
Group Contacts and Ethnicity in the Social Identities of Mexicanos and Chicanos

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Factor analyses of social identity labels between two subgroups of the Mexican-descent population supported the prediction that the identities of English-dominant persons born in the United States (Chicanos) would be more differentiated than those of Spanish-dominant persons born in Mexico (Mexicanos). The content of their identities also differed. As predicted, because of differences in length of residence, language facility, geographic dispersal, and likelihood of working in ethnically diverse settings, Chicanos and Mexicanos had different patterns of intra-group and intergroup contacts. Chicanos had less contact with other persons of Mexican descent and more contact with members of other ethnic groups. Predicted relationships between group contacts and social identities were better supported for Chicanos than for Mexicanos. Overall, the study supports the general framework offered in which macrosocial conditions set up particular microsocial conditions (group contacts) that, in turn, influence the formation of social identities.

The persistence and political significance of ethnicity (a social categorization defined by such markers as religion, nationality, geographical origin, language, race, history, physical appearance, and customs; Barth, 1969; Olzak, 1983) have perplexed scholars from a variety of disciplines. At the end of World War II, social scientists thought that modernization in the form of increased industrialization, urbanization, schooling, communication, and transportation, together with global economic forces, would decrease the importance of ethnicity. Yet this has not happened. Few states have been able to avoid serious conflicts in which ethnicity is involved. Nor is ethnic conflict restricted to the newly independent states or the less industrialized ones (Connor, 1992; Smith, 1992).

What explains the continued significance of ethnicity? Sociologists and political scientists emphasize macrosocial causes that lie in population shifts and in political, economic, and technological developments that have been fostered rather than muted by modernization (Darnell & Parikh, 1988; Olzak, 1983; Tiryakian & Rogowski, 1985). In addition to these factors, the history of state boundaries and the frequent incompatibility of contemporary state boundaries and traditional ethnic boundaries contribute to the importance of ethnicity in political and social life (Smith, 1992).

These macrosocial explanations usually ignore individual-level processes. Social psychological research on intergroup relations, in which microsocial features of immediate social situations are tied to individual cognitions and motivations, is a potentially useful addition to this work on ethnicity. The interdisciplinary challenge is to suggest how features of the broader macrosocial environment might create microsocial conditions that, in turn, foster psychological processes involved in the construction of ethnic identity. This challenge has rarely been embraced by scholars on either the macrosocial or the microsocial side.

The present article, which examines the social identities of the Mexican-descent population in the United

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States, attempts an interdisciplinary analysis. We argue that historical and structural features of the macrosocial worlds of persons of Mexican descent affect what social categorizations are cognitively available to them and also influence their microsocal worlds, specifically how frequently they interact with other persons of Mexican descent and with members of other groups. Intragroup and intergroup contacts are viewed as the immediate influences on their social identities.

Social identities are defined as those aspects of self—self-categorizations—that derive from a person's awareness and embracing of membership in social categories (Tajfel, 1981; Turner & Oakes, 1989). We use the term *social identities* rather than *ethnic identities* because we are interested in the multiple categorizations that become self-categorizations for this population, including the possibilities that (a) ethnic, family, worker, and social class categorizations might form separate social identities and/or (b) some indicators of ethnicity might be fused with these other social identities. We are interested in the number and content of the social identities of persons of Mexican descent.

HISTORICAL AND STRUCTURAL INFLUENCES

Several historical and structural conditions that differentiate among persons of Mexican descent should affect their group contacts and social identities.

Nativity, which has proved to be one of the most influential determinants of ethnic identity in countries including two or more nationality groups (Gonzalez & McCommon, 1989; Isaacs, 1979), is also likely to be influential in the United States. The great heterogeneity of nationality groups in the United States makes the question of nativity—having been born in the United States or in some other country—unusually salient. In fact, it is often assumed that someone who looks Asian or Latin must have been born elsewhere. For several reasons, nativity is especially important for the Mexican-descent population.

One reason is that different histories are implicated in the meaning of nativity for persons born in the United States and born in Mexico. Of the eight largest groups that make up the contemporary immigrant population in the United States, Mexicans have had the longest history in the United States (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Some persons of Mexican descent come from families who lived in what was Mexico and became the United States territory following the U.S.-Mexican War of 1848. Others come from families who immigrated later in the 19th century and in the relatively continuous flows of immigration that have occurred since then, even when flows from other countries were reduced to a trickle or entirely cut between 1924 and 1965 (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990).

Others are first-generation immigrants. This means that the history that matters for the social identities of persons born in the United States, many of whose ancestors were also born here, is the history of how Mexican-origin people came to live in what is now the United States and how they have been treated as U.S. citizens. In contrast, the history that matters for new immigrants is the history of Mexico. The general tendency of first-generation immigrants to be interested in the history, politics, and social life of the home country is exaggerated, moreover, in the case of Mexican immigrants. The proximity of Mexico and the United States promotes the psychological centrality of Mexico for first-generation immigrants, who often come as sojourners rather than as residents (Chavez, 1988) and who often return to live periodically in Mexico. Their homeward orientation toward Mexico is reflected in the lowest naturalization rate of contemporary immigrant groups (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990).

Alvarez (1973) has tied the long, complex U.S.-based history of persons of Mexican descent explicitly to ethnic identity. He delineates four historical periods and generational modes of dealing with categorical treatment that are tied to the ways U.S.-born persons of Mexican descent define themselves. The Creation Generation (1848-1900), in reaction to loss of Mexican citizenship and homeland through conquest and subsequent appropriations of land, struggled to maintain a sense of self as Mexican and to preserve ties with Mexican countrywomen and -men. The Migrant Generation (1900-1942), who fled Mexico's political upheavals and economic problems, also identified primarily as Mexican. They were greeted by older generations who generally still thought of themselves as Mexicans. The periodic labor recruitments and expulsions that they, and even long-term citizens, were subjected to further highlighted categorical treatment based explicitly on Mexican descent. Being Mexican remained the most salient categorization. The Mexican-American Generation (1942-1966) became more concerned with dual nationalities. The participation of large numbers of Mexican-descent youth in World War II strengthened loyalty to the United States, as did a new-found prosperity brought about by the economic expansion that accompanied and followed the war. It became a cultural practice to add the term *American* to the term *Mexican* to define oneself. The Chicano Generation (1966 to present), the most economically stable, affluent, and educated group of Mexican descendants, developed a critique of their parents' loyalty to the United States and created a new Chicano identity that is neither Mexican nor accepting of being a hyphenated American.

These culturally and generationally defined conceptions of ethnicity provide multiple models that people born in the United States can use in categorizing them-

selves. Although particular generations developed prototypic conceptions of what it means to be of Mexican descent, the new identities did not entirely replace older ones. New ways of thinking about the self in ethnic terms were added as older ways were refined and retained. Multiplicity of identities is the cultural, historical legacy of those born in the United States. We predicted, therefore, that social identities based on ethnicity would be more numerous among those born in the United States than among those born in Mexico.

We further predicted that nativity would influence the content of the social identities of first and older generations. Birth in Mexico should result in a more distinctively Mexican and/or Latin American nationality identity, whereas birth in the United States should result in a more distinctively U.S.-based sense of self. Because class consciousness and its significance in national politics are greater in Latin America than in the United States (Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990), we also expected to find distinct class identities among those born in Mexico. In contrast, for those who have been affected through U.S. nativity by a political culture in which class is rarely as powerful as race or ethnicity, we expected to find identities in which social class was merged with nationality and other indicators of ethnicity. Finally, we predicted that those born in the United States would have an identity consisting of labels used by the Chicano political movement to interpret the collective history of Mexican descendants in the United States.

There is a second reason that nativity is important. Nativity is associated with social structural conditions that should affect the social identities of persons born in the United States differently from those born in Mexico. *Ecologically*, the U.S.-born and Mexican-born live in different social contexts. In general, the Mexican-descent population is one of the most residentially segregated nationality groups in the United States, but even so, those born in the United States are considerably more dispersed geographically than first-generation immigrants (Bean & Tienda, 1987; Massey, 1981; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Dispersal increases opportunities for intergroup contacts and restricts opportunities for intragroup contacts. With respect to *social class*, immigrants from Mexico are the most likely of all immigrant groups to be manual workers (Pedraza, 1985; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). In contrast, although the educational and occupational attainments of older generations have not reached parity with those of many other nationality groups, the social class positions of persons born in the United States are significantly higher than those of persons born in Mexico (Bean & Tienda, 1987; Chapa, 1989). Their greater educational and occupational skills mean that fewer of the older generations are restricted to ethnically segregated work settings. Both in their

neighborhoods and in their work, the older generations have more chances to interact with people from a broader range of ethnicities. Nativity also has *language* implications. Although retention of Spanish across generations is higher than for any other language spoken in the United States, there is a definite loss of Spanish-speaking competence across generations. Persons born in Mexico are more likely to be Spanish monolinguals, persons born in the United States bilinguals or English monolinguals (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990).

For all these reasons—more frequent visitation and even periodic living in Mexico, shorter residence in the United States, greater concentration in neighborhoods where other Mexican descendants live, greater likelihood of working in ethnically segregated settings, and greater dependence on Spanish—persons born in Mexico have many opportunities to interact with other persons of Mexican descent but few opportunities to interact with other groups. They inevitably have some interaction with Anglos, even if it is restricted to formal contacts with Anglo managers/supervisors at work or with Anglos in government agencies and schools. They are particularly unlikely to interact with other minorities. The intragroup and intergroup context of persons born in the United States is likely to be quite different. Their long histories in the United States, greater geographical dispersal, class achievements, and use of English put them in settings that afford them more frequent contact with Anglos and with members of other minority groups and probably reduce their contacts with other persons of Mexican descent.

GROUP CONTACTS AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES

Group contact has a rich research history in social psychology. Since Allport's (1954/1990) influential discussion of the potential power of group contact to decrease stereotypes and prejudice, social psychologists have been honing the "contact hypothesis." They have done this by expanding the conditions originally laid out by Allport to explain when contact improves or worsens intergroup relations and by delineating conditions that help people generalize from individual members of outgroups to the group as a whole (see Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Stephan, 1987).

For two reasons, this research tradition is not very helpful, however, for our purposes of suggesting how *frequency* of intergroup and intragroup contacts might influence the *content* of social identities. The first reason is that frequency of contact, which is difficult to study in the laboratory, has not been investigated by experimental social psychologists. Many other features of contact have been studied experimentally—for example, whether contact is intimate or superficial, is cooperative

or competitive, involves groups of equal or unequal size, occurs between individuals who have similar or dissimilar backgrounds and attitudes. A second reason is that researchers interested in group contact within an intergroup relations framework have focused nearly exclusively on intergroup attitudes. Stephan's (1987) review of group contact makes no mention of social identity, and although Brown's (1988) review of intergroup relations discusses Tajfel's social identity theory, group contact is not mentioned in that part of the review.

Frequency of intergroup and intragroup contacts should affect social identities, we argue, because such contacts should heighten or lessen social categorization and social comparison. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner & Oakes, 1989) make social categorization and social comparison the prime processes through which individuals develop social identities.

Let us look first at social categorization processes. A growing research literature on social categorization shows that when people are categorized into groups, they think of themselves as group members (Mullen, 1991), exaggerate differences between their group and the out-group, evaluate in-group members more favorably, and favor them in allocating resources (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). It is these cognitive and motivational consequences of social categorization that should produce social identities.

Anything that makes categorization particularly salient also increases the cognitive and motivational processes involved in having a social identity. Previous research shows that salience is increased when subjects are told in forceful ways that they have been categorized into two groups (Allen & Stephenson, 1983), when interactions with out-group members are not personalized or intimate (Miller, Brewer, & Edwards, 1985), when in-group members are not given an opportunity to individuate out-group members (Wilder, 1986), when the two groups do not cooperate on a common task (Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990), and when the in-group is smaller than the out-group (Mullen, 1991; Mullen et al., 1992; Simon & Brown, 1987). We argue that intergroup contact should increase the likelihood of having some kind of social identity because it too ought to heighten the salience of social categorization. Although frequency of intergroup contact has not been studied as a possible situational determinant of salience in experimental research, there is evidence from field research that having a racial or ethnic identity is fostered by frequent intergroup contact (Schofield & Francis, 1982; Schofield & Sagar, 1977).

As we have seen, the social categorization literature primarily speaks to the presence or absence of a social identity rather than to the kinds of identities that persons

of Mexican descent might construct for themselves. Presence or absence of an identity based on ethnicity is not problematic in our sample, all of whom identified themselves as being of Mexican descent. The critical question for this population is how ethnicity is manifested in different *kinds* of social identities. Studies of persons of Puerto Rican descent also find that nearly everyone has an ethnic identity. What varies is degree and kind of ethnic identification (Rogler & Cooney, 1984).

How might group contact affect the content of social identities? Social comparison processes that take place during intergroup contact are helpful in suggesting the kinds of social identities that persons of Mexican descent might form. For members of stigmatized minority groups, outward social comparisons with members of privileged and powerful groups often produce psychological tension. Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that when the motive to achieve positive distinctiveness is threatened by membership in disparaged groups, two psychological strategies are likely to be used. These strategies have implications for different social identities. One, called social mobility, involves cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes that help a member exit, psychologically or physically, from the group. These processes include denying membership in the disparaged group, identifying with the more powerful, privileged groups, and actually "passing" into them. The other strategy, called social change, also involves different cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes—for example, shifting bases of comparison so that the disparaged group becomes superior, altering the meaning of the disparaged attributes so that pride can be felt (Black is beautiful, familism is an asset rather than a liability), thinking of the group (Mexican) as part of a broader group (Latin American peoples), denying the legitimacy of the disparagement, and acting with others for social change.

We hypothesized that identities reflecting a social mobility strategy—a sense of self as White, middle class, an unhyphenated American—will be related to frequent contact with members of the dominant majority (Anglos). Identities reflecting a social change strategy—a political sense of self constructed from previously disparaged but now transformed ethnic labels—will be related to frequent contact with members of other minority groups. Minority group contact should encourage the formation of a social change identity by helping persons of Mexican descent grasp commonality of categorical treatment, attribute causality for inequality to a social system in which numerous groups are stigmatized, conceive of possibilities of instability in group relationships and thus of the potential for change, and see benefits that other groups have achieved through group action. (See Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980; Rodriguez & Gurin,

1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, and Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990, for discussion of these cognitive alternatives involved in a social change orientation.)

Frequent intragroup contact should foster still other kinds of social identities, ones that are based on emotional bonds created through shared experiences with other group members. When a group shares cultural traditions, frequent intragroup contact usually includes participation in these practices in intimate settings, such as family, church, and neighborhood gatherings and celebrations. When language is a central feature of cultural practices, emotional attachment to language often results from intragroup interactions. For these reasons, we predicted that frequent contact with other persons of Mexican descent would be related to three kinds of social identities reflecting in-group life: a family identity, an identity as a Spanish speaker, and one based on a relationship to Mexico.

Finally, following theories in political sociology (Fireman & Gamson, 1979; Williams, 1975), we hypothesized that a political identity based on a social change orientation would be most pronounced among people who have *both* intragroup and intergroup contact. Frequent (but nonintimate) contacts with members of the dominant majority are needed to draw attention to difference, sharpen awareness of group-based inequality, and help members of the subordinate group question the legitimacy of group disparities. Frequent (and intimate) intragroup contacts are needed to motivate group action.

METHOD

Interview Sample

The analyses presented here are based on a probability sample of Mexican-ancestry households in the southwestern United States (California, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and Colorado) and in the Chicago metropolitan area. Eighty percent of the Mexican-descent population in the United States lives in the five sampled states, and almost half of the remaining 20% lives in Chicago. In its final composition, the sample is representative of almost 90% of the total U.S. population of Mexican ancestry identified in the 1970 U.S. census (see Santos, 1985, for a full description of the sampling procedures). The interviews, conducted face to face in 1979, covered a wide range of topics over approximately 2 hr.

Measures

Respondents were asked questions regarding both intragroup contact and intergroup contact. For intragroup contact, respondents were asked how many of their friends, coworkers, and neighbors were of Mexican descent. Responses ranged from 1 (*none*) to 4 (*all*).

Intergroup contact was measured by asking respondents to rate their own contact with members of the following five groups: Anglos, other Latinos, African Americans, Asian Americans, and American Indians. The responses for these items also fell on a 4-point scale, ranging from *none* to *a lot*. In our analyses, we present results using responses to single items as variables of interest, as well as average intragroup (average of responses to the three intragroup questions) and average minority group contact (average of responses to contact with African Americans, Asian Americans, and American Indians).

A multidimensional measure of social identity was also taken during the interviews. Respondents were presented with a deck of cards, on each of which was printed one of 32 labels covering a variety of ethnic, familial, cultural, class, and color terms. Respondents were asked to sort through the cards and keep those "that describe how you think about yourself." This method permitted people to choose as many items as they wished and present as complex or as simple a conception of their social identities as they wished. The data were coded as dichotomous responses representing whether or not each label was endorsed as self-descriptive.

Specifying the Sample for Analysis: Mexicanos and Chicanos

For our investigation of the structure and content of social identities, we needed to see whether the structure and content of social identities would differ between two subgroups that reflect differences in macrosocial conditions discussed above. These two groups are defined by differences in nativity (United States or Mexico) and language chosen for the interview (English or Spanish). We used a factor-analytic approach to determine whether these two groups exhibited differences in structure (number of factors) and content (composition of factors). If this analysis were to find no significant differences, we could use measures of the macrosocial variables, along with measures of group contact, to predict scores on measures of social identities. However, if these two groups had different *numbers* of identities, and if there were no identities with the same *content* across the two groups, we would have to perform a separate analysis for each group to test our predictions about relationships between group contacts and social identities.

We argue that nativity—birth in the United States or in Mexico—captures a number of the historical and social structural influences of interest in this article. Therefore, nativity was the major variable used to specify the samples for our factor analyses. *Mexicanos* are defined as individuals who were born in Mexico—first-generation immigrants. *Chicanos* are defined as individuals who were born in the United States but have at least one parent or grandparent who was born in Mexico—second or later generations.

TABLE 1: Structural Characteristics of Mexicanos and Chicanos

Measure	Mexicanos (N = 318)		Chicanos (N = 436)		t
	M	SD	M	SD	
Average years of schooling	5.7	6.87	11.9	5.46	-12.45*
Percentage of life lived in United States	44%		100%		
Number of generations family members in United States	1	0	2.54	0.50	-49.54*
Childhood linguistic environment (1 = only English, 5 = only Spanish)	4.85	0.48	3.31	1.29	18.14*

* $p < .001$.

We used language preferences of the respondents to further refine the nativity distinction. The interviewers were bilingual and were instructed to ask the respondents whether they preferred to carry out the interview in English or in Spanish. All but 23 of the 341 first-generation immigrants preferred Spanish, and all but 56 of the 291 third-generation or longer-residence respondents preferred English. Second-generation respondents showed more variability in language of choice; about two thirds of the 338 second-generation respondents took the interview in English and about one third in Spanish. We include in our analyses only the Mexicanos who took the interview in Spanish ($N = 318$) and the second/third/later generations who chose to converse in English ($N = 436$). The decision to use both nativity and language as the specifying variables reflects our judgment that these two qualities have historically been the critical markers between immigrants and later generations.

Defined by nativity and language preference, the Mexicanos and Chicanos differed ecologically and in terms of social class, as predicted (see Table 1). As first-generation immigrants, the Mexicanos have spent, on average, only two-fifths of their lives in the United States; the Chicanos, on average, have been in the United States for over two generations. The Mexicanos have less family income than the Chicanos (58% of Mexicanos below the median income for both groups, compared with 33% of Chicanos, $\chi^2 = 31.2$, $p < .0001$), as well as 6 fewer years of formal schooling, on average. As would be expected from nativity alone, far more of the Chicanos (48%) than of the Mexicanos (3%) grew up in neighborhoods that were either predominantly English speaking or Spanish-English bilingual, and many more of the Mexicanos (97%) than Chicanos (52%) were socialized in neighborhoods where Spanish was the exclusive language ($\chi^2 = 142.92$, $p < .0001$).

We also predicted that Mexicanos would have little opportunity to interact with other groups because of their shorter residence in the United States and their greater dependence on Spanish. Chicanos, in contrast, have longer histories in the United States and use English with greater ease—conditions that both afford them greater opportunity for intergroup contacts with Anglos as well as with various minority groups.

With respect to intragroup contact, we expected that structural conditions would cause Mexicanos to have more extensive contact with other persons of Mexican descent. As first generation immigrants, Mexicanos are more likely than Chicanos to live in communities with other immigrants and in ethnically segregated communities (see Massey, 1981, for patterns of residential segregation). Moreover, their dependence on Spanish restricts their realm of social interaction to others who have facility in Spanish.

Table 2 presents average intragroup and intergroup contact of Mexicanos and Chicanos and lends support to these predictions. Mexicanos had significantly more intragroup contacts ($t = -9.47$, $p < .001$). The two groups did not differ in their contact with other Latinos ($t = .36$, $p > .7$). Chicanos had greater intergroup contact with Anglos ($t = 16.54$, $p < .001$), African Americans ($t = 9.22$, $p < .001$), Asian Americans ($t = 7.59$, $p < .001$), and American Indians ($t = 8.15$, $p < .001$).

For both groups, friendships were more restricted to in-group members than were relationships with neighbors and co-workers (for Mexicanos, $t_{\text{neigh}/\text{friend}} = -4.41$, $p = .001$, $t_{\text{cowrk}/\text{friend}} = -6.22$, $p < .001$; for Chicanos, $t_{\text{neigh}/\text{friend}} = -2.14$, $p = .033$, $t_{\text{cowrk}/\text{friend}} = -2.08$, $p = .038$). The largest Mexicano-Chicano discrepancy involved contact with Whites; the second-largest discrepancy was with African Americans. This suggests that the social life of the Chicanos put them more in touch with the major racial divide of the United States.

After we examine the structure and content of the social identities of Mexicanos and Chicanos, we present hierarchical regressions predicting the social identities (obtained from the factor analyses) from measures of group contacts and demographic control variables.

RESULTS

Structure of Social Identity

We predicted that the social identities of the Chicanos would be more differentiated (numerous) than the social identities of the Mexicanos and also that the content of their identities would differ. The analysis proceeded in three stages. In the first stage, we randomly selected half the respondents within each group and performed

TABLE 2: Group Contacts of Mexicanos and Chicanos

Measure	Mexicanos (N = 318)		Chicanos (N = 436)		t
	M	SD	M	SD	
In-group contact					
How many of your _____ are of Mexican descent? (Scale: 1 = none; 4 = a lot)					
Friends	2.29	0.65	1.77	0.67	-10.25*
Neighbors	1.84	0.95	1.44	1.12	-5.31*
Coworkers	1.98	0.86	1.41	0.89	-7.03*
Average	2.06	0.61	1.58	0.74	-9.47*
Contact with other Latinos					
How much contact do you have with other Latinos? (Scale: 1 = none; 4 = a lot)	1.02	1.01	1.05	1.10	0.36
Contact with other minorities					
How much contact do you have with: (Scale: 1 = none; 4 = a lot)					
Anglos	1.21	0.99	2.33	0.85	16.16*
African Americans	.52	0.80	1.13	0.96	9.46*
Asian Americans	.28	0.60	.70	0.84	7.96*
American Indians	.14	0.44	.56	0.83	8.87*

* $p < .001$.

an exploratory factor analysis for each of the subsamples. After theoretical consideration and refinement, we arrived at a final structure for each group. In the second stage, we performed confirmatory factor analyses of our proposed models within groups, using the data from those respondents not included in the first stage. Finally, we tested each model between groups to see how well the Chicano model would fit the Mexicano data and vice versa.

In these analyses, standard product-moment correlation matrices are used. Because our social identity measures provided dichotomous data, we replicated our analyses using input matrices of polychoric correlations estimated by PRELIS. Results did not significantly differ using the polychoric matrices; the results using the original product-moment correlations are presented here.

The exploratory factor analyses were performed using EFAP (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1987) and SAS. Half the respondents for each group were randomly selected for inclusion in these analyses. Squared multiple correlations were used to estimate communalities, and oblique rotations were specified. Scree plots (Cattell, 1965) of eigenvalues for each group were used to determine the number of factors specified for extraction. Our examination of these plots suggested that five factors be extracted from the Mexicano data and seven factors from the Chicano data. Although the use of scree plots can often be rather subjective, they were adequate for the purpose of providing some structure to our preliminary analyses.

As standard factor analysis cannot determine a unique, "best" solution, the appropriateness of each model for each group is more adequately addressed with confirmatory tests of the proposed models. We performed confirmatory factor analyses on the remaining half of the data in each group that were not included in

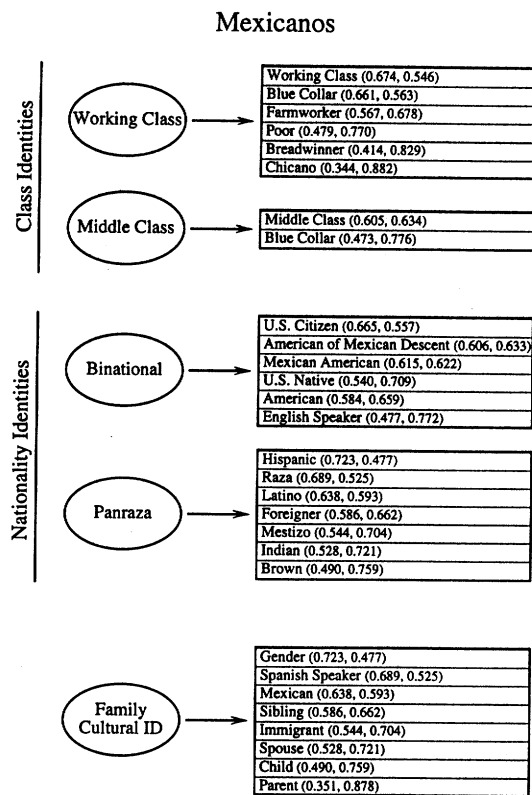
the exploratory analysis. Figures 1 and 2 present the structural models we obtained from the preliminary factor analysis, along with results and diagnostics from the confirmatory factor analysis. This stage of the analysis proceeded using LISREL 7 to estimate model parameters; the indexes of fit obtained from LISREL offered support for the appropriateness of our models (for Chicanos, $\chi^2/df = 2.18$, AGFI = .885; for Mexicanos, $\chi^2/df = 1.93$, AGFI = .865). Finally, we tested each group's proposed model with the other group's data (i.e., Mexicano model with Chicano data and vice versa). Table 3 summarizes the fit statistics obtained from this analysis. They suggest that the Mexicano model does not fit the Chicano respondents well and that the Chicano model do not fit well with the Mexicano respondents. (See Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994, for more detail about these analyses.)

The exploratory analyses support our prediction that the social identities of Chicanos would be more differentiated than those of Mexicanos, represented here by the greater number of factors underlying their responses to the identity endorsements. The confirmatory analyses provide support for the validity of these particular structural differences between these two groups of respondents.

Content of Social Identities

Mexicanos. The models also provided evidence for differences between Mexicanos and Chicanos in the content of the identity structures that emerged. For Mexicanos, all the family and gender roles cohere to make one factor; the nationality and class terms are each driven by two latent factors (see Figure 1).

As predicted, the Mexicanos have distinct social class identities. The observed variable "middle class" loads on



Model: N = 318, $\chi^2 = 708.4$, $df = 365$, $\chi^2/df = 1.94$, AGFI = 0.840

Mexicano Model

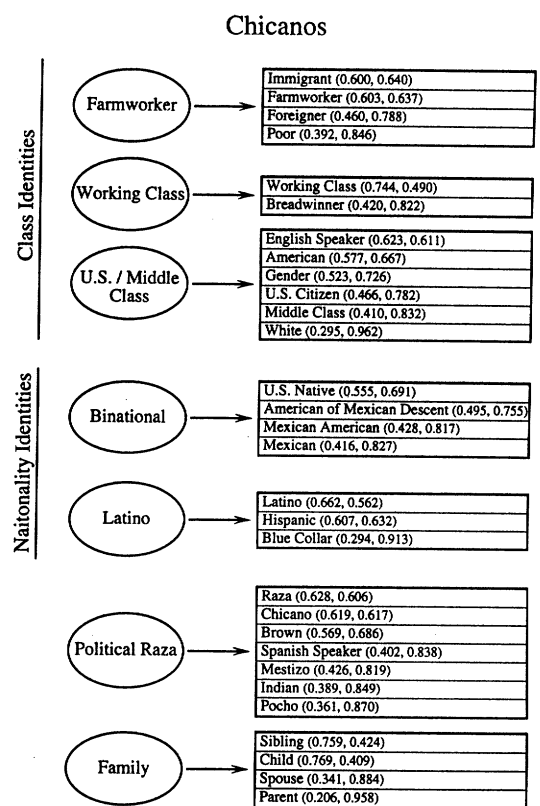
	Middle Class	Working Class	Binational	Panraza
Working class	0.177			
Binational	0.426	0.433		
Panraza	0.554	0.678	0.435	
Family/cultural ID	0.623	0.544	0.169	0.652

Figure 1 Confirmatory factor structure of the social identities of Mexicanos.

Note: Standard solution shown. Following each observed variable are the variable's corresponding λ_{χ} factor loading and θ_{δ} unique component, respectively. All latent factors are permitted to correlate; ϕ matrices are presented in the table. General model and fit information are presented in Table 3.

a separate factor from "working class" and is associated with thinking of the self as White. The terms *poor*, *farmworker*, *blue collar*, and *working class* converge to create a factor that represents a merger of rural and industrial workers more characteristic of the historical political economy of Mexico than that of the United States. These class-based identities support the prediction that respondents born in Mexico would show evidence of a Latin American class consciousness.

Two nationality identities emerged for the Mexicanos. One of these supports the prediction that birth in Mexico would be associated with a distinctively Mexican and/or Latin American nationality identity. This identity, "panraza" identity, is not about Mexico, however. It



Model: N = 436, $\chi^2 = 839.1$, $df = 385$, $\chi^2/df = 2.18$, AGFI = 0.850

Chicano model:

	Working Class	Farmworker	U.S./Middle Class	Binational	Latino	Political Raza
Farmworker	0.085 ^a					
U.S./middle class	0.627	0.109				
Binational	0.529	0.151	0.807			
Latino	0.478	0.225	0.394	0.534		
Political raza	0.348	0.448	0.313	0.604	0.650	
Family	0.282	0.207	0.556	0.493	0.430	0.424

Figure 2 Confirmatory factor structure of the social identities of Chicanos.

Note: Standard solution shown. Following each observed variable are the variable's corresponding λ_{χ} factor loading and θ_{δ} unique component, respectively. All latent factors are permitted to correlate; ϕ matrices are presented in the table. General model and fit information are presented in Table 3.

a. These elements are small in relation to their standard areas.

includes broad Latin American terms (*Hispanic* and *Latino*, but also racial and color terms that have significance in Latin America). It reveals a sense of self as being part of something broader than either the United States or Mexico—a foreign, Hispanic/Latino self that connects with the peoples of Latin America. The other nationality identity, a "binational identity," reflects Mexicanos' sense of themselves as "Mexican Americans" and "Americans of Mexican descent," along with their identification with strictly U.S. self-descriptions. It is the U.S. labels that are

TABLE 3: Fit Assessment of Confirmatory Factor Models

Model	N	df	χ^2	χ^2/df	AGFI
Chicano Factor					
Chicano respondents	436	385	839.1	2.18	.885
Mexicano respondents	318	385	1169.8	3.04	.763
Mexicano Factor					
Mexicano respondents	318	365	704.4	1.93	.865
Chicano respondents	436	365	988.1	2.71	.801

NOTE: One social identity label, *pocho*, was not included in the Mexicano due to low endorsement.

particularly problematic for the Mexicanos and figure prominently in what it means to be an American of Mexican descent.

Chicanos. In the Chicano model (Figure 2), we see that social class identities have several meanings. These U.S.-born English speakers have three class-tied identities that reflect the historical experience of Mexican-descent workers in the class structure of the United States and fuse various ethnic and social class labels. One, the "farmworker" identity, brings together labels representing the historically common position of immigrant workers from Mexico—*farmworker*, *poor*, *immigrant*, and *foreigner*. (Currently, however, nearly three quarters of Mexican immigrants who are occupationally active work in factory, rather than rural, manual jobs; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990.) The second, a "working-class" identity, involves thinking of the self as "working class" and as a "family breadwinner." A third, "U.S./middle class" identity, suggests yet a further stage of class differentiation and shows a merger of class and nationality. To be middle class is also to be part of the United States for Chicanos. This identity best supports the prediction that the Chicanos would show a characteristic American lack of class consciousness and reveals the tendency in the United States to conceive of middle-class standing as an American quality.

Nationality was also more complicated for the Chicanos than for the Mexicanos. The presence of a "U.S./middle class" identity supports the prediction that the Chicanos would have an identity that is exclusively about being part of the United States. It includes all the U.S. labels (along with social class labels). This is the best example of gaining psychological distinctiveness through individual mobility, passing or exiting from a devalued group to become psychologically part of the valued mainstream.

A second nationality factor, "Latino," also merges nationality and class, in *Latino*, *Hispanic*, and *blue collar*. This identity is distinguished from a "binational" identity. For Chicanos, the "binational" identity brings together the dual terms—*American of Mexican descent* and *Mexican American*—with the term *Mexican*. It is the Mexican that is problematic in being an American of Mexican descent for those in the second and later generations.

As predicted, the Chicano respondents also produced an identity based on a social change orientation, the "political Raza" identity. It is composed of terms that the Chicano social change movement used in the 1970s to describe the unique experience of Mexican-descent people in the United States (*pocho*, *Indian*, *brown*, *Spanish speaker*, *Chicano*, *Raza*, and *mestizo*). *Raza* ("the race") indicates a united racial-cultural community. *Pocho*, ordinarily a derogatory term connoting a style of speaking with a mixture of Spanish and English, became a positive identification, as did these other terms, by a reconceptualization by the Chicano movement in the 1970s. That being a Spanish speaker belongs best with this factor shows that the maintenance of Spanish has political significance to the older generations.

Group Contacts and Social Identities

The results from these analyses indicated that predictions about relationships between group contacts and social identities would have to be tested separately for Chicanos and Mexicanos because both the number and the content of their social identities differed significantly. Although the two groups had some similar identities, none were identical in content. The measurement of identities as dependent variables would therefore follow a different formula for each group.

Multivariate regressions were carried out within each group in which *each* of the identities was predicted from an equation that included *all* contact measures and the following control variables that our previous work shows are significantly related to some of these identities (Hurtado, Rodriguez, Gurin, & Beals, 1993): length of residence in the United States, English/Spanish linguistic environment in childhood, family income, years of schooling, age, gender, and married/single. A significant effect of contact represents its net effect after adjusting for other kinds of contact and these demographic variables. The regression coefficients in Tables 4 and 5 show the results of these analyses.

The prediction that frequent intragroup contact would be associated with family, language, and Mexican nationality identities was partly supported for Chicanos but not for Mexicanos. For Chicanos, intragroup contact was marginally related to their "family" identity and significantly related to the "Raza" identity that included being a Spanish speaker, as well as to their "farmworker" and "working class" identities (see Table 5). For Mexicanos, all these identity labels were part of a "cultural family" identity, but intragroup contact was not related to this identity.

The prediction that frequent contact with Anglos would relate to identities reflecting a social mobility orientation received some support for both groups. For Mexicanos, contact with Anglos predicted endorsement

TABLE 4: Microsocial Predictors of the Social Identities of Mexicanos

	Class Identities		Family Identity	Nationality Identities	
	Working Class	Middle Class	Family/Cultural	Binational	Panraza
Average contact (1 = none, 4 = a lot)					
In-group members	.119*				
Members of other minorities					
Anglos		.124*			
Other Latinos		.194*			
Adjusted R^2	.060	.114	.100	.040	.000
Overall F	1.85 [†]	2.75**	2.49**	1.61	0.87

NOTE: This table presents standardized regression coefficients (betas) representing the effect of contact, controlling for the following macrosocial demographic variables: length of U.S. residence, childhood linguistic environment, family income, years of education, gender, marital status, and age. [†] $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

of a "middle class" identity; for Chicanos, this kind of contact predicted endorsement of a "working class" identity. (Contact with Anglos also predicted endorsement of a "U.S./middle class" identity when this contact measure was entered alone with the demographics, but the effect becomes nonsignificant when Anglo contact is entered with the other contact items.) Two other intergroup effects on these mobility-based identities were not predicted. For both groups, more frequent interaction with other Latinos was related to higher endorsement of the items forming the social mobility identities.

The prediction that contact with other minorities would be associated with a political identity was supported for the Chicanos. Minority contact was the strongest predictor of the "Raza" identity for Chicanos. Greater intragroup contact also related to this identity.

An unpredicted effect shows that Chicanos with frequent contact with members of other minority groups were less likely to think of themselves in terms that define the "U.S./middle class" identity.

Finally, the predicted multiplicative effect of contact with other persons of Mexican descent and contact with Anglos in shaping a specifically political identity was not found. The beta for the interaction term involving these two types of contact was not statistically significant, and the variance explained by the multiplicative equation was not greater than that explained by the additive equation.

DISCUSSION

Historical influences and social structural conditions associated with nativity had a major impact on the social identities of two subgroups of the Mexican-descent population, English-dominant persons born in the United States (Chicanos) and Spanish-dominant persons born in Mexico (Mexicanos). We see this in two ways. First, the Chicanos had more differentiated social identities, showing the effects of historical processes that expanded collective conceptions of ethnicity that could become part of their social identities. The results of the

exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses show that the construction of social identities follows different models for the Mexicanos and Chicanos. The content of the social identities of the two groups also shows important differences. Ethnicity is infused in nearly all the social identities of both groups, but ethnicity is constructed differently in the ways that Mexicanos and Chicanos define themselves.

Both groups had a "binational" identity, but it was composed of different identity labels. For the newcomer Mexicanos, the especially problematic labels involving the United States were part of what it means to be a Mexican American or an American of Mexican descent. For the later-generation Chicanos, it was the problematic relationship to Mexico that was part of their dual nationality identity.

Both groups had a "middle class" identity, but again it was configured differently. The middle-class identity was merged with U.S. nationality terms for Chicanos but not for Mexicanos. Moreover, we have learned in analyses of cultural beliefs (Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1993) that the middle-class identity is associated among Chicanos, but not among Mexicanos, with the belief that immigrants should give up Mexican cultural traditions. The content of this identity and its association with rejection of Mexican cultural traditions reveal its underlying theme of assimilation for Chicanos.

Both groups had political identities involving a self-construction of being part of La Raza. However, the "panraza" identity had a Latin American meaning for Mexicanos, and the "political Raza" identity was composed of terms that were transformed from negative to positive ethnic labels by the Chicano political movement. These terms represent a unique Chicano experience in the United States.

A second way in which the social contexts of the two groups mattered concerns the group contacts that Mexicanos and Chicanos had. As predicted, Chicanos had significantly more contact with Anglos and with members of other minority groups that are prominent in

TABLE 5: Microsocial Predictors of the Social Identities of Chicanos

	Class Identities			Family Identity	Nationality Identities		Political Identity
	Farmworker	Working Class	U.S./Middle Class	Family	Binational	Latino	Raza
Average contact (1 = none, 4 = a lot)							
In-group members	.178**	.141*		.106 [†]			.154*
Members of other minorities			-.157 [†]				.225***
Anglos		.106*					
Other Latinos			.151 [†]	.141 [†]			
Adjusted R ²	.030	.220	.025	.173	.040	.000	.040
Overall F	1.81 [†]	8.08****	1.66 [†]	6.28****	2.12*	0.52	2.15*

NOTE: This table presents standardized regression coefficients (betas) representing the effect of contact, controlling for the following macrosocial demographic variables: length of U.S. residence, childhood linguistic environment, family income, years of education, gender, marital status, and age. [†] $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$.

social and political life in the United States—African Americans, Asian Americans, and American Indians. They also had significantly less contact with other persons of Mexican descent. It was only with other Latinos that they had equal contact.

In general, the predicted relationships between group contacts and social identities were better supported for Chicanos than for Mexicanos. Frequent contact with other persons of Mexican descent was associated for Chicanos, but not for Mexicanos, with identities that reflect intimate in-group bonds—the sense of self as a family member and as a Spanish speaker (part of the La Raza political identity for Chicanos). Contact with other minorities was irrelevant for the identities of Mexicanos, whereas it was the most important type of contact for the “political Raza” identity.

Other studies that we have conducted of the effects of identities on cultural and political adaptations also show more robust findings for Chicanos than for Mexicanos (Hurtado & Gurin, 1987; Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994). This is not to say that Mexicanos do not have coherent identities, cultural expressions, or political views. Rather, these social psychological phenomena are not interrelated for first-generation immigrants. In this article we see that group contacts are more closely tied to the identities of the Chicanos. Does this mean that social experience is less critical for the social identities of the Mexicanos? We suspect not, but we can now see that the relevant social experiences, including group contacts, have as much, if not more, to do with Mexico as with the United States. Sensitivity to social context should have led us to probe the Mexican social environment and group contacts in Mexico. Our failure to do that is a telling example of not following through the implications of social context.

These results highlight two points about multiplicity. First, they attest to the significance of multiple identities. Ethnic identity is often measured by asking people to select one of several nationality terms. These results show, however, that ethnic identity is far more complex

than merely identifying with a particular nationality term. The nationality terms typically used in studies of the Mexican-descent population (*Mexican, Mexican American, American, Latino, Hispanic*) were part of three different social identities for both Chicanos and Mexicanos. Moreover, these three identities did not have the same meaning in the two groups. We also found that ethnic identity was not separated from other social identities. Different kinds of ethnic labels were infused in nearly all the social identities of both groups.

Second, multiple kinds of group contacts proved to be an important aspect of this study. Although the intergroup relations literature typically draws a simple contrast between in-groups and out-groups, we emphasized multiple kinds of out-groups. We argued that many out-groups—Anglos, different minority groups, other Latinos—are especially influential in the lives of Chicanos, who, because of their long residence in the United States, facility in English, and greater geographic dispersal, participate more fully than Mexicanos in the pluralistic ethnic/racial environment of the United States. Our results show that contacts with other minorities and other Latinos were much more influential for Chicanos' social identities than were their contacts with Anglos. Chicanos had reasonably frequent contact with Anglos, but this contact was surprisingly unimportant for their social identities.

The relative insignificance of contact with Anglos and our failure to find a multiplicative effect of in-group/Anglo contact on a political sense of self point to a measurement limitation in this study. We have argued that frequency and quality of group contacts are both important in the social construction of social identities. Yet we measured only amount of contact with various groups. Future research should include measures of frequency of different types of contacts—intimate/nonintimate, cooperative/competitive, positive/negative—that Chicanos and Mexicanos have with various groups both in the United States and in Mexico.

Finally, the differences that were found in the group contacts of Mexicanos and Chicanos, and the subsequent relationships between group contacts and the different social identities of these two groups, are supportive of our general causal framework—one in which macrosocial conditions set up particular microsocial conditions (group contacts) that, in turn, influence the formation of social identities. However, the correlational nature of the study limits the conclusions that can be drawn about this framework. Longitudinal data following immigrants as they adapt to the United States and following later generations as the macrosocial conditions in which they live change are much needed to test the proposed connections between the broader environment, immediate features of the microsocial world, and formation of social identities.

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