positively correlated with negative evaluations of out-groups. Similarly to previous studies (Verkuyten, 1992), these relations also depended on group status. Besides previous results (Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993) of strong ethnic identity correlations to negative out-group attitudes in case the out-group is threatening or competitive, we also found opposite results in case of culturally similar and friendly out-groups. Studies **I**, **II** and **V** show that besides negative outcomes for intergroup relations strong ethnic identity may also have the opposite results. To understand better the formation of out-group attitudes and their relations to ethnic identity a qualitative study was conducted among Estonian students (study **V**). Although there are very different factors that shape the out-group attitudes, a general tendency to evaluate out-groups negatively or positively appeared.

It is also necessary to notice that for measuring ethnic attitudes a new sociometric measure “Street” was elaborated. ‘Street’ was used in studies **I-III** and **V** and correlated fairly well with other measures of ethnic attitudes (see study **V**).

Cultural Factors

Acculturation experiences and generational difference in cases of immigration are the most widely studied factors in connection with ethnic identity. Cultural differences in ethnic identity are hard to detect due to culture-specific measures and study designs. Due to the limited number of groups in the current study it is also difficult to show clear evidence of the role of cultural differences in the formation of ethnic identity. Studies included in the dissertation proposed that cultural differences exist at the level of social relations that form the basis for EP. There is no clear evidence, but the results from studies **III** and **IV** allow me to propose that for Estonians living in Sweden relationships with relatives and

family and for Russians living in Estonia peers are the source of EP. Study **III** refers also to the culturally specific role of education and gender in understanding ethnic identity. Culture and cultural similarity to out-groups also plays its role in understanding ethnic identity relations to out-groups (**I, II, IV**).

5. Meaning of Ethnic Identity For Different Ethnic Groups

A somewhat different approach to the question of ethnic identity can be seen in study **IV** which uses qualitative methods in attempt to understand the meaning of ethnic identity for Estonians living in Estonia and in Sweden. When studying the strength of identity among minority groups, different immigrant generations (Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1980) or the same ethnic group in different countries (Rosenthal, Feldman, 1992), it is often assumed that ethnic identity is similarly understood among these groups. Study **IV** shows, however, that, at least among of the two groups of Estonians, this is not the case.

As referred to above, ethnic identity is partly ascribed and partly acquired. Being born to a monocultural family as a member of a mainstream cultural group, both ascribed and acquired components of ethnic identity arise a few questions. The meaning of ethnic identity is acquired from parents, media, school, etc and if the political and historical conditions do not change radically, the scope of meanings should not vary very radically. Due to mixed marriages and lack of official discourse of ethnic identity, both ascribed and acquired aspects of ethnic identity may, however, vary greatly among minority group members. Instead of main group identity, minority group members develop member identity that has been called privatised ethnicity (Stoller, 1996). As opposed to the mainly ascribed collective identity that appears in everyday life as a culturally defined behaviour of mainstream group, the privatised identity is a voluntary conscious choice of individuals that is often rather symbolic and is expressed only in limited situations. This differentiation helps to explain “the long-run and seemingly irreversible decline of objective ethnic differences and the continuing subjective importance of ethnic origins” (Alba, 1990: 13). An emphasis on individual choice of ethnic identity does not imply random variation in construction of ethnicity. Besides location within social structures, geographical location, historical time, age, and other life-events, Stoller (1996) proposes that perhaps the most dramatic differences occur across generations of immigrants. For the first generation, ethnicity is a “concrete, unreflective, lived experience, while for subsequent generations it becomes more abstract, idealised, reflective, and

ultimately optional” (Kivisto, 1989: 67). The results of study **IV** are in line with these ideas. Ethnic identity among first generation emigrant Estonians in Sweden resembles in several aspects the identity of resident Estonians. The citation from an interview with an 82 year old Estonian man living in Sweden describes this perfectly: *“At my age it is impossible to be anybody else other than Estonian”* (Study **IV**: 176). A similar answer is given by a third generation (22 years old) resident Estonian man: *“I could not imagine myself being anybody else”* who, however, did not see the role of ethnicity for his life *“Most probably it is not important. I am conscious of the fact that I am Estonian, but it does not make any difference in my life.”*, clearly stated in the answers of emigrants: *“Very important ... It is broadening your perspective.”* (Study **IV**: 176).

Besides the importance of ethnicity, the target of ethnic attachment differed across emigrant and resident groups. While for residents Estonia as a homeland was the first association in connection with being Estonian, emigrants referred to relatives, parents and friends. Language, previously and also in the current study was referred to as the main characteristic of being an Estonian, among both groups equally evoked the association in response to being an Estonian.

The important conclusion in connection to the other studies included in this dissertation is that the differences in meaning of identity should not be evident in the respective differences in strength of ethnic identity. Thus, besides often asked question of the decline in strength of ethnic identity among immigrants, qualitative studies that enlightened a different role, meaning and importance of ethnic identity across different settings would be of use.

6. Conclusions

Taken together, the main conclusions of this dissertation are as follows :

1. Three key issues in understanding the basis of ethnic identity are strive for feeling of belonging, intergroup differentiation, and strive for feeling of self-worth (Study **III**).

2. Depending on the unique combination of these variables people use different strategies to maintain, enhance and protect their positive ethnic identity (**introduction**, studies **I-III**).
3. In measurement of ethnic identity it is useful to differentiate between at least two almost independent ethnic identity facets: ethnic pride and belonging (EP) and ethnic differentiation (ED) (Studies **I-III**).
4. The two ethnic identity facets exist among different ethnic and age groups (Studies **I-III**).
5. The strength and orientation (more EP or ED) of ethnic identity depends on personal, societal and cultural factors (Study **III**).
6. Differentiation between the facets helps to understand ethnic identity relations to ethnic attitudes (in-group bias). Although among people high in self-esteem strong ethnic identity was related to in-group bias, the direction of the bias (in-group enhancement or out-group derogation) depends on the orientation of ethnic identity of a particular person. While EP relates first of all to positive in-group attitudes, ED is related to negative out-group orientation. Contrary to the previous findings that tie ethnic identity generally to out-group derogation, current studies showed that besides the facet of ethnic identity, the relationship between out-group attitudes and ethnic identity depend on the intergroup relations between one's own and target group. While showing negative attitudes towards competitive and threatening out-groups, people high (compared to low) in EP expressed more positive orientation towards culturally similar and/or friendly out-groups (Study **I-III, V**).
7. Differentiation between EP and ED helps to clarify ethnic identity relations to self-esteem. Besides ethnic identity orientation, the level of self-esteem is an important determinant of ethnic identity relations to self-esteem. While among people high in self-esteem EP relates to high self-esteem, among low self-esteem individuals ED correlates negatively to self-esteem (study **II-III**).
8. The role and meaning of ethnic identity differs across emigrant and resident Estonians and across three generations of Estonians which is not evident and explainable by the strength of their ethnic pride and belonging. The main reason for these differences is probably mono- versus bicultural identity and

more ascribed versus acquired identity respectively among resident and emigrant Estonians (study **IV**).

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Etnilise identiteedi kaks aspekti: uhkus ja eristamine

Identiteedi mõistet käsitletakse samaaegselt nii kultuuri kui indiviidi tasandil. Kui kultuuri, rahvuse või etnilise grupi identiteet kuulub kirjandusteaduse, sotsioloogia, ajaloo, politoloogia jm teadusharude uurimisvaldkonda, siis psühholoogias keskendutakse indiviidi identiteedile, mida võib omakorda jagada sotsiaalseks ja personaalseks identiteediks.

Kõige levinum sotsiaalse identiteedi definitsioon (Tafjel, 1981: 225) ütleb, et “sotsiaalne identiteet on see osa indiviidi mina-kontseptsioonist, mis tuleneb tema teadmisesest kuulumise kohta sotsiaalse(te)sse gruppi(desse) sellega kaasneva väärtuselise ja emotsionaalse tähendusega”. Etnilist identiteeti, mida võib pidada sotsiaalse identiteedi etniliseks komponendiks, on defineeritud kui psühholoogilise seotuse tunnet ühist päritolu ja geograafilist asukohta omava inimgrupiga. (Frable, 1997).

Tänu uskumusele ühisest päritolust, mis on võrreldes teiste sotsiaalsete kategooriatega etnilisele grupile ainuomane, võib etnilist identiteedi pidada eriliseks sotsiaalse identiteedi aspektiks. Ehkki tänapäeva linnastunud etnilisust ei saa võrdsustada vähemmubiilsete aegade ja kohtade sügavama kokkukuuluvustunde ja kindlamate sidemetega, on etnilised kategooriad enamustes ühiskondades jätkuvalt olulised (Yinger, 1985). Olles osaliselt kaasa antud (sündimine teatud etnilisse gruppi) ja osaliselt omandatud (identifitseerimine grupiga, identiteedi olulisus ja tähendus) on etniline identiteet ühest küljest stabiilne ja seotud oluliste sotsiaalsete ja perekondlike sidemetega ning teisest küljest vastuvõtlik individuaalsetele eripäradele, kultuurilistele, sotsiaalsetele ja isikliku elu muutustele.

Oma kümne aasta taguses põhjalikus kokkuvõttes etnilist identiteeti käsitlevatest töödest, pakkus Phinney (1990) välja soovitusi tulevikus tehtavatele uurimistöodele, mis muuhulgas sisaldasid vajadust töötada välja usaldusväärseid ja valiidseid mõõtvahendeid, mis eristaksid etnilise identiteedi üldisi ja spetsiifilisi aspekte, uurida etnilise identiteedi seoseid psühholoogilise kohanemisega, etnilise identiteedi mõju teiste gruppide suhtes väljendatavatele

hoiakutele ning konteksti – perekonna, ühiskonna ja sotsiaalsete struktuuride rolli etnilise identiteedi kujunemisele. Ehkki viimase kümne aasta jooksul on tehtud suur hulk uurimusi etnilisest identiteedist, enamasti seoses akkultuuratsiooni ja psühholoogilise kohanemisega, kurdab Frable (1997) oma seitse aastat hilisemas identiteediprobleemide alases ülevaates, et on suur puudus empiiriliste uurimuste järele, mis käsitleksid väga mitmekülgset teoreetilist kontseptsiooni identiteedi arengust, püsimisest ja muutumisest. “Tulevastes uurimustes tuleks lisaks lastele ja üliõpilastele kaasata ka teisi katseisikuid, ning enesehinnangu, kohanemise ja heaolu kõrval peaks uurima ka identiteedi teisi funktsioone“ (139).

Käesoleva väitekirja moodustavad uurimused teevad tagasihoidliku katse uurida neid ja teisi etnilise identiteediga seonduvaid küsimusi. Täpsemalt keskendub väitekirja neljale põhiteemale:

- etnilise identiteedi üldine struktuur ning selle mõõtmiseks vajaliku usaldusväärse ja valiidses mõõtvahendi loomine (uurimused **I, II, III**);
- personaalsed, sotsiaalsed ja kultuurilised faktorid, mis seonduvad etnilise identiteediga (uurimused **I-V**);
- kuuluvustunde seosed uhkustunde (sh. enesehinnangu) ja etnilise eristamisega (sh. etnilised hoiakud) (uurimused **I, II, III, V**);
- etnilise identiteedi tähendus erinevates gruppides (uurimus **IV**).

Esitatud uurimustest lähtuvalt on väitekirja põhiseisukohad järgmised :

1. Etnilise identiteedi aluseks on kolm põhiküsimust: kuuluvustunde vajadus, püüd positiivsele enesehinnangule ja gruppidevaheline eristamine (uurimus **III**).
2. Sõltuvalt nende muutujate unikaalsest kombinatsioonist, kasutavad inimesed erinevaid strateegiaid oma positiivse etnilise identiteedi hoidmiseks, töstmiseks ja kaitsmiseks (**sissejuhatus**, uurimused **I-III**).
3. Etnilise identiteedi mõõtmisel on kasulik eristada vähemalt kaht peaaegu sõltumatut etnilise identiteedi aspekti: etnilist uhkus- ja kuuluvustunnet (EU) ja etnilist eristamist (EE) (uurimused **I-III**).
4. EU ja EE on eristatavad erinevates etnilistes ja vanuse gruppides (uurimused **I-III**).

5. Etnilise identiteedi tugevus ja suundumus (pigem EU või EE) sõltub personaalsetest, sotsiaalsetest ja kultuurilistest faktoritest (uurimus **III**).
6. Etnilise identiteedi aspektide eristamine aitab mõista etnilise identiteedi seoseid etniliste hoiakutega (oma grupi eelistamine). Ehkki kõigi kõrge enesehinnanguga inimeste seas seostub positiivne etniline identiteet oma grupi eelistamisega, sõltub oma grupi eelistamise suundumus (positiivne hoiak oma grupi või negatiivne hoiak teiste gruppide suhtes) etnilise identiteedi orientatsioonist. EU seostub ennekõike positiivsete hoiakutega oma grupi suhtes ja EE negatiivsete hoiakutega teiste gruppide suhtes. Erinevalt eelnevatest uurimustest, mis seovad etnilise identiteedi üldjuhul negatiivsete hoiakutega teiste gruppide suhtes, näitavad käesolevad tööd, et lisaks etnilise identiteedi aspektile, sõltub etnilise identiteedi seos teiste gruppide suhtes olevate hoiakutega gruppidevahelistest suhetest. Negatiivsete hoiakute kõrval konkureerivate ja ohustavate gruppide suhtes, ilmnes kõrge EUGa inimestel positiivne suhtumine kultuuriliselt sarnaste ja/või sõbralike gruppide suhtes (Study **I-III, V**).
7. EU ja EE eristamine aitab selgitada etnilise identiteedi seoseid enesehinnanguga. Lisaks etnilise identiteedi orientatsioonile, kujundab ka enesehinnangu tase etnilise identiteedi seoseid enesehinnanguga. Kui kõrge EUGa inimestele on omane kõrgem enesehinnang, siis madala enesehinnanguga inimeste seas seostub EE enesehinnanguga negatiivselt (uurimused **II, III**).
8. Etnilise identiteedi roll ja tähendus erineb kodu- ja väliseestlastel ja kolme põlvkonna lõikes. See erinevus ei ilmne ega ole seletatav erinevustega etnilise identiteedi tugevuses. Nende erinevuste peamine põhjus on tõenäoliselt ühe-*versus* kahekultuuriline ning pigem omistatud kui omandatud identiteet vastavalt kodu- ja väliseestlaste seas (uurimus **IV**).

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