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AMERICAN NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER SEPTEMBER 2001

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RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza los cambios en la identificación nacional americana a raíz de los hechos del 11 de septiembre de 2001. Desde una definición multidimensional de la identidad nacional americana, la investigación compara el nivel de identificación de un grupo de universitarios, justo después de los hechos del 11 de septiembre de 2001, con el manifestado por otro grupo comparable de universitarios, en septiembre de 2000 y 2002. Partiendo de la teoría de identidad social y de investigaciones previas, se supuso que el nivel de identificación en 5 aspectos sería superior después del 11-9 que el de los períodos anteriores comparados. Los resultados de otras investigaciones, que muestran un mayor compromiso cívico después del 11-9, fue una razón más para comprobar esta hipótesis en un aspecto concreto de la identificación –el sentimiento de unidad con el propio grupo. También se analizan los efectos del género y del grupo étnico. En definitiva, en este trabajo se proporciona una aportación que puede ser útil.

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses changes in American national identification as a result of the events of September 11, 2001. Using a social identity-based multidimensional definition of American national identification, the current study compared American identification levels in college students just after the events of September 11th, 2001 to those of comparable students in September 2000 and 2002. Based on social identity theory, and previous research, we predicted that identification levels across five identification aspects would be higher shortly after 9/11 than in the two comparison periods. An additional motivation for this hypothesis for one particular identification aspect –associated with feelings of oneness with one's group– was based partly on others' research showing increases in civic engagement after 9/11, and therefore provides a potentially-useful extension of that work. This paper also analyzes the effects of ethnic and gender group memberships.

Key words: national identification, social identity theory, 9/11 attacks, ethnic and gender groups

In September 2001, Americans were threatened like never before by foreign attackers who considered any American a justifiable target, without discriminating between combatants and non-combatants; between men, women, and children; or between Christian, Jew, and Muslim. The events of September 11, 2001 provide an opportunity to explore several theoretical, empirical, and practical issues related to national identification.

Drawing primarily on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and social dominance theory (Sidanius, 1993), several hypotheses were developed for the current research relating the events of 9/11 to national identification and social categorization. For example, it was hypothesized that the combination of a severe threat from an outgroup and the perception of common fate as Americans led to Americans' identification being higher shortly after 9/11 than under less-threatening circumstances (i.e., comparable periods during 2000 and 2002). Also of particular interest was the degree to which feelings of oneness with other Americans changed as a result of 9/11 and the degree to which the importance of one's membership in the group "Americans" changed as a result of 9/11. Additional hypotheses address other potential differences among five aspects of national identification as well as differences in national identification among ethnic and gender categories.

National Identification

The degree of an individual's national identification can be important for many reasons. For example, national identification may predict political participation, collective action (Brewer, & Silver, 2000; Klandermans & de Weerd, 2000), and loyalty to fellow ingroup members (Silver & Brewer, 2003).

But what does the term "national identification" mean? There are many possible conceptualizations of national identification, and almost every researcher has their own slightly different definition. But we will concentrate on only two sets of definitions here because the distinctions between them are particularly important for the understanding of the scope and content of this paper.

First, there is the basic distinction between a national or cultural characteristic and an individual characteristic. Some authors use the term "national identity" to mean a collection of attributes or characteristics that define a nation, and/or how individuals perceive a given national identity (e.g., "what it means to be an American") independent of how any given individual "identifies" personally with that nation (Renshon, 2001; Schildkraut, 2002). However, another use of the term national identity (or national identification) requires attention to the attitudes, feelings, and beliefs of a given individual within that nation in reference to that individual's membership in that national group or citizenship in the nation-state, independent of whether a general national character exists and independent of what the individual feels represents the character of the nation itself ("what

it means to be an American"). This paper addresses national identification as an individual's attitudes, feelings, and beliefs related to actual national membership/citizenship.

Even using this membership type of national identification, there are still multiple ways of defining national identification. One further way to conceptualize national identification is how individuals *identify with the nation-state as a whole* or with the government or symbols of that nation-state (i.e., identification with "America"). For example, some researchers have used Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) patriotism scale (generally referring to attitudes about the United States as a nation-state, i.e., "America") as a measure of national identification, or used combinations of similar measures to try to grasp the larger nature of American national identification (e.g., Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997).

On the other hand, another important way to conceptualize national identification (derived at least in part from a social identity perspective; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) is how individuals *identify with the other members or citizens of the nation-state and/or incorporate that membership into their self-concepts*. These two are not mutually-exclusive conceptualizations of American national identity (an individual may hold a certain level of identification with the nation as a whole as well as a separate but correlated identification with the other members of that nation, however we know of no published correlations between these general conceptions of national identification). However, the concepts are conceptually distinct and any given question asked of respondents will necessarily focus on one or the other. Therefore, it is important to make clear that this paper addresses the latter, social-identity version of national identification and not the former version referring to the nation-state itself or its symbols or institutions.

Further, even when one considers national identification from social identity perspective, there have been many different conceptualizations and operationalizations of group identification that can apply to national identity. Silver (2003) reviewed dozens of published and unpublished factor analyses of group identification measures (including measures of national identification, ethnic group identification, gender identification, and identification with a wide range of other groups and social categories). The results of that review and subsequent empirical research using exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses with ethnic majority and minority samples in the US led to the conclusion that for social categories and large groups (including national and ethnic groups but not small/intimacy groups such as families) five factors or aspects of social identification are distinct and use-

ful constructs. It is these five aspects of identification that form the definition of national identification as used in this paper.

Applied to identification with the group "Americans", these identification aspects are: 1) Oneness with other Americans [or a communal feeling that events that impact the group "Americans" are felt personally as if they had happened to the individual], 2) Affect –including pride– associated with being a member of the group Americans [importantly, this is not affect about the group itself nor is it affect about other Americans], 3) feelings of Similarity with other Americans and Typicality as an American, 4) Emotional Bond with other Americans [the degree to which an individual feels close emotionally to other Americans], and 5) the Importance of membership in the group Americans to the individual's sense of self. In previous research, these five aspects are all positively related [including in latent variable structural equation analyses that include a method factor to statistically control for shared method variance]. However, some aspects are more highly related than are others (e.g., oneness and affective identification tend to be the most-highly correlated and similarity/typicality tends to be the least correlated with the other four). The five aspects also tend to have somewhat different relationships with other variables, including ingroup loyalty (Silver, 2003).

This five-factor structure has been validated with University student samples at Ohio State University and the University of California at Santa Barbara for three target groups: identification with "Americans", identification with one's ethnic group, and identification with the university community. The five factor pattern also holds for both whites and ethnic minorities in those student populations and for those target groups. (Although the factor patterns are the same among populations and target groups, as one would expect the *mean levels* of identification with Americans and with one's ethnic group do differ between ethnic groups). It must be noted that the factor structure has not been assessed with a nationally-representative sample, and no claims about generalizability of this five-factor structure to other populations can be made.

Based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), individuals may hold some level of identification with a group without any threat from another group or outgroup, but a real or perceived threat from an outgroup will increase that identification. This effect should be most true for those individuals who are already moderately identified with the group and those who cannot avoid the threat by leaving the group in reality or through distancing or disidentification (a process that is difficult but not

impossible for national citizenship, and so one could expect a general increase in identification across members of a university student population). The events of September 11, 2001 may have been perceived by many Americans as an attack on an ingroup with which they identify from an outgroup. Therefore, the events of 9/11 and the data collected here allow a real-world test of social identity theory as well as an extension of the theory to multiple aspects of identification identified in previous research (Silver, 2003).

Several sources reported in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 that Americans were drawing together attitudinally and behaviorally (Bowman, 2003). Putnam (2002), for example, reports that between 2000 and 2001, Americans increased some forms of civic-minded and social behaviors with or for other Americans (e.g., giving blood and volunteering), presumably due to the intervening events of 9/11 that occurred one to two months before the survey was fielded. Relatedly, data from the National Tragedy Study (NTS; Smith, Rasinski, & Toce, 2001), a national survey conducted during the weeks following September 11th, indicated a large increase in national pride compared to data from the 2000 General Social Survey (GSS). The NTS data also indicated, consistent with findings from previous research, that pride in America was higher for white Americans than for African Americans and further that pride in America was about as different between these ethnic categories following 9/11 as it was in 2000 (providing one set of evidence that at least these American ethnic groups were not *coming together* in attitudes as a result of 9/11, although all ethnic categories were affected).

Although there are nationally-representative surveys that indicate that Americans subjectively felt that other Americans *came together* after 9/11 (Bowman, 2003), we could not find any national surveys that measured whether individuals perceived themselves as being more *one* with other Americans after 9/11. Based on the evidence that people felt other Americans were coming together after 9/11, one might expect self reports to also show an increase in subjective *oneness* with other Americans after 9/11. Evaluating the levels of the *oneness* identification aspect across years in the current data would provide the only test we are aware of for the notion that individual Americans actually felt more *one* with their fellow Americans as a result of 9/11.

National Identification and Demographic Differences

Social dominance theory (Sidanius, 1993) proposes that all political (not numerical) minority groups, including ethnic minorities and women,

have been and continue to be socially and politically oppressed by majority groups (to varying degrees in all countries). Because by definition majority groups have the greatest power in a nation-state, the theory posits that identification with one's national group is affected by that domination and manifested by, among other things, generally lower national identification among members of lower-power minority groups.

Based on social dominance theory (Sidanius, 1993) it was hypothesized that differences in American identification levels would exist between American social categories that differ in power, namely ethnic groups and gender groups. No specific ethnic or gender group predictions were made about each of the five specific identification aspects. In general, however, as applied to the events surrounding 9/11, one possibility was that individuals in lower-power social categories (ethnic minorities and women) would display less sensitivity to external events –manifested in less change in identification between years– than would people in higher-power social categories (whites and men). (Additionally, based on SDT, it is possible that ethnic minority males in particular will have the lowest national identification, due to the particularly-negative treatment the theory proposes is given to lower-power males.) A competing but more-methodological possibility was that people in lower-power social categories would display greater changes in identification between years if for no other reason than their generally-lower levels of identification would allow a greater range of change to higher identification levels than would those in higher-power social categories.

American Identification and 9/11

We believe the current research has the potential to allow comparisons with contemporaneous research on identification effects related to 9/11 as well as extend past research on the structure of national identification and on demographic differences in national identification. The issues raised above lead to several testable hypotheses from the current data available:

1. Collapsing across social categories and the five identification aspects, national identification levels in 2001 will be higher than in 2000 or 2002 (a main effect of year).

2. Compatible with the idea that Americans felt more *one* with other Americans as a result of the events of September 11, 2001, collapsing across social categories the oneness identification aspect by itself will be higher in 2001 than in 2000 and 2002 (a main effect of year for one identification aspect only).

3. Collapsing across social categories and years, national identification levels will differ between identification aspects (a main effect of identification aspect), based on previous research with these aspects.

4. Collapsing across years and identification aspects, national identification levels will differ between ethnic and gender social categories (a two-way interaction of ethnicity x gender, with white males having the highest levels and ethnic minority males having the lowest levels of identification).

5. Identification levels will differ between years between social categories that differ in power (a three-way interaction of years x ethnicity x gender).

The data analyzed and reported here are part of a larger program of research into the structure of group identification and the correlates of that identification. We measured identification with Americans in September 2000 as part of that larger program. When the events of September 11, 2001 transpired it became obvious we had an opportunity to measure identification with Americans from a similar though not identical student population (separated by one year) and to allow comparisons of American identification between years. (Unfortunately, it was not possible to contact the same participants that had taken part in 2000 to allow a longitudinal/panel design.) We continued to measure identification with Americans in 2002 as part of a three-part cross-sectional design to allow follow-up comparisons with the previous two years. It is identification data from these three years and three separate samples that are reported here.

Method

Participants

For this cross-sectional study, three sets of undergraduate students at the University of California at Santa Barbara (Total N: 1,397) completed an American identification questionnaire consisting of the five identification subscales (360 in September 2000, 436 in September 2001, and 601 in September 2002). A chi-square analysis confirmed the obvious: that there were significant differences in the number of participants between years, $\chi^2(2)=65.20$, $p<.001$.

The 2001 questionnaires were completed approximately two weeks after the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and served as the measures of identification in a high-threat/high-common fate context. Questionnaires completed in 2000 and 2002 were used as comparisons. Although they certainly make for useful comparison conditions, it is arguable how appropriate it is to consider either September

2000 or 2002 identification levels as baselines per se. The September 2000 questionnaires were completed during US participation in the Olympic Games (a low-threat but nationally intergroup context which could increase identification compared to less-intergroup contexts), but Americans were also preparing for a national election (and therefore perhaps more focused on party, regional, or individual differences among Americans than on commonalities among Americans, which could reduce identification compared to less-intragroup contexts). The September 2002 questionnaires were completed during a time of a continuing but lower-intensity threat from external terrorist attack (and therefore serves here as a moderate- or perhaps even low-external threat context but almost certainly could not be considered a *baseline* when comparing to the previous samples).

To produce meaningful responses, the identification questions required that a respondent be a member of the social category "Americans"[1]. Therefore, only data from respondents who were Americans were included in these analyses[2].

To effectively evaluate any observed differences in identification across years, it would be best if the samples across years were identical demographically. However, because this was not an experiment, individuals were neither randomly assigned to years nor assigned to years in blocks to assure matched demographics across years. The best we could do in this quasi-experimental design was assess the degree to which the samples were comparable demographically across years. Unfortunately the lack of control inherent in this design did lead to some differences across years, and although these differences are controlled for statistically in the later analyses, they should be kept in mind.

In all three samples, there were more females than males; across years there were 490 males and 906 females. However, in a chi-square analysis, there was a marginal difference in the proportions of males and females across years, $\chi^2(2)=5.16$, $p=.08$. Specifically, there was a somewhat higher proportion of males in 2000 (40%) than in 2001 (33%) and 2002 (34%).

Appendix A shows the number of each of several broad ethnic categories represented in the samples across all three years. UCSB is not a very diverse university and about 71% of all participants in this study identified themselves as white or Caucasian. To allow the most powerful statistical analyses, the analyses reported here divide the respondents between the broadest ethnic categories possible (the dominant ethnic majority in the US –"whites"– and all others considered ethnic minorities)[3].

A chi-square analysis indicated a marginal difference in the proportions of whites and ethnic minorities across years, $\chi^2(2)=4.64$, $p=.10$. Specifi-

cally, there was a somewhat higher proportion of whites in 2001 (75%) than in 2000 (69%) and 2002 (70%).

Materials

Before answering identification questions, the participants were presented with the following instructions:

> "*Please answer the following questions with Americans in mind. (Emphasis in original.)* When you think of the group *Americans*, think of yourself as a member of that group. Please take a few moments now to think about the group *Americans*. Think about your membership in the group *Americans*. Think about the things you do and the things you feel as a member of the group *Americans*. Think about what it means *to you* to be a member of the group *Americans*."

The identification questionnaire consisted of 19 items representing five identification factors identified in previous research (Silver, 2003). These 19 items are a subset of a slightly-larger set of 26 items making up five identification factors previously validated with university student populations in both Ohio and California through extensive exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses and other latent variable structural equation modeling and means analyses.

Table 1 shows the items organized by identification aspect/subscale. Most scale items are modified from other existing identification scales though some were developed to tap potentially-important identification concepts that were not covered by existing items. The most extreme example of using existing items is that the Importance subscale here consists entirely of the Identification subscale of Crocker and Luhtanen's (1992) Collective Self Esteem Scale (this is also a testament to the validity of Crocker and Luhtanen's work in that when combined with many other items relating to group identification, these four items repeatedly load together –and distinct from other items– in exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses.

The items were presented to participants in one of two random orders. Participants indicated their agreement or disagreement with each statement by writing next to the item the number corresponding to one of seven response options, from 1 to 7 as follows: Strongly Disagree, Moderately Disagree, Slightly Disagree, Neutral, Slightly Agree, Moderately Agree, and Strongly Agree. Identification level on each of these identification subscales served as the dependent variables for this study.

Table 1. Identification Items by Subscale

Oneness
If a story in the media criticized Americans, I would feel embarrassed.
When someone criticizes Americans, it feels like a personal insult.
When someone praises the group "Americans", it feels like a personal compliment.
Americans' successes are my successes.
Affective
I am glad to belong to the group "Americans".
Belonging to the group "Americans" is important to me.
I am proud to be an American.
I value my membership in the group "Americans".
I am annoyed to say I'm an American. (R)
Importance
Being an American is an important reflection of who I am.
In general, belonging to the group "Americans" is an important part of my self-image.
Overall, my membership in the group "Americans" has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)
Being an American is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am. (R)
Emotional Bond
I feel strong ties to the group "Americans".
Being an American has a great deal of personal meaning for me.
Similarity/Typicality
Most other Americans share my attitudes.
I am like other Americans.
I am a typical American.
I would feel bad if I were described as a typical American. (R)
Note: "(R)" indicates the item is reverse-scored in computing the subscale.

Results

Subscales were constructed for each identification aspect by taking the mean of items within that subscale. Cronbach's alphas were computed for each subscale across all years and demographic groups. The alphas were generally lower than those observed in previous research for no known reason (oneness: .57, affective: .62, importance: .67, bond: .57 [Pearson r=.40], sim/typ: .70). The mean levels, standard deviations, and sample sizes for each identification aspect by year, ethnicity, and gender are available from the first author upon request.

Because we were interested in testing whether individuals felt more one with other Americans as a result of the events of September 11, 2001 (hypothesis 2), and because our oneness identification aspect is most closely

related to this feeling, a planned contrast for identification levels just for that aspect was conducted. Specifically, we tested whether the 2001 oneness identification level (M=4.66, SD=1.20) was significantly higher than both the 2000 (M=4.31, SD=1.04) and 2002 (M=3.85, SD=1.05) levels. Consistent with the notion that Americans did subjectively feel more one with other Americans immediately following 9/11, the contrast was significant, $t(1393)=9.04$, $p<.001$. Because the observed pattern for oneness identification seemed to indicate that the 2002 level was lower than even the 2000 level and therefore may have been the sole source of a difference in the planned contrast, additional Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc analyses compared the 2000 level with the 2001 and 2002 levels. As predicted, the 2000 oneness identification level was statistically significantly lower in 2000 than in 2001, $p<.001$. Additionally, though not predicted, the 2002 oneness identification level was lower than not only the 2001 level but lower than the 2000 level as well, $p<.001$.

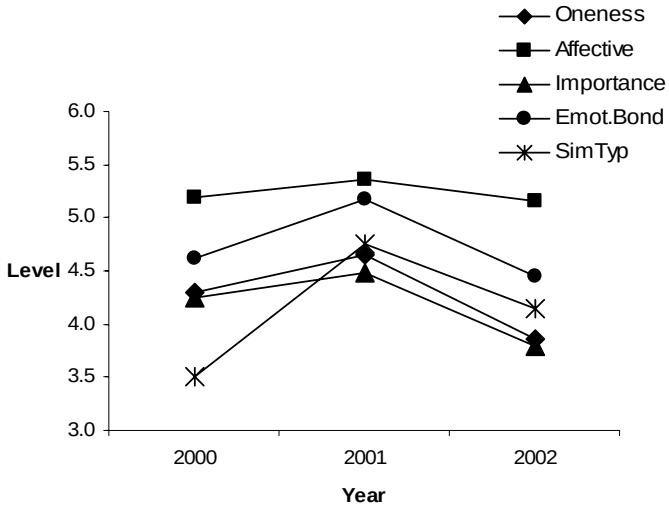
Because our hypotheses included a three-way interaction among year, ethnicity, and gender (hypothesis 5) and because we were also interested in exploring potential differences in identification aspects, we conducted a four-factor mixed-model multivariate general linear model analysis (with year, gender, and ethnicity as between-subjects factors and identification subscale as a within-subjects factor) to assess the remaining hypothesized main and interaction effects simultaneously. We found significant differences in identification levels between years (addressing hypothesis 1), significant differences in identification levels among the identification aspects (addressing hypothesis 3), significant differences in identification levels among ethnic and gender categories (hypothesis 4), and several other significant effects. See Figure 1 for some of the basic two-way effects.

Consistent with our hypothesis 1, there was a main effect for overall differences in identification level between years, $F(2,1384)=45.70$, $p<.001$, with the greatest identification in 2001. According to post-hoc Bonferroni analyses, overall identification in 2001 was higher than overall identification levels in both 2000 and 2002 (both *p*s<.001), but identification levels in 2000 and 2002 did not differ significantly nor marginally from each other ($p=.48$).

There was also a main effect for differences in level of identification between the identification subscales (hypothesis 3), $F(4,5536)=301.09$, $p<.001$, with the order from highest to lowest being (with two non-significant exceptions): Affective Identification, Emotional Bond, Oneness, Importance, and finally Similarity/Typicality (all comparison *p*s <.001) –the exceptions were that Oneness and Importance did not differ significantly

from each other [p=.12], and neither did Importance and Similarity/Typicality [p=.46]).

Figure 1. Mean Year x Identification Subscale Levels



There were also differences between general ethnic categorizations in overall identification with Americans (across identification aspects, genders, and years), F(1,1384)=5.22, p=.02, with whites identifying somewhat more with Americans than did all others (Ms = 4.53 vs. 4.41, respectively). There was not, however, a two-way interaction between ethnicity and gender, as social dominance theory (SDT) would have predicted, F(1,1384)= .54, p=.46, and as hypothesized in our hypothesis 4.

It is possible that the lack of the hypothesized effect here was due to including participants who are not, or do not perceive themselves to be, oppressed ethnic minorities (namely the participants whose ethnic group for our purposes is less-clearly or less-arguably oppressed: with ethnicity self-reported as *other*, a combination of ethnicities, or no response at all). However, the results are essentially the same when the data are analyzed with only ethnic minorities that were more-clearly identified as having lower political status/power than whites (i.e., including Asian-, Hispanic-, African-, and Native-Americans and excluding *others* of all types and those not providing a response to the ethnicity question), interaction F(1,1280)=1.41, p=.24, or when only Latinos/as are included as the ethnic minority (chosen

because they are the most-numerous low-power social category in the sample), interaction $F(1,1133)=2.07$, $p=.15$. Full results of these additional analyses are available upon request.

Among the significant interactions present was an interaction between year and identification scale, $F(8,5536)=25.14$, $p<.001$, and clearly represented in Figure 1, showing that differences in identification levels between years differ between the identification subscales. There were also three other two- and three-way interactions (identification subscale x ethnicity [$p=.04$], identification subscale x ethnicity x year [$p=.05$], and identification subscale x gender x year [$p=.10$]). Importantly, there was also a four-way interaction (identification subscale x year x ethnicity x gender), $F(8,5536)=2.16$, $p=.03$. The hypothesized three-way interaction (Hypothesis 5) was not significant nor marginal, $F(2,1384)=1.70$, $p=.18$.

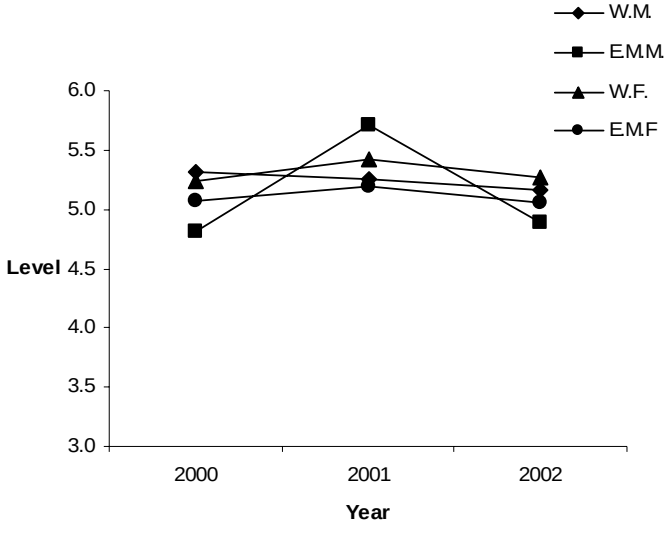
Here we concentrate on just two significant interactions: 1) the two-way year x identification subscale interaction, and 2) the four-way interaction –identification subscale x year x ethnicity x gender. Details of the other observed effects are available upon request.

For the year x identification subscale interaction (which was not among our hypotheses), a multivariate contrast analysis was conducted to test if the 2001 mean identification level was significantly higher than the 2000 and 2002 levels across the five identification subscales (essentially, a multivariate version of previous planned contrast analyses conducted for oneness and importance individually). As expected, the 2001 means were significantly above the 2000 and 2002 means, $F(1,1384)=84.41$, $p<.001$. To follow-up on that multivariate contrast, we conducted three additional separate univariate contrast analyses to test if the multivariate finding held for each of the remaining three identification subscales –affective, emotional bond, similarity/typicality– individually. They did, all three individual contrasts were significant at $p=.003$.

The general pattern of highest-identification level in 2001 held for all five subscales. However, as can be seen in Figure 1, there is obviously variation in the patterns between subscales, leading to the significant interaction observed; that is, all subscales did not show exactly the same pattern across years. Similarity/typicality shows a large change from a very low level in 2000 to the median level in 2001, in 2002 both oneness and importance actually appear to sink below the 2000 levels, and affective identification shows almost no change across time. In fact, as indicated in the analysis of the four-way interaction below, affective identification showed the general increase in 2001 only due to the influence of one particular demographic subgroup.

To explore the four-way interaction, we divided the identification subscales and conducted five separate three-way analyses of variance (year x ethnicity x gender), one for each subscale. There were no significant three-way interactions (differences in the overall temporal pattern moderated by ethnicity or gender) for Oneness, $F(2,1385)=2.91$, $p=.75$, Importance, $F(2,1385)=1.43$, $p=.24$, Emotional Bond, $F(2,1384)=2.24$, $p=.11$, or Similarity/Typicality, $F(2,1385)=1.34$, $p=.26$. However, the three-way interaction (year x ethnicity x gender) for Affective identification was significant, $F(2,1385)=4.25$, $p=.02$. Figure 2 shows the pattern for Affective identification divided by demographic subgroups: white males, ethnic minority males, white females, and ethnic minority females.

Figure 2. Mean Year x Ethnicity x Gender Levels for the Affective Identification Subscale



The pattern shown in Figure 2 seems to show ethnic minority males having the same or lower affective identification than all other demographic subgroups in 2000 and 2002, but higher affective identification in 2001 than all other demographic subgroups, and no differences among years for the other demographic groups. To formally evaluate that, four separate analyses of variance were performed, testing if Affective identification levels differed between years for each of the four demographic subgroups. The pattern visible in Figure 2 holds up under formal statistical analysis: The ANOVA testing for Affective identification differences

among years was significant for ethnic minority males, $F(2,127)=7.95$, $p=.001$, however, there were no significant nor marginally significant differences for the other three subgroups (white males $p=.54$, white females $p=.19$, ethnic minority females $p=.65$).

Further, to more effectively test Social Dominance Theory predictions, post-hoc analyses were conducted comparing affective identification levels between white males and ethnic minority males in each year. In 2000 and 2002, white males had higher affective identification than did ethnic minority males, $t(142)=2.15$, $p=.03$ and $t(202)=1.70$, $p=.09$, respectively, but in 2001, ethnic minority males showed higher affective identification than did white males, $t(141)=-2.05$, $p=.04$.[4]

Discussion

As expected (Hypothesis 1), American identification levels in September 2001 were indeed higher than identification levels in September 2000 and 2002. The events of September 2001 seem to have heightened American national identification …at least temporarily. This result supports social identity theory and its predictions for increases in ingroup identification for individuals in groups that are threatened but from which they cannot leave or effectively disassociate themselves. It must be acknowledged that although the guiding theory behind this research was social identity theory, the results are not incompatible with terror management theory (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986; Simon et al., 1997) and realistic group conflict theory (Sherif, 1966) and no analyses could be performed that would allow a comparison of the competing theories. This basic result regarding Hypothesis 1 also provides the first indication in this data set that the five identification measures are at least minimally valid, in that they displayed reasonable results on what is arguably the least-controversial hypothesis.

There was also support for the notion (Hypothesis 2) that Americans felt subjectively closer to one another as a result of 9/11, as evidenced by the increased level of oneness identification in 2001. This finding complements findings by Putnam (2002) and Smith, Rasinski, and Toce (2001) related to attitudes and behaviors of Americans in the aftermath of 9/11 and extends those findings to the area of national identification. However, it is important to note that by September 2002 oneness identification had declined to (and below) September 2000 levels –suggesting that, in Putnam's (2000) terms, Americans were back to *bowling alone* a year after 9/11. There were also no differences between ethnic or gender groups in the

pattern for oneness: members of all social categories showed higher levels of identification in 2001 than in either 2000 or 2002.

As we had found in previous research and so hypothesized here (Hypothesis 3), there were observed differences between identification aspects. As in most of our previous research, affective identification levels were higher than the other aspects.

We generally saw somewhat different patterns across years for the five identification aspects, although the most general finding across all five was that identification was highest in 2001 compared to the year before and the year after. However, looking at affective identification levels across years for the different social categories, it is not clear why affective identification was not higher in 2001 for whites or ethnic minority females but was higher only for ethnic minority males. These results do conflict with those of the National Tragedy Study, from which it would have been expected that whites would show the most identification across all years and that the dramatic ethnic minority male increase that was observed in our data would not have occurred. Because our sample is not representative, it is entirely possible that this ethnic minority male effect is real but nevertheless restricted to a subset of the UCSB student population.

In Hypothesis 4, based on social dominance theory, we had predicted that there would be a specific interaction pattern between ethnicity and gender (collapsing across years and identification aspects). Specifically, we had hypothesized that due to their socio-political dominance in America, white males would show the highest levels of American identification and ethnic minority males would show the lowest levels. However, this pattern did not emerge. Although there was a general (main effect) difference between the ethnic groups, with whites identifying more than ethnic minorities, there was no interaction with gender. In fact, the non-significant pattern indicated, if anything, white females having the highest identification; this was true for the main analyses and the additional analyses that included only specified low-power ethnic groups or only Latinos/as. The main effect could reasonably be seen as partial support for social dominance theory, but not the degree of support that was predicted.

There are at least two possible reasons for this lack of support for the social dominance theory-based prediction. First, it is possible that the theory is incorrect or underspecified. It is also possible, however, that the gender-related hypothesis is most applicable to one specific category of ethnic group in the United States –African-Americans– and that there were far too few African-Americans in the samples to have the influence that was predicted.

Finally, we had hypothesized (Hypothesis 5) based again on social dominance theory, that identification levels would differ between years between social categories that differ in power (a three-way interaction of years x ethnicity x gender). That pattern did not emerge, for unknown reasons, but at a minimum the results do not strongly support social dominance theory.

The results reported here provide support for social identity theory in that external group threat generally increased identification with an ingroup, above and beyond increases due to intergroup competition, that existed during the September 2000 measurement period in the middle of the Olympic Games. The results reported here provide somewhat less support for social dominance theory, although the characteristics of the samples in this study may be to blame.

The current study is the only one we know of so far that assesses the national identification effects of September 11, 2001 with a comparison group both before and after 2001 on multiple forms of identification and for multiple ethnic groups. Although we feel these results are interesting and suggestive, the samples are limited to the standard college undergraduates. Future research with nationally-representative samples exploring the relationship(s) between national identification using a multidimensional social identity-based definition of national identification and social attitudes and policy preferences would be useful.

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[1] Although the term "Americans" could potentially refer to anyone from a nation-state in the "Americas", the use of the term "Americans" was understandable to the current sample as meaning "Americans" from the "United States of America."

[2] The demographic data available to us did not explicitly ask whether the individual was a citizen of the United States (US) but rather asked if the individual was born in the US. By US law, an individual born in the US is automatically a US citizen, and we made the assumption that most if not all of those individual who indicated they were born in the US were currently US citizens and therefore qualified as "Americans." It is possible that some naturalized citizens were excluded from the current analyses due to this procedure.

[3] Although most of the current analyses are performed collapsing across ethnic minorities to allow more-powerful statistical analyses, a better test of the social dominance theory-based hypotheses would be possible if at least some analyses were performed with the most-represented ethnic minorities (namely Asians and Latinos) separated from the other ethnic minorities. Although too few African American participants exist to assess what would be expected to be the most extreme differences from whites, Latino/Latina identification differences from whites may be significant. For example, it is possible that Latino/Latina identification effects are masked by the current lumping of their data with all other ethnic minorities, especially Asians (which from a

social status perspective in California may not be a suitably low-status group to lead to social dominance-based differences from whites; see Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997, for an example of social dominance orientation differences between these ethnic groups). The most important analyses related to social dominance theory were tested with more-focused but smaller ethnic minority samples as described below to allow better tests of the social dominance theory-derived hypotheses mentioned here.

[4] Replications of these post-hoc analyses comparing only whites vs. Latin Americans (the most-represented broad ethnic minority group) showed no differences between ethnic groups in any year, $t(121)=0.18$, $t(114)=-0.31$, $t(172)=0.62$, for 2000, 2001, and 2002 respectively, all $ps=.54$.

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Appendix A
Ethnic Categories Represented in the Samples

Broad Ethnic Category	Frequency	Percent of All Participants	Percent of Ethnic Minorities
White/Caucasian	995	71.2%	n/a
Latino/Latina/Hispanic	151	10.8%	37.6%
Asian/Asian-American	128	9.2%	31.8%
African-American/Black	18	1.3%	4.5%
Native American	1	.1%	0.2%
Other	99	7.1%	24.6%
Not reported	5	.4%	1.2%
Total	1,397 (402)[1]	100.0%	100.0%

Labels listed for general ethnic categories are those provided as questionnaire response options. "Other" included self-reported specific ethnic/national groups (e.g., Korean) or combinations of ethnic groups ("White/Black"). [1] The number in parentheses is the total number of "ethnic minorities" used in the current analyses (including "Other" and "Not reported").

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