

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY CONFIGURATIONS:  
VALIDATION OF CONCEPTS, LINKS TO WELL-BEING  
AND SOCIAL ANTECEDENTS

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CONFIGURATIONS DES IDENTITÉS MULTICULTURELLES :  
VALIDATION DES CONCEPTS, LIENS AVEC LE BIEN-ÊTRE ET  
ANTÉCEDENTS SOCIAUX

THÈSE  
PRÉSENTÉE  
COMME EXIGENCE PARTIELLE DU  
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MAYA YAMPOLSKY

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“Friend, our closeness is this.  
Anywhere you put your foot  
feel me in the firmness under you.”  
Mawlana Jalal-al-Din Rumi

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## RÉSUMÉ

L'immigration et la mondialisation ont rendu l'expérience de l'identification à de multiples cultures commune dans nos sociétés diverses et multiculturelles (Vertovec, 2007). Avoir plus d'une identité culturelle est une expérience complexe où il faut négocier et résoudre les valeurs, les attentes et les normes différentes et potentiellement contradictoires qui proviennent de chacun des groupes culturels (Giguère, Lalonde & Lou, 2010; Tadmor et Tetlock, 2006). Ce processus de navigation nécessite la gestion cognitive de ces identités dans le soi. Selon le modèle cognitivo-développemental de l'intégration des identités sociales (CDSMII; Amiot et al., 2007), les individus négocient leurs identités multiples en ayant recours à plusieurs configurations cognitives: la catégorisation, lorsque les gens s'identifient à une seule de leurs identités culturelles; la compartimentation, qui implique que les individus maintiennent multiples identités distinctes au sein d'eux-mêmes; et l'intégration, qui a lieu lorsque les gens interconnectent leurs multiples identités culturelles. La catégorisation peut être considérée comme une gestion simplifiée des appartenances culturelles multiples, la compartimentation peut être considérée comme une organisation fragmentée des différentes identités culturelles alors que l'intégration peut être considérée comme une gestion résolue et réconciliée des identités culturelles multiples.

Le programme de recherche mené dans le cadre de cette thèse doctorale portait sur l'expérience des personnes multiculturelles et les configurations catégorisées, compartimentées, et intégrées de leurs identités culturelles multiples. En outre, les études de la présente thèse ont porté sur la façon dont chacune de ces configurations identitaires prédit de façon distincte le bien-être, et comment ces configurations sont prédites par la discrimination et le stress.

L'étude 1 a adopté une approche qualitative pour explorer l'expérience de configuration des identités de l'individu multiculturel en se basant sur le CSDMII. Un autre objectif de cette étude était d'explorer la relation entre chaque configuration des identités et le bien-être. Nous nous attendions à ce que l'intégration des identités soit liée au bien-être le plus élevé, tandis que la compartimentation et la catégorisation soient associées aux plus bas niveaux de bien-être. Vingt-deux participants multiculturels ont construit le récit de leurs identités culturelles et ont été interrogés sur chaque stratégie présente dans le CSDMII. Le bien-être a été évalué en codifiant la cohérence de leur récit de vie (Baerger & McAdams, 1999). Des corrélations et des analyses de la variance ont été réalisées. Nos résultats ont confirmé nos hypothèses : les individus intégrés avaient les récits les plus cohérents, tandis que les individus compartimentés avaient les récits les moins cohérents. Contrairement à nos hypothèses, les participants catégorisés ont également démontré des niveaux plus élevés de cohérence par rapport à ceux compartimentés. Réconcilier et intégrer ses identités culturelles multiples semble faciliter la compréhension cohérente qu'un individu a de ses expériences de vie, tandis que la fragmentation de ses identités semble générer l'incohérence. Alors que l'étude 1 était qualitative, les études 2 et 3 ont vérifié les liens entre les configurations multiculturelles et le bien-être en utilisant une approche quantitative.

Le premier objectif des études 2 et 3 était d'abord de construire et de valider l'échelle de l'intégration des identités multiculturelle (MULTIIS) qui mesure la catégorisation, la compartimentation et l'intégration. Le deuxième objectif de cette étude était d'examiner quantitativement la relation entre chacune de ces configurations des identités et une variété d'indicateurs de bien-être. Nous avons prédit que les sous-échelles de catégorisation, de compartimentation et d'intégration démontreraient une cohérence interne satisfaisante, ainsi qu'une validité interne adéquate et une validité convergence avec d'autres échelles pertinentes déjà établies.



Nous nous attendions aussi à ce que la sous-échelle d'intégration prédirait un plus grand bien-être, tandis que la compartimentation et la catégorisation prédiraient moins de bien-être.

Dans l'étude 2, 407 étudiants canadiens multiculturels ont complété la première version du MULTIIS, ainsi que les mesures déjà existantes de l'intégration des identités culturelles, de clarté identitaire et de monitoring de soi ainsi que des mesures de bien-être subjectif et psychologique. Une analyse factorielle exploratoire et l'indice de consistance interne confirment l'existence des trois sous-échelles de catégorisation, compartimentation et d'intégration, bien que les poids factoriels pour certains items mesurant la catégorisation et la compartimentation ont démontré un besoin d'être améliorés. Un sous-échantillon de 310 participants ont complété les mesures de convergence et de bien-être. Les corrélations indiquent que chaque sous-échelle converge, comme prévu, avec les mesures d'intégration identitaire déjà existantes. En outre, les corrélations et les analyses de régressions ont révélé que la sous-échelle d'intégration prédit le bien-être au-delà de ces mesures déjà existantes, tandis que la catégorisation et la compartimentation ne prédisent pas le bien-être.

Pour l'étude 3, le MULTIIS a été amélioré et la validité ainsi que la cohérence internes ont été testées à nouveau. Les relations prédictives entre le MULTIIS et des mesures de bien-être plus sensibles culturellement ont également été testées. Les analyses factorielles exploratoires et confirmatoires, effectuées avec un échantillon de 338 participants multiculturels, supportent l'existence des sous-échelles de catégorisation, de compartimentation et d'intégration. Les corrélations et les analyses de régressions effectuées avec un sous-échantillon de 254 participants ont démontré que l'intégration prédit positivement le bien-être et que la compartimentation prédit négativement le bien-être. De façon inattendue, la catégorisation n'a démontré aucune relation constante avec le bien-être. Nos résultats démontrent que le MULTIIS est une mesure utile et prédictive de l'expérience complexe qu'implique l'identification à différents groupes culturels. En outre, l'intégration semble être la plus adaptative des

trois configurations, tandis que la compartimentation semble être la moins adaptative. En simplifiant ses identités, la catégorisation semble permettre d'éviter les écueils au bien-être rencontrés lorsque les individus compartimentent leurs identités, mais la catégorisation ne permet pas de profiter des avantages associés à la résolution et à l'intégration de ses identités multiples.

Après avoir examiné les conséquences individuelles importantes découlant des configurations des identités dans les études 1 à 3, l'étude 4 visait à évaluer le rôle du facteur social relatif à la discrimination dans la prédiction de chacune de ces configurations des identités. De plus, l'étude vise à clarifier davantage la relation entre la discrimination et ces configurations via la variable médiatrice de stress individuel. Il était attendu que la discrimination prédirait une plus grande catégorisation et une plus grande compartimentation via l'augmentation du stress, tandis que moins de discrimination prédirait une plus grande intégration via la présence de moins de stress. La même base de données qui a été utilisée pour l'étude 3 a aussi été utilisée pour l'étude 4; toutefois, seules les données du MULTIIS ont été réutilisées à travers les deux études. Les participants multiculturels ( $N = 194$ ) ont complété les mesures de discrimination perçue et de stress, ainsi que le MULTIIS. Des analyses de régressions et des techniques de « bootstrapping » ont révélé que le stress joue un rôle médiateur significatif dans la relation entre la discrimination et la compartimentation et dans la relation entre la discrimination et l'intégration. Spécifiquement, une plus grande discrimination prédisait plus de stress, qui, à son tour, prédisait une plus grande compartimentation. D'autre part, vivre moins de discrimination prédisait moins de stress, qui, à son tour, prédisait une plus grande intégration. De façon inattendue, ni la discrimination, ni le niveau de stress n'étaient liés à la catégorisation. Ces résultats suggèrent que l'expérience de la discrimination draine les ressources cognitives nécessaires au processus complexe de réconciliation des identités multiples, ce qui résulte en une configuration stratégique des identités en



des entités distinctes associées aux différents contextes à la fois. En contraste, lorsque les individus vivent moins de discrimination, ceci libère possiblement les ressources cognitives nécessaires à l'intégration identitaire.

Ce programme de recherche met en lumière l'importance du processus intraindividuel de la configuration des identités multiculturelles chez l'individu, et démontre comment ces configurations prédisent le bien-être (études 1-3). La présente recherche prend également en compte le phénomène social important de la discrimination pour les personnes multiculturelles, et démontre comment l'expérience de stress vécue lorsqu'une personne multiculturelle est discriminée inhibe sa capacité à réconcilier et à intégrer ses identités multiples (étude 4). Ce programme de recherche confirme que le simple fait de s'identifier à plus d'un groupe culturel n'est pas suffisant pour en arriver à des conséquences adaptatives, mais que la navigation et la configuration réussies des identités sont essentielles pour le bien-être. Les résultats fournissent un support empirique au CDSMII dans le cadre de l'identification multiculturelle. Cette thèse confirme également l'importance de l'environnement social dans l'explication des configurations de nos identités multiculturelles et comment la discrimination, en particulier, peut être particulièrement néfaste et coûteuse au processus d'intégration identitaire. Les travaux de recherche futurs permettront une plus grande compréhension et l'application de ces résultats afin de faciliter la négociation des identités multiculturelles. Il sera aussi important de continuer à tester les processus sous-jacents à l'aide de méthodes expérimentales.

**MOTS-CLÉS :** Identité multiculturelle, configurations des identités, intégration des identités, bien-être, discrimination, stress

# MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY CONFIGURATIONS: VALIDATION OF CONCEPTS, LINKS TO WELL-BEING AND SOCIAL ANTECEDENTS

## ABSTRACT

As a result of immigration and globalization, the experience of identifying with multiple cultures has become commonplace in our multicultural, diverse societies (Vertovec, 2007). Having more than one cultural identity is a complex experience where one needs to negotiate and resolve the different and potentially conflicting values, expectations, and norms from each of one's cultural groups (Giguere, Lalonde & Lou, 2010; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). This navigation process necessitates the cognitive management of these identities within one's general sense of self. According to the cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration (CDSMII; Amiot et al., 2007), there are different configurations for one's multiple identities: categorization, where people identify with one cultural identity over all others; compartmentalization, where individuals maintain multiple, separate identities within the self; and integration, where people interconnect their multiple cultural identities. Categorization can be seen as a simplified management of one's multiple cultural affiliations, compartmentalization can be seen as a fragmented organization of one's different cultural identities, and integration can be seen as a resolved and reconciled management of one's multiple cultural identities.

The program of research conducted for this thesis examined multiculturals' experience of the categorized, compartmentalized, and integrated multiple cultural identity configurations. In addition, these studies investigated how each of these identity configurations predict distinct well-being outcomes, and how they are predicted by individuals' experience with discrimination and stress.

Study 1 took a qualitative approach to explore multicultural individual's identity configuration experience in light of the CSDMII. Moreover, another goal of

this study was to explore the relationship between each identity configuration and well-being. We expected that identity integration would be related to well-being, while compartmentalization and categorization would demonstrate relatively less well-being. Interviews were conducted to explore the identity configuration of multicultural individuals and to account for well-being. Twenty-two multicultural participants constructed cultural identity narratives, and questions were asked in relation to each strategy posited in the CDSMII. Well-being was assessed by how coherently they communicated their life narratives (Baerger & McAdams, 1999). Correlation and ANOVA analyses were conducted. Our results confirmed our hypotheses, where integrated individuals had the most coherent narratives, while compartmentalized individuals told the least coherent narratives. Contrary to our hypotheses, categorized participants also demonstrated higher levels of coherence compared to compartmentalization. Reconciling and integrating one's multiple cultural identities appears to facilitate coherently understanding one's life experiences, while fragmenting one's identities appears to generate incoherence. It is possible that by simplifying one's identity experiences, one is more able to clearly relate one's life story. We pursued these questions further using a quantitative approach in Studies 2 and 3.

The purpose of Studies 2 and 3 was to first construct and validate the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS), which measures categorization, compartmentalization, and integration. The second goal of this study was to quantitatively examine the relationship between each of these identity configurations to a variety of well-being indicators. We predicted that the categorization, compartmentalization and integration subscales would demonstrate satisfactory internal consistency, as well as internal and convergent validity with other scales. We also expected that the integration subscale would predict greater well-being, while compartmentalization and categorization would predict lower well-being. In study 2, 407 multicultural Canadian students completed the first version of the MULTIIS,

along with prior measures of cultural identity integration, cultural and personal identity and measures of subjective and psychological well-being. Exploratory factorial analyses and internal consistency measures supported the three subscales of categorization, compartmentalization and integration, though the indicators for categorization and compartmentalization needed to be improved for greater robustness. 310 participants from the sample completed the convergent and well-being measures. Correlations indicated that each subscale converged as expected with prior measures. In addition, correlations and regressions revealed that the integration subscale predicted well-being above and beyond these prior measures, while categorization and compartmentalization did not predict well-being. For Study 3, the MULTIIS was improved and tested again for internal validity and consistency. The predictive relationship between these measures and more culturally-sensitive well-being indicators was also tested. Internal consistency along with exploratory and confirmatory factorial analyses with 338 multicultural participants supported the categorization, compartmentalization and integration subscales. Furthermore, correlation and regression analyses with a subset of 254 participants showed that integration positively predicted well-being, while compartmentalization negatively predicted well-being. Unexpectedly, categorization demonstrated no consistent relationship with well-being. Our results show that the MULTIIS is a useful and predictive measure of the complex experience of configuring one's different cultural identities within the self. Moreover, integration appears to be the most adaptive of the three configurations, while compartmentalization appears to be the least adaptive. By simplifying one's identities, categorization seems to avoid the challenges to well-being encountered through compartmentalization, but categorization also avoids reaping the benefits of resolving and integrating one's identities.

After having examined the important individual outcomes of these identity configurations in Studies 1-3, Study 4 was conducted to investigate the potent social predictor of discrimination in predicting each of these identity configurations. We

additionally sought to further explain and clarify the relationship between discrimination to these configurations through the mediating variable of individual stress. We predicted that greater discrimination would predict greater categorization and compartmentalization through greater stress, while less discrimination would predict greater integration through lower stress. The same database that was used for Study 3 was used for Study 4. Multicultural participants (N=194) completed measures of perceived discrimination and stress along with the MULTIIS. Regression and bootstrap analyses revealed that stress significantly mediated the relationship between discrimination and compartmentalization and integration, where greater discrimination predicted greater stress, which predicted greater compartmentalization. On the other hand, lower discrimination predicted lower stress, which predicted greater integration. Unexpectedly, categorization was not related to either discrimination or stress. The depleting experience of discrimination drains the individuals' cognitive resources needed for the complex process of reconciling multiple identities, and results in the strategic configuration of one's identities into separate, context-bound entities. Lower discrimination means that one's cognitive resources are untapped, and multicultural individuals can devote the necessary resources to integrating the identities. Categorization's lack of a relationship to either discrimination or stress may indicate that there is no threat and no reconciliation of one's identities, resulting in this simplified identification.

This research program sheds light on the importance of the intra-individual process of configuring one's multicultural identities, and how these configurations predict well-being (Studies 1-3). The present research also accounted for the important social phenomenon of discrimination for multicultural individuals, and how one's stress experience reveals how multiculturals' experience of discrimination inhibits one's ability to reconcile and integrate one's identities (Study 4). This program of research showed that simply having more than one culture is not enough



to reap adaptive consequences, but that successful navigation and configuration of one's identities is essential to attaining well-being. The findings provide empirical support for the CDSMII in the context of multicultural identification. This thesis also draws our attention to the importance of one's social environment in explaining our multicultural identity configurations, and how discrimination, specifically, can be particularly damaging and strenuous in terms of multiculturals' ability to successfully negotiate their identities. Future inquiries will pursue greater understanding and application of these findings to facilitate multiculturals' successful negotiation of their identities, and to further test the underlying processes using experimental methods.

CHAPITRE I  
INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE



## 1.1 Introduction

The question of how multiple identities are organised within the self is especially relevant for individuals with multiple cultural identities. Having multiple cultural identities shapes how people experience their social contexts, including their relationships, their cultural adaptation process, and their identity coherence. A multicultural individual is a person who has more than one culture; this includes first generation immigrants, descendants from first generation immigrants, and people with a “mixed” cultural heritage, etc. Investigating the experiences of multicultural individuals is pertinent since these individuals comprise an increasingly large part of our North American population. For the present research, we focus on multicultural individuals, such as descendants of immigrants and those with multiple cultural heritages. These individuals have lived and have been socialized with more than one culture over a significant portion of their lifespan, and are therefore likely to have more than one cultural identity.

## 1.2 Multicultural population

Large-scale social shifts like migration and globalization have yielded incredible cultural diversity in our social environments (Vertovec, 2007; Sam & Berry, 2006). The “superdiversity” that can be observed in many urban centers around the world is characterized by sustained contact between countless ethnic, national, religious and linguistic groups who share the same environment (see Vertovec, 2007). This mixing of groups blurs the boundaries that separate one’s cultural groups and experiences, and results in a fusion of one’s different cultural identities (Pieterse, 2001). Multicultural individuals have become a significant portion of the North American population, and they represent a plethora of diverse cultural backgrounds. To

illustrate, in the United States, in 2010, ethnic minority members formed eighteen percent of the national population (see Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011). In Canada, Jantzen's (2009) overview of second-generation Canadians revealed that fewer than 30% of second-generation Canadians were from British and French origins, while over 30% come from European countries outside of Britain and France, and 20% come from non-European nations. As a result of parental intermarriage between the majority and minority cultural groups, a growing number of children from the second and third generation have a multicultural heritage. According to the 2006 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada, 2008), over 12 000 000 individuals were of "multiple ethnic origin," meaning that the heritage cultures of their parents or grandparents differed from each other.

### 1.3 Previous work in multicultural identification

Multicultural identification has received a great deal of research attention in recent years (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). A few notable approaches to how individuals combine their different cultural identities is discussed here.

*Bicultural identity integration.* Benet-Martinez and Haritatos' (2005) model of bicultural identity integration (BII) proposes that while one may affiliate with more than one culture, cultural identities are integrated when the relationship between them is compatible. According to BII, compatibility between identities can be defined by two dimensions. The first dimension is distance, which denotes the perception of similarity and overlap between the identities on one end, and perceived difference and separation between the identities on the other. The second dimension is conflict, which denotes perceived harmony and ease between the identities on one end, and perceived conflict and tension between the identities on the other end. High bicultural identity integration is qualified by perceiving one's identities as similar, blended, and harmonious (i.e., high similarity and high harmony). On the other hand,

low bicultural identity integration is qualified by an oppositional relationship between the identities, where identities are perceived as disparate, strained, and conflicted (i.e., high separation and high conflict).

*Cultural chameleonism.* Downie and colleagues (2004) also focus on the perceived compatibility between one's different cultural identities in their conceptualization of multicultural identity integration. According to these authors, individuals perceive compatibility between their cultures by feeling consistent across identities and contexts, rather than by shifting from separate identity to identity (i.e., cultural chameleonism), which would denote a conflicted relationship between the identities. Contrary to self-complexity theory (Linville, 1987), according to which individuals should have numerous, but separate identities in order to protect against stress spilling over from one identity domain to the others, Downie and colleagues emphasise the importance of internal consistency between multiple cultural identities across contexts. The authors stated that such numerous compartmentalized, separate identities represented a fragmented organisation of the self, where one's multiple identities are compartmentalized to such a point that one's overall self becomes disjointed and disorganised (see also Donahue et al., 1993). Recent findings indicate that such fragmentation results in greater distress rather than adaptation (e.g., Ryan, La Guardia, & Rawsthorne, 2005; Rafaeli-Mor & Steinberg, 2002; Campbell, Assanand, & Di Paula, 2003). It is in light of these findings that Downie and colleagues proposed a model of multicultural identity integration that endorses consistency over differentiation across situations and contexts. In their examination of tricultural individuals, Downie and colleagues demonstrated that perceiving one's cultural identities to be consistent with one another was positively related to the autonomous internalisation of one's identities, which, in turn, was predicted by greater egalitarian values in one's heritage culture.



*Acculturation complexity model.* Using a different approach, Tadmor and Tetlock's (2006) acculturation complexity model is designed to account for the phases through which individuals acquire a bicultural identity. Their model highlights important processes involved in moving from cultural exposure (i.e., gaining more experiences in the new host culture) to obligation (i.e., feeling accountable to more than one cultural group) to integration (i.e., perceiving differing cultural perspectives as equally valid and helpful to the individual). This model describes several steps in the process of aligning oneself with more than one culture and developing a sense of identification with these diverse cultures: (1) exposure and attention, (2) accountability, (3) conflict resolution, (4) integrative complexity, and (5) generalized complexity. In Tadmor and Tetlock's model, after having been exposed to more than one culture (step 1), one feels accountable to multiple cultural groups (step 2) instead of to only one cultural group (i.e., mainstream and heritage cultures). Accountability in the context of this model refers to one's social responsibility, loyalty or obligation to one's cultural group. Once one feels accountable to multiple cultural groups, one is more likely to develop a long-term affiliation with multiple groups. However, with this multicultural affiliation, one experiences greater incidents of conflict between the values and practices of each culture as different situations arise with their respective cultural demands (step 3). One may choose to reduce the dissonance experienced by siding with one culture over the other, or one may choose to align oneself with two cultures, which leads the person to experience greater dissonance between the viewpoints.

In step 4 of the model, Tadmor and Tetlock invoke the integrative complexity approach (e.g., Suedfeld & Tetlock, 1977) as an orientation that facilitates both the resolution of these conflicts and the bicultural acculturating experience in general. Integrative complexity denotes the recognition that alternative perspectives and methods are equally valid and useful, particularly in the resolution of complex issues. For those who experience high dissonance resulting from conflict between their

cultural affiliations, one could perceive the multiple perspectives and approaches of each cultural group as valid, and develop problem solving strategies that integrate both viewpoints. Through the repeated experience of resolving conflict between one's cultural identities, one develops a generalized integrative complexity orientation (step 5), where one perceives the multiple cultural perspectives as valid, even when one is not in the midst of resolving a conflict. According to Tadmor and Tetlock, the development of this generalized orientation results in biculturalism.

These prior works on multicultural identification and the relationship between one's identities has focused primarily on the degree to which one's identities are integrated, or connected and compatible. The model chosen for the current thesis accounts for a broader range of multicultural identity configurations for individuals with multiple cultural identities. The diversity of the model captures a broad array of possible combinations of cultural identity configuration strategies, thereby enabling us to examine each distinctive configuration in relation to each other and to other outcomes and antecedents.

#### 1.4 The cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration

To account for how multicultural individuals organise and manage these diverse cultural backgrounds within their self-concept, this thesis employed the cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration developed by Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry and Smith (2007). Built on intergroup theories and developmental principles, the model was designed to account for the integration of different types of social identities (e.g., organisational identities, cultural identities) within the self. Social identity has been defined as a part of the individual's self concept that is linked to one's membership in a group, as well as the value or emotional significance attached to one's membership (Tajfel, 1981). Similarly, cultural identity has been defined as the feeling of being a member of a particular cultural group, and of

endorsing the values, beliefs, behaviours, etc. of a particular cultural group (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, & Wang, 2007). According to Amiot and colleagues' model, there are four stages through which multiple social identities become internalized and interrelated within the self: anticipatory categorisation, categorisation, compartmentalisation, and integration. These stages reflect different cognitive configurations of one's identities; the authors proposed that individuals move through these stages as one undergoes major changes and developmental phases over the course of the lifespan. At the same time, these stages can be seen as individual categories or configurations, where different individuals display different patterns in accordance with each stage. In the context of this thesis, these stages were examined cross-sectionally as individual configurations for one's multiple cultural identities within the self.

*Anticipatory categorization* takes place when one looks for similarities between oneself and a new and relatively unknown cultural group in anticipation of joining said group in the future. This configuration was not studied in the context of this thesis given our interest in individuals who already belong to multiple cultural groups.

*Categorization* is a configuration characterized by the dominance of a single cultural identity over others in defining the self. Furthermore, the person identifies with one culture to the exclusion of others. For example, Malathi is from both Sri Lankan and Québécois cultural backgrounds. Her identity configuration would be categorized if she only identified with one of her cultures (e.g., Québécoise) and excluded the other (i.e., Sri Lankan). She may recognize Sri Lankan culture as being part of where she comes from, though she would not see it as a defining part of herself.

*Compartmentalization*. When one's different identities are compartmentalized, they are internalized in the self, and the individual has a feeling of belonging to these different cultural groups. However, these identities are



perceived as fundamentally disparate and are kept separate from each other. The differences between one's identities are perceived as clashing. Moreover, identification remains bound to the surrounding context. To illustrate, Malathi identifies as both Sri Lankan and Québécoise, but she sees the differences between the identities as opposing, and she keeps her identities isolated from each other within her self-concept. She may feel Québécoise when she is with her Québécois friends, or when she is watching Québécois television, and she may feel more Sri Lankan when she is with Sri Lankan family members and friends. However, she does not feel both Sri Lankan and Québécoise at the same time in each of these cultural contexts. Rather, her cultural identities are salient depending on the situation.

*Integration.* When one's identities are integrated, one connects the different cultural identities by perceiving the similarity or overlap between these different identities. In addition, the differences between the identities are recognized, but are deemed to complement and enrich each other rather than to clash. To illustrate, Malathi sees both her Sri Lankan and Québécoise identities as sharing values surrounding the importance of family closeness and celebration. At the same time, she recognizes that Québec and Sri Lanka conceive the display of romantic love differently. Instead of seeing these differences as irreconcilable, Malathi sees that Sri Lankan cultural norms emphasise duty and family coherence, while Québécois cultural norms emphasise choice and the development of affection within the couple; both of these positions are important to Malathi. As a means of reconciling the differences between her identities, she can recognize that each position contributes to her overall self by providing different perspectives. Furthermore, she can « pick and choose » specific elements from each culture that resonate with her and invoke those to define her overall self. In this way, she sees the multiple positions and perspectives as completing one another in her general self.

When multiple cultural identities are integrated, one may also reconcile or connect the cultural identities through a superordinate identity. A superordinate



identity refers to a larger, overarching identity category that includes one's different cultural identities (Gaertner, Dovidio, Bachman & Rust, 1993). For example, Malathi could identify herself as human; this identification encompasses, and hence unites, both her Québécoise and Sri Lankan identities. Doing so would enable her to recognise that some underlying values are shared across cultural groups (e.g., family closeness and celebration) and that identifying with all humans allows her to relate to these values and to find common ground between cultures and identities.

Individuals with integrated identities can therefore simultaneously identify with their different cultures. At the same time, it should be noted that when one is in a specific and personally relevant cultural situation, one's behaviour can change to respond to this context (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002; Snyder, 1974). A particular identity may also become more prominent in a specific context and may represent a more relevant base for guiding behaviour in comparison to other identities. Nevertheless, even when accounting for this context-based adaptation, it is proposed that integrating one's multiple cultural identities would mean that these different identities are still present, self-defining, and subjectively interconnected within the self.

### 1.5 The outcome of well-being

The present research examines well-being as an outcome of the different multicultural identity configurations. There are different aspects of well-being, including subjective well-being components like life satisfaction, greater positive affect (e.g., happiness), and lower negative affect, like anxiety and sadness (Diener, 1984; Diener, Sapyta & Suh, 1998; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Well-being also involves psychological well-being, where optimal, self-congruent functioning in one's social environment is emphasized (Gallagher, Lopez & Preacher, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1989); components of psychological well-being include environmental mastery,

purpose in life, autonomy, personal growth, positive relations and self-acceptance (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Positive self-evaluation, or self-esteem, serves as another indicator of well-being (Leary et al., 1995). It should be noted that these well-being concepts have cross-cultural applicability, but they may also reflect primarily individualist values. These individualist values will still be relevant for multicultural individuals, especially second and third generation descendants of immigrants and individuals with “mixed” heritage who grow up with individualist values. Nevertheless, it is also essential to account for interdependent constructs of well-being in order to include a wider range of well-being experiences (e.g., Kitayama, Markus & Kurokawa, 2000; Heine & Buchtel, 2009). As a result, this thesis also examined more culturally-sensitive well-being outcomes such as being able to attend to significant others.

Evidence that multiple identity integration is associated with individual well-being in various cultural contexts has been emerging. Generally, identifying with multiple cultural groups is associated with greater well-being and psychological adjustment (Chen, Benet-Martinez & Bond, 2008; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2010; Berry et al., 2006; Binning et al., 2009; Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013; de la Sablonnière et al., 2011; Torres and Rollock, 2009). More specifically, Downie and colleagues (2004) found that individuals’ perception of consistency between their cultural identities predicted greater psychological well-being. In their review of the literature surrounding social identity integration, Cheng and colleagues (2008) found that those who perceived their identities to be compatible were more likely to report greater well-being outcomes. In the present research, it is predicted that individuals with integrated multiple cultural identities will report greater well-being, while those with categorized or compartmentalized cultural identities will report lower well-being.

## 1.6 Antecedents to multicultural identity configurations

One's cultural identities are inherently interrelated with their context. Individuals with multiple cultural identities are exposed to several socialising environments and institutions from both dominant and minority cultural groups, including family, education, religion, media, law, etc. Even though the majority of these socialisers are located in the dominant culture, the heritage culture's socialising agents (i.e., parents, selected media, parochial schools) still exert a considerable influence on the intraindividual maintenance of cultural values and practices in those of second or third generation status, particularly when the individual identifies with these different cultures in question (Lalonde, Hynie, Pannu, & Tatla, 2004). Navigating multiple cultural backgrounds can be highly challenging (Giguere et al., 2010; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), and the stress of managing multiple and potentially conflicting cultural identities can prevent one from fully endorsing one's diverse identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Among these different environmental influences, of particular interest for this thesis are the factors of discrimination and stress, which come into play when predicting multicultural individuals' identity configurations. Discrimination is the process of behaviourally elevating one's ingroup and denigrating or disadvantaging an outgroup as a means to benefit one's ingroup (Bourhis, Sachdev, & Gagnon, 1994). In the context of this thesis, the individual experience of racial, ethnic, and cultural discrimination will be examined specifically. Such discrimination can take several forms, including biased, unequal distribution of resources between a cultural majority group and a cultural minority group (Bourhis, Sachdev, & Gagnon, 1994), doubting the legitimacy of an individual's membership to a cultural group (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), and institutionally decreasing access to labour and employment opportunities (Robinson, 2005), among other forms. Perceived discrimination is the process by which an individual experiences discriminatory behaviour against

themselves, or against other members of their cultural group(s) (Nguyen & Huynh, 2003).

In the present research, perceived discrimination was examined as an inhibitor of multicultural identity integration, and a predictor of categorization and compartmentalization since discrimination can decrease identification with multiple groups, or exacerbate the experience of inter-identity conflict. The work of Lalonde, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1992) demonstrated that first generation immigrant Haitian and Indian women's identification with Canada was predicted negatively by the perception of discrimination against themselves and/or their ethnic group. In a multicultural sample of first generation immigrants and second generation descendants in Canada, Grant (2007) found that perceived discrimination was negatively related to identification with Canadian culture. Furthermore, experiencing discrimination was related to greater perceived incompatibility between one's heritage culture and Canadian culture. In Grant's study, compatibility was measured as a direct comparison between the heritage culture and Canadian culture in terms of values and customs, as well as the individual's context-dependent identification. Perceived discrimination was also positively related to identification with the heritage culture; in this case, discrimination led people to take shelter in their original heritage identity and defensively exclude the mainstream identity, as in separation acculturation, which would be closely related to the categorization configuration. Benet-Martinez and Haritatos' (2005) examination of acculturation predictors showed that perceived discrimination and difficulties with intercultural relationships predicted the experience of conflict between one's cultural identities. These studies suggest that perceived discrimination may lead individuals with multiple cultural affiliations to disidentify with their cultural group(s), and/or to perceive dissonance between their cultural groups or identities. In this thesis, it was expected that multicultural individuals who experienced discrimination would be less likely to report identity integration, and are more likely to report other strategies that allow them to either



exclude one or more of their cultural identities (categorization) or compartmentalize the identities within the self (compartmentalization).

Discrimination is often examined in the context of acculturative stress (Berry & Anis, 1974; Crockett et al., 2007) since the experience of being discriminated against is stressful (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Perceived ethnic discrimination has been shown to cause greater stress and lower adjustment (see Barnes & Lightsey, 2005; Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Sawyer, Major, Casad, Townsend, & Mendes, 2012). This prior work has typically examined stress as a predictor of maladjustment (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). In order to further account for how multiculturals internally experience the obstacles for reconciling their identities, this thesis instead examined the role of stress as a potential predictor of multiculturals' identity configurations, since stress depletes the cognitive resources necessary to reconcile potential inter-identity conflict (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Stress is the experience of depleting demands that one experiences as a result of encountering threatening events (see Folkman & Lazarus, 1986; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Since stressful events drain our resources, individuals subsequently have less energy to devote to more challenging or difficult tasks (Baumeister et al., 1998; Hagger, Wood, Stiff & Chatzisarantis, 2010). In the case of multicultural individuals, stress may deplete one's cognitive resources that could otherwise be dedicated to the effortful task of reconciling and integrating multiple cultural identities. In line with this, Amiot and colleagues (2007) propose in the CDSMII that stressful events that represent a threat to one's identities and deplete one's energy should hamper the integration of multiple cultural identities within the self. Roccas and Brewer (2002) tested the relationship between stress and social identity complexity empirically; they demonstrated that stress decreases the simultaneous differentiation and integration of one's multiple ingroup identities.



Stress also increases maintaining isolated, context-bound social identities. This thesis pursued this line of inquiry by investigated how stress predicts the three identity configurations for individuals with multiple cultural identities.

### 1.7 Presentation of the three articles

The main goals of this thesis were to examine multicultural individuals' different cultural identity configurations, test these configurations' relation to well-being, and investigate the predictive antecedents of discrimination and stress. This thesis is composed of three articles that examine these goals using qualitative and quantitative approaches as well as self-report and correlational designs.

The first article consists of Study 1, which took a qualitative approach to explore multicultural individual's identity configuration experience in light of the CSDMII. Another goal of this study was to explore the relationship between each identity configuration and well-being. Well-being was assessed by how coherently participants communicated their life narratives (Baerger & McAdams, 1999).

Study 1 addressed the following research questions:

1. How do multicultural individuals spontaneously express their identity configurations?
2. What is the relationship between each identity configuration and well-being?

Article 2 consisted of Studies 2 and 3; the primary goal of these studies was to construct and validate the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS), which measures categorization, compartmentalization, and integration. The secondary goal of this study was to quantitatively examine the relationship between each of these identity configurations to a variety of well-being indicators. We tested the internal consistency, as well as internal and convergent validity of the categorization,

compartmentalization and integration subscales. We also tested the predictive relationships between each subscale and well-being.

In Study 2, 389 multicultural Canadian students completed the first version of the MULTIIS, along with prior measures of cultural identity integration, cultural and personal identity and measures of subjective and psychological well-being. A total of 296 participants from the sample completed the convergent and well-being measures.

For Study 3, the MULTIIS was improved and tested again for internal validity and consistency. The predictive relationship between these measures and more culturally-sensitive well-being indicators was also tested. A total of 321 multicultural participants completed the MULTIIS along with several measures of well-being.

Studies 2 and 3 addressed to following research questions:

1. Does the MULTIIS demonstrate satisfactory internal consistency as well as internal and convergent validity?
2. Do the categorization, compartmentalization and integration subscales predict well-being outcomes?

Article 3 consists of Study 4. After having examined the important individual outcomes of these identity configurations in Studies 1-3, Study 4 was conducted to investigate the potent social predictor of discrimination in predicting each of these identity configurations. We additionally sought to further explain and clarify the relationship between discrimination to these configurations through the mediating variable of individual stress. We predicted that greater discrimination would predict greater categorization and compartmentalization through greater stress, while less discrimination would predict greater integration through lower stress. The same database that was used for Study 3 was used for Study 4. Multicultural participants (N=194) completed measures of perceived discrimination and stress along with the MULTIIS. The research questions addressed by this study include:

1. Does discrimination predict categorization, compartmentalization, and integration?
2. How does stress mediate these associations between discrimination and the identity configurations?

Together, these three articles forming the thesis complete one another by deepening our understanding of the complex relationships between multicultural identity configurations, their outcomes, and how the social context predicts them.

CHAPITRE II

ARTICLE I





Multicultural identity integration and well-being: A qualitative exploration of variations in narrative coherence and multicultural identification

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### **Abstract**

Understanding the experiences of multicultural individuals is vital in our diverse populations. Multicultural people often need to navigate the different norms and values associated with their multiple cultural identities. Recent research on multicultural identification has focused on how individuals with multiple cultural groups manage these different identities within the self, and how this process predicts well-being. The current study built on this research by using a qualitative method to examine the process of configuring one's identities within the self. The present study employed three of the four different multiple identity configurations in Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry & Smith's (2007) cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration: categorization, where people identify with one of their cultural groups over others; compartmentalization, where individuals maintain multiple, separate identities within themselves; and integration, where people link their multiple cultural identities. Life narratives were used to investigate the relationship between each of these configurations and well-being, as indicated by narrative coherence. It was expected that individuals with integrated cultural identities would report greater narrative coherence than individuals who compartmentalized and categorized their cultural identities. For all twenty-two participants, identity integration was significantly and positively related to narrative coherence, while compartmentalization was significantly and negatively related to narrative coherence. ANOVAs revealed that integrated and categorized participants reported significantly greater narrative coherence than compartmentalized participants. These findings are discussed in light of previous research on multicultural identity integration.

### **Introduction**

As our societies become more culturally complex, it is vital that we understand how individuals deal with diverse cultural contexts. More and more people are in a position where they need to negotiate the different cultural identities

that are derived from their own belonging to different cultural groups (Giguère, Lalonde & Lou, 2010; Mahtani, 2002). People who belong to more than one cultural group must navigate the diverse norms and values from each of their cultural affiliations. Faced with such diversity, multicultural individuals need to manage and organize their different and possibly clashing cultural identities within their general sense of self. An emerging body of research accounts for how multicultural individuals reconcile and organise their different cultural identities within themselves (e.g., Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002), and how this process is related to well-being (e.g., de la Sablonnière, Debrosse & Benoit, 2010). This research suggests that the manner in which one's diverse cultural identities are integrated and organised predicts well-being. At the same time, a more profound account of this complex identification process and its relation to well-being is warranted. The primary objective of the present research is to gain deeper insight into this multicultural identification process by first, qualitatively investigating the identity experiences of multicultural individuals, and second, by investigating several patterns or configurations for identifying with multiple cultural groups. This was achieved by using a cognitive-developmental model developed by Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry and Smith (2007). Specifically, the present research uses a narrative approach to investigate how different identification patterns or configurations are related to individuals' well-being, indicated by how coherently people told their life story.

### **Multicultural societies and individuals**

The diversity of our North American society has increased as a result of migration and globalization (Sam & Berry, 2006). In Canada, Jantzen (2009) reported that less than 30% of citizens belonging to the second generation are from British or French Canadian origin only, while over 30% are exclusively from European countries, and approximately 20% is comprised of non-European peoples (e.g., South or East Asians, Latin Americans, Natives, etc.). Reports from the 2010 United States



census (Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011) show that ethnic minorities – non-Caucasians – form eighteen percent of the country’s population. These statistics attest to the important multiplicity of North American citizens. The present study was conducted in Montreal, which is one such city that reflects this linguistic and cultural diversity. Montreal has two official mainstream languages: English and French. In terms of these mainstream languages, approximately 31% of the city’s inhabitants are Francophone (French-speakers), 10% are Anglophone (English-speakers), while approximately half of the population of Montreal is English-French bilingual. In addition to the mainstream languages, 20% of the city’s population speaks a non-official language at home (Statistics Canada, 2012). In terms of cultural and ethnic diversity, approximately 16% are from non-European ethnic groups (Statistics Canada, 2006), including South and East Asian, Latin American, Middle-Eastern, Caribbean, African, and “mixed” heritage groups.

The complex “superdiversity” (see Vertovec, 2007) that has emerged in several countries and cities – including Montreal – is qualified by a convergence of innumerable national, religious, language and ethnic groups in the same environment. In addition, the contact between these multiple cultural groups over time produces boundary-blurring, hybrid experiences (Pieterse, 2001). Such complexity has implications for the subjective experiences of the individuals who belong to multiple cultural groups; these implications include their ability to integrate the threads of their diverse cultural experiences into a coherent, unified understanding of themselves and their lives. For multicultural individuals, including first generation immigrants, descendants from first generation immigrants, and people with a “mixed” cultural heritage, living in more than one cultural group requires them to negotiate and integrate differing expectations, norms, values, and practices associated with their multiple cultural identities (Giguère, Lalonde & Lou, 2010).

### **Multicultural identity integration**



There has been a rise in the number of approaches for understanding the experience of multicultural individuals. The acculturation literature has investigated biculturals and how they reconcile their belonging to different cultural groups (see Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; Sam & Berry, 2006). Acculturation research has conventionally employed Berry's bidimensional model (e.g., Berry & Sam, 1997); this model proposes four acculturation orientations: exclusive belonging to either the heritage or mainstream cultural group, belonging to both heritage and mainstream groups (i.e., integration orientation), or belonging to neither heritage nor mainstream groups. Whereas the acculturation research typically focuses on membership and involvement in the heritage and mainstream cultural groups, recent work has begun to focus more deeply on how biculturals and multiculturals intra-individually integrate their different cultural identities within themselves, and how they subjectively reconcile these different identities (e.g., Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002). For example, Benet-Martinez and colleagues' seminal work on bicultural identity integration (BII; e.g., Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002; Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee and Morris, 2002) looks at whether or not the relationship between one's cultural identities is compatible through the perception of harmony and similarity, vs. incompatible through the perception of conflict and distance. The work of Noels, Pon, and Clément (1996) highlighted how bicultural people will "frame switch," or shift from one set of behaviours to another, depending on the context, as a way to manage these different cultural identities. Kawakami and colleagues (2011) also discuss this intra-individual adaptation to one's different contexts; their work shows that contexts activate different social categories, which predict the synchronization of one's self-concept to the salient category. Downie and colleagues (Downie, Mageau, Koestner & Liodden, 2006; Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, & Cree, 2004) propose that having compatible cultural identities involves feeling consistent across identities and contexts, rather than having distinct and fragmented cultural identities that shift from one context to another (i.e., cultural chameleonism). Tadmor and Tetlock (2006)

account for the intraindividual negotiation of one's alignment with more than one cultural group, and show that multiple alignments can lead to greater bicultural integrative complexity, which involves perceiving one's differing cultural perspectives as equally valid and advantageous, particularly in the resolution of conflicts (see also Tadmor, Tetlock & Peng, 2009). In the developmental literature, several scholars have highlighted the dynamic nature of cultural identification, and how it is subject to change over different phases of life as one reconciles ones multiple roles (see Phinney, 1989; Harter & Monsour, 1992; Harter & Whitesell, 2003). Each of these models highlights important components of the multicultural identification process, and they each capture how multicultural individuals intra-individually organize their diverse cultural identities, which also has important repercussions for individual well-being. Building on this prior work, the present study uses the framework of Amiot and colleagues' (2007) cognitive-developmental model, which integrates many of these different theories into a single model and focuses on the processes of identity integration, described below.

### **The Cognitive-Developmental Model of Social Identity Integration and well-being**

In order to examine different configurations for identifying with one's multiple cultural groups and capture the dynamic nature of these identification patterns, we employ the cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration (CDMSII; Amiot et al., 2007). This model builds on previous work on bicultural identification and development (e.g., Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) and accounts for a broad range of identification configurations. The main strength of the CDSMII is its detailed account of how multiculturals cognitively combine their many cultural identities within the self, and how these cognitive configurations can change over time and across life events.

The CDMSII proposes different ways that people can cognitively configure their different cultural identities within their self-concept. There are four different intra-individual configurations proposed by the model: anticipatory categorization, categorization, compartmentalization, and integration. **Anticipatory categorization** takes place while one is preparing to become a member of a new group by projecting oneself into their future cultural group, and by foreseeing similarities between oneself and the future group. However, since the current study examines the experiences of multiculturals who have already grown up with multiple cultural groups, we focus on the categorization, compartmentalization, and integration configurations.

**Categorization** is characterized by the dominance of a single cultural identity over others in defining the self, and the person identifies with one culture to the exclusion of others. For example, a second-generation Canadian person of Ukrainian heritage may identify predominantly as Canadian, while dis-identifying with his Ukrainian heritage culture. Identifying with one culture can be seen as a way to simplify one's identification experience (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

**Compartmentalization** involves identifying with one's multiple cultural groups, but these identities are perceived as fundamentally disparate and are kept separate from each other. As such, a person with compartmentalized identities may feel that the differences between her identities are irreconcilable, and see them as completely independent parts of her self-concept. Moreover, identification remains bound to the surrounding context, such that one identifies with their cultures depending on the context. To illustrate, one may identify as both Indian and Canadian, but this person will only identify as Indian when she is with other Indians, and with Canadians when with other Canadians; the two identities are rarely experienced at the same point in time. By compartmentalising the identities as separate entities within the self, one is able to avoid any conflict that could occur if identities are perceived as contradictory.

**Integration** involves reconciling and connecting one's diverse cultural identities. This is achieved by perceiving similarities between these different identities. In addition, the differences between the identities are recognized, but are deemed to complement and enrich each other rather than to clash. For example, one can identify as Chinese, Iranian and Canadian, and see that there are many shared values between his three identities, and that the differences between these cultural identities (e.g., in terms of norms or values) provide him with diverse perspectives. The experience of simultaneous identification also characterizes the integration configuration, so that while people adapt as they move from one cultural context to another, they still feel that they belong to all their cultural groups. For example, a multicultural person who has integrated his different cultural identities may attend Sufi rituals with his Iranian-Canadian father, refer to Steven Chow films with his Cantonese-Chinese-Canadian cousins, and speak English and French with friends at school and work; yet as this person engages in each of these cultural activities, he sees that each of his cultural identities are connected, and feels as being part of all of his cultural groups simultaneously. A superordinate identity – a larger, overarching identity category that includes one's different cultural identities (e.g., being human) – may also be invoked to reconcile and link one's different cultural identities together (see Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993). The CDSMII also accounts for the variability that exists in these patterns of cultural identification over time; in drawing on developmental principles (e.g., Harter, 1999; Harter & Monsour, 1992), the model states that one would likely move from categorization, to compartmentalization, to integration as one internalizes and reconciles their different identities over time.

The CDSMII is useful for the study of multicultural individuals' identity configuration experience for several reasons. First, it accounts for different ways in which multicultural individuals may identify with their heritage and mainstream groups, and also examines the interdependence and the negotiation between these



identities (e.g., Rudmin, 2003, 2006). The model seeks to account for the flexible nature of cultural identification and for the possibility that the identity configurations change over time. Moreover, this model integrates and elaborates on previous work in cultural identity integration. Relative to Benet-Martinez's BII model (e.g., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), the integration configuration of the CDMSII involves a subjective feeling that one's different identities are similar and interrelated, and hence accounts for the similarity component of the BII. The CDMSII emphasizes additional cognitive strategies involved in identity integration, such as recognizing that one's different cultural identities possess differences that complement each other, and identifying with a superordinate category. The integration configuration of the CDMSII also includes the experience of reconciling the discrepancies between one's different identities, which overlaps with Tadmor and Tetlock's (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006; Tadmor, Tetlock & Peng, 2009) model of acculturative complexity, which involves facing and coping with cultural conflict by negotiating the differences between one's different cultural affiliations as one comes to identify with each group. As identity integration involves a sense of simultaneous identification with one's different cultural groups, this construct is comparable to the subjective feeling of consistency experienced across different cultural contexts purported by Downie and colleagues' model of cultural chameleonism vs. integration (2006; 2004). The compartmentalization configuration of the CDMSII involves perceiving one's cultural identities as divergent and separate from one another, a characteristic that also represents the distance dimension proposed in the BII; compartmentalization also ties well with the context-bound identification experience noted by Downie and colleagues (2006; 2004). The categorized configuration of the CDMSII includes the experience of siding with one cultural group over another. This phenomenon has similarly been described in Tadmor and Tetlock's (2006) acculturation complexity model; in their model, the authors propose that as a person moves through their bicultural experiences and feels accountable to a single cultural group, rather than to



multiple groups, then one would be more likely to choose either an assimilation or separation strategy, and identify accordingly. In the same vein, categorization ties to the assimilation and separation acculturation strategies discussed in Berry and colleagues' (1997) acculturation model, and in the work of Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997).

Because of its comprehensive nature, the CDSMII was chosen as a guide for understanding the identity experiences of multicultural individuals, and as a structure for the rich, qualitative approach used in the present research. The identity configurations proposed in the model are employed in the present study because of their expected links with well-being.

### **Multicultural identity integration and well-being**

The manner in which one's different cultural affiliations are negotiated consistently predicts individual well-being. The literature examining the well-being of biculturals and multiculturals suggests that integrating one's cultural identities – being involved in both one's mainstream and one's heritage cultural groups – seems to yield greater well-being. In the acculturation research, Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder (2006) revealed that immigrant adolescents who reported an integration orientation also experienced greater life satisfaction, self-esteem, and less behavioural problems compared to those who only associated with their heritage culture, those who only assimilated into the majority culture, and those who were marginalised outside of both heritage and majority cultures. A recent meta-analysis of the acculturation literature by Nguyen and Benet-Martinez (2012) demonstrated that biculturalism, or affiliating with both heritage and mainstream cultural groups, was significantly and positively associated with psychological adjustment, more so than associating solely with either the heritage or the mainstream.

These findings from the acculturation research indicate that being involved in both heritage and mainstream cultural groups predicts enhanced well-being, but of greater interest in the present study is how well-being is predicted by the intra-

individual process of negotiating and combining one's different identities. Evidence that multicultural identity integration is associated with individual well-being is gradually emerging. Downie and colleagues (2004) found that bicultural individuals' perception of intra-individual consistency between their cultural identities, as opposed to context-bound identification, predicted greater psychological well-being. In their review of the literature surrounding social identity integration, Cheng and colleagues (2008) found that those who perceived their identities to be compatible were more likely to report greater well-being outcomes. In the domain of intergroup relations, priming one's multiple group affiliations leads to greater resilience than priming a single group affiliation (Jones & Jetten, 2010).

In line with this work, the CDMSII also proposes that identity integration should predict greater well-being as it involves reconciling one's identities in order to achieve greater coherence within oneself (Amiot et al., 2007). A few studies have begun to examine the relationship between the CDMSII's identity integration and well-being. Developing a sense of identification with a new social group predicts increased vitality and well-being (Amiot, Terry, Wirawan & Grice, 2010). In the realm of cultural identities specifically, the work of de la Sablonnière, Debrosse and Benoit (2010) demonstrated that identifying equally with one's different cultures was a significant predictor of self-esteem, vitality, life satisfaction and overall well-being. Immigrants who identify with all of their cultural groups (mainstream and heritage) reported greater collective hope and well-being, self-esteem, life satisfaction, and vitality than those who categorized their cultural identities (Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, *in press*).

Thus far, the research on identity integration and well-being indicates that integrating one's multiple cultural identities predicts greater well-being than compartmentalizing or categorizing the identities. The present research seeks to deepen this line of inquiry by first qualitatively capturing the complexity of the multicultural identity configuration experience using the CDSMII. Second, the



research employs a narrative approach to study the link between these identity configurations and the outcome of well-being. Very little research has employed narratives to consider the experiences of multicultural individuals (e.g., Bougie, Usborne, de la Sablonnière & Taylor, 2010). The use of narratives, and narrative coherence as the well-being indicator, is a rich and novel component in our account of multicultural individuals' well-being experiences. Using the life narrative approach was consequently considered a method of choice to capture the richness of multicultural individuals' identity configurations and their well-being.

### **Narrative coherence as a relevant well-being indicator among multicultural individuals**

While emerging research provides some support for the relationship between identity integration and well-being, the findings thus far are limited to quantitative approaches. We use a qualitative approach in the present research to harness the richness of multicultural individuals' identity experiences, while also deriving their well-being through the narration of their own cultural life stories. A life story can provide profound insight into an individual's well-being, since narratives construct and reveal values and identity, personal meaning, and sense of continuity and coherence over time (McAdams, 1985). Chandler and colleagues' (1999; 2003; 2006) influential work has also accounted for the importance of personal and cultural continuity; more specifically, they have examined how one's understanding and expression of their experiences of both change and consistency over the course of their own life stories relates to the critical outcome of suicide, specifically for Native-Canadian populations. Harter and colleagues (1997) demonstrated that one's life story can reveal how one moves from experiencing role conflict within one's self-portrait in adolescence, to reconciling one's multifaceted self in adulthood. Coherence in one's narrative represents one's ability to effectively make sense of one's life and to be understood, and it relates to living well (Colby & Damon, 1992;

Rosenwald, 1992). Narrative coherence has also been used as an indicator of well-being in both social psychology and clinical research (see Baerger & McAdams, 1999; Adler, Wagner, & McAdams, 2007). Furthermore, the narrative method has been conducted with multicultural groups, such as Native-Canadians (de la Sablonnière et al., 2011), and Anglophone and Francophone Quebecers (Bougie et al., 2011). The indicator of narrative coherence is useful and relevant for understanding multiculturals' well-being since these individuals go through a process of reconciling their different identities within themselves, and the narratives enable us to identify how well they are faring in this process of making sense of themselves vis-à-vis their diverse and potentially conflicting cultural affiliations.

In order to render the broad concept of narrative coherence more tangible, it is necessary to capture its different components or processes by which the person makes sense of their life events. The four dimensions of narrative coherence, delineated by Baerger and McAdams (1999) include: orientation, structure, affect, and integration. Orientation is the process of setting the stage for the audience by providing contextual parameters such as time, location, characters, and other personal circumstances. This is an important first dimension of coherence as it locates the events of one's story in time and place, rather than leaving the narrated events floating in space. Proficient orientation reveals the participant's awareness of the context for the events that transpired in their own life story (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, in Baerger & McAdams, 1999). Structure designates how well the story follows the logical progression of an episode, where one describes an initiating event, followed by a personal response to this event (e.g., an evaluation, a desire to resolve an issue, a goal), followed by a pursuit in accordance with one's response (e.g., attempts to solve challenges or achieve goals) and the subsequent consequences of these events and reactions. Structure is essential to the organization and clarity of one's life events, and demonstrates how well the participant can frame their experiences in time, rather than bouncing from event to event with no apparent



purpose or connection to them (McAdams, 1993). Affect is the emotional or evaluative tone of the story, where the participant expresses positive or negative evaluations of their circumstances, activities and reactions. Affect shows how the participant positions oneself vis-à-vis their life events, and how they feel about their experiences, rather than simply listing events with no personal input (McAdams, 1996). As a result, greater presence of affective content contributes positively to the coherence of one's narrative. Lastly, integration denotes the linking of one's circumstances, events, and responses to larger, overarching themes of one's complete narrative. In addition, episodic inconsistencies and unsettled issues are reconciled with each other. Integration demonstrates how well the participant can understand and process their experiences, and derive meaning from their life (McAdams, 2001; 1993).

Baerger and McAdams found that these components of narrative coherence were significantly related to measures of well-being. Namely, narrative coherence demonstrated a moderate positive correlation with measures of happiness and satisfaction with life, and a significant negative correlation with depression. Furthermore, incoherence in one's narratives has been shown to potentially denote psychopathology, such as schizophrenia (see Roe, 2001; Lysaker & Lysaker, 2002). These findings demonstrate that coherence is not only closely related to well-being, but can also be seen as a well-being indicator in and of itself. The present research applied the narrative method to investigate the relationship between the different cultural identity configurations and well-being among multicultural individuals. We considered coherence to be an especially relevant indicator of well-being for this population because multicultural individuals live with multiple cultural meaning systems, each with their own varied set of values, norms, and practices to follow (Giguère, Lalonde & Lou, 2010). While there is indeed overlap between each cultural system, there is still a great deal of difference to reconcile and resolve as one finds where one fits within these structures (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). These diverse

identity experiences can be personally enriching (e.g., Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng 2009), but they can also be confusing and stressful (e.g., Gupta, 1999; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Lalonde & Giguère, 2008), and potentially threatening to one's mental health (e.g., Bourque et al., 2011; Cantor-Graae & Pedersen, 2007). Personal coherence may therefore be more challenging to achieve, but once attained represents a successful resolution of the diverse and complex cultural aspects of one's self.

### **The Present Research**

The current study aims to examine how multicultural individuals configure their diverse cultural identities using a qualitative approach, to verify the changes in one's cultural identity configurations over the course of the life narrative, and test how these configurations are related to the coherence of their life narratives as an indicator of well-being. It was predicted that identity integration would be positively related to all four dimensions of narrative coherence: orientation, structure, affect and narrative integration. This is because the process of integrating one's multiple cultural identities involves resolving conflicts and finding connections between one's identities in order to achieve a more cohesive self-concept. We also predicted that compartmentalization would be related to lower narrative orientation, structure, affect, and integration than identity integration, since keeping each identity in separate compartments within oneself implies that one is avoiding conflicts between one's identities rather than synchronizing these different parts of oneself. Since multicultural individuals who align themselves exclusively with the mainstream or heritage culture do not fare as well as those who align with both (e.g., Sam & Berry, 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012), it was expected that categorization would be associated with less coherence than compartmentalization on all four dimensions of narrative coherence.

## Method

### Participants

For the present research, we focus on the population of second and higher generation descendants of immigrants as well as those with multiple cultural heritages (“mixed”). This is because these individuals have lived and have been socialized with more than one cultural group from childhood to the present; as a result they are familiar with being multicultural, and their multiple cultural affiliations are salient. In addition, the current research allowed for greater representation of this under-represented population. Twenty-two multicultural Canadians were recruited through the first author’s network of distant contacts and through snowballing, where participants and friends referred individuals to the first author. Nine men and thirteen women participated in the study, with ages ranging from 18 to 26 years old ( $M = 23.23$ ). All of the participants had received, or were in the process of pursuing, university degrees. Twelve participants were pursuing university studies at the time, eight were working full time, and two had not mentioned their current employment status.

The cultural backgrounds of the participants were diverse. Most were first generation Canadians: 18 were born in Canada, 2 moved to Canada as toddlers, one came to Canada while in elementary school, and one came from Mauritius for her university studies initially, and then stayed since to continue working. All were Canadian citizens at the time of the interviews, except for the participant from Mauritius, who was in the process of applying for resident status.

Fifteen participants were of mixed heritages, where their parents came from different cultural backgrounds. The other seven had parents with the same cultural background. All of the participants listed either the English or French Canadian/Quebecer mainstream groups as one of their cultural memberships. The heritage cultural affiliations represented in this sample include English and French Canadian/Quebecer, Inuk, American, Jewish, Mexican, Haitian, Italian, Irish,

Scottish, Swedish, French, British, Indo-British, Indian, Bangladeshi, Lebanese, Syrian, Armenian, Moroccan, Filipina, Japanese, Chinese, Chinese-Mauritian, and Chinese-Guyanese.

### **Procedure**

Once written consent was obtained, participants were interviewed in English by the first author at the Université du Québec à Montréal; the duration of the interviews ranged from 40 to 126 minutes in length ( $M = 75.68$  min,  $SD = 27.35$ ). The interviews started with the participants' naming and briefly describing their cultural groups. Next, the interview was presented as consisting of two sections: a story section, and a section with specific questions about their identities. The first half of the interview structure always consisted of a narrative section. Narratives enabled participants to tap into their cultural experiences and to communicate their multicultural identity experiences in an open, accessible and concrete manner; in this section, the role of the interviewer was completely passive as the participant constructed and communicated their story as they wished. The narrative structure also captured participants' well-being through their story's coherence. The second half of the interview consisted of questions specifically inquiring into their identity configuration experience. Any potential bias to the narrative section was avoided by the participant-directed format of the narrative. Moreover, there were no carry-over or order effects from the identity configuration section to the narrative since the interview was presented as having two different sections, and since the narrative section consistently preceded the multicultural identity configuration questions.

**The cultural identification narrative.** McAdams' (1989, 1992; Baerger & McAdams, 1999) life narrative procedure was adapted for the interview process, where interviewees were asked to tell the story of growing up with their different cultural groups, and their cultural identity development rather than their entire life story. Participants were instructed to think of their multicultural experience as a



story, with characters, settings, high and low points, and to tell their story using chapters as a framework, from where they felt it began to their present day. In line with the original procedure (e.g., McAdams, 1985; 1989; 1992), the instructions were open for the participants to freely organize their stories as they wished. No suggestion was made for the participants to prioritize any of their cultural groups, or that they configure their identities in a certain way. The stories ranged from two to six chapters in length; fifteen participants organized their stories chronologically, four split each culture into its own chapter, and three participants had a hybrid of the two structures. For the chronological and hybrid structures, each chapter that took place in childhood was recoded as a childhood chapter, while those that took place in adolescence or adulthood were recoded as adolescence and adulthood chapters, respectively.

**Cultural identity configuration questions.** After participants completed their cultural identification narrative, they were asked specific open-ended questions about the relationships between their cultural identities. These questions were designed to capture participants' categorization, compartmentalization, and integration identity configurations based on the CDSMII. Examples of questions for each configuration include: "Do you feel a greater preference for one culture over the other(s)?" (categorization); "Do you feel very different from one cultural context to another?" and "Do you prefer to consider each cultural identity as being very distinct and separate from each other?" (compartmentalization); "Do you see a lot of common ground between your cultural identities?" and "Do you feel that you can identify yourself, for example, as a "global citizen," or "Asian," or some other broad category that would include the different cultural identities?" (integration).

### **Data preparation**

Following Baerger and McAdams (1999), the narratives were rated for their coherence as an indicator of well-being. Narrative coherence denotes how well the narrative holds together in terms of its adherence to a traditional cause-effect, or

event-response pattern on the four dimensions of orientation, structure, affect, and integration. The degree to which each of these four components was found in the narrative is rated with a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Very low) to 7 (Very high), and was determined by how intense, frequent and embedded each component was within the story. This scale was used to rate each chapter in one's narrative, as well as the narrative as a whole. The scores for each of the four coherence components are added to create the overall score of narrative coherence, as per the procedure investigated by Baerger and McAdams (1999). There were two coders for the narratives. Inter-rater reliability was calculated with fifty percent of the narratives, which was coded by both independent raters; Pearson correlations between the raters demonstrated satisfactory inter-rater reliability for the ratings of narrative orientation ( $r = .82, p = .000$ ), structure ( $r = .94, p = .000$ ), affect ( $r = .80, p = .001$ ), and integration ( $r = .90, p = .000$ ). Table 1 consists of excerpts of narrative sections that were coded as representing low (coded as 1-2 on the 7-point scale), moderate (coded as 3-5), and high coherence (coded as 6-7).

Each instance of categorization, compartmentalization, and integration that emerged throughout each interview was respectively coded in accordance with the definitions provided in the CDMSII. In order to determine which multicultural identity configuration was dominant for each individual, the degree to which each of these statements represented categorization, compartmentalization, and integration was respectively rated on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely). The mean of each configuration was calculated and the greatest mean represented the participants' dominant cultural identity configuration. From this procedure, 7 participants reported predominantly categorized identification (with the Canadian identity being the dominant cultural identity for all categorised participants), 3 reported predominantly compartmentalized identification, and 12 reported predominantly integrated identification. There were no tie ratings among each participant's ratings. The average difference between each identity configuration rating of 1.67, ( $SD = .85$ ), and

a range of 0.09 to 4.72. This classification enabled us to compare each cultural identity configuration type for the outcome of narrative coherence. Pearson correlations between the two independent raters demonstrated highly satisfactory inter-rater reliability between the mean ratings for categorization ( $r = .97, p < .01$ ), compartmentalization ( $r = .92, p < .01$ ), and integration ( $r = .97, p < .01$ ) based on 72% of the interviews.

To avoid confusing the identity integration construct provided by the CDMSII with McAdams' concept of integration as one of the four indicators of narrative coherence, we employ the term "narrative integration" to refer to the integration denoted in participants' narratives, and "cultural identity integration" to refer to the integration stage of the CDMSII.

## Results

### Overview of the analyses

We first present how individuals spoke about their own identity experiences in light of the configurations postulated in Amiot and colleagues' (2007) model, including illustrative direct citations. Preliminary analyses are then presented, including Cochran's Q tests that were performed to examine how people's identity configurations evolved across the chapters of their narratives. Following this, analyses testing our hypotheses were conducted. We hypothesised that each identity configuration would be associated with different levels of narrative coherence, and that those with integrated cultural identities would report higher narrative coherence than compartmentalized individuals, and that categorized would report lower narrative coherence than compartmentalized individuals. To test these predictions, correlations were conducted between the means of the different identity configurations for the entire sample and the dimensions of narrative coherence, followed by ANOVAs comparing individuals who are dominant in either

categorization, compartmentalization, and integration on the different dimensions of narrative coherence.

### **Illustrative Quotes**

Participants spontaneously talked about the categorized, compartmentalized, and integrated cultural identity configurations in their own words as they recounted their life stories, and also mentioned these configurations in response to the specific cultural identity configuration questions. A selection of illustrative quotes are presented in this section:

**Categorization.** Categorized participants referred to the experience of excluding one identity while favouring another. Illustrating this strategy, K.Y., a Chinese-Canadian participant, conveyed her identification by stating, “I still consider myself Canadian, not Asian. I don’t like my Asian culture.” demonstrating a preference for her Canadian identity while excluding her Asian heritage culture. A. A., a half Italian, half Chinese-Guyanese Canadian said “I’m Canadian because I’m neither Italian nor Chinese, just by heritage, and the Guyanese part doesn’t really come in because that’s not me, that’s my mother.” Her experience illustrates her predominant Canadian identity as well as her representation of her heritage cultures as part of her lineage, but not part of her self-concept.

**Compartmentalization.** Illustrating compartmentalisation, L.V., a half Israeli-Jewish, half Irish Canadian, said “It’s not that one [identity] is inferior to the other, it’s just separate.” Here, L.V. shows that both identities are equally part of her self-concept, but that she sees them as separate from each other. J.G., who is half Italian and half Irish-British Canadian, describes her experience of only identifying with each culture in their respective contexts: “I have different cultural experiences within my being like half there, half there, so that I can bounce between two cultures, three cultures, four cultures... I feel different [in different cultural contexts] because it was always one or the other. It was never both at the same time.”



**Integration.** For integration, K. M., who is half Chinese, half Euro-Canadian, illustrated the experience of seeing similarities between her identities by stating, “Within myself, I have these two identities, and so I can find common things between them.” K. C., who comes from Cantonese-Chinese parents, and was born and raised in Montreal, spoke about how he resolves the differences between his Chinese and Canadian traditions, and how he sees these differences as mutually beneficial for him: “So what I like out of the Chinese tradition is a lot of respect and seeking to understand tradition, which I think is very important, but what I get out of my Western upbringing is the questioning at the same time. And so it enriches each other because every time I see an established tradition... I’ll discuss and be very respectful, but at the same time as I’m discussing and being respectful, I’m not just staring at it blank-faced and just taking it on, which would be totally destructive of tradition in the first place ‘cause you lose the sense of what it is.”

M. G., who is half Lebanese, half French, born in the United States, and moved to Montreal during his childhood, demonstrated how he adapts to his cultural contexts while still retaining his interconnected, simultaneously present identities: “I am now like a Swiss army knife. Multiple tools, and you can pretty much deal with anything, if I need a screw driver, it’s in there. So if I need to be American, I’m in here... Certainly when I am talking to a Lebanese person, and I have multiple cultures behind me, I do feel a bit more Lebanese at that specific time, just at that specific time. But that doesn’t mean that the rest of it is gone. No. You are going to use the rest of that to, you know, make the conversation more interesting. Soften the mood, make them feel more welcome.”

### **Preliminary analyses.**

When averaging the total number of instances that these configurations were mentioned in each participant’s interview, descriptive analyses showed that the frequency of reported categorization ranged from 0 to 20 instances across the

interviews ( $M = 7.41$ ,  $SD = 6.12$ ); the frequency of reported compartmentalization strategies ranged from 1 to 24 occurrences ( $M = 7.73$ ,  $SD = 6.32$ ), while the frequency of reported integration strategies ranged from 2 to 29 instances ( $M = 13$ ,  $SD = 8.08$ ). These findings suggest that participants varied in the extent to which they each mentioned these identity configurations.

Given that the developmental literature (e.g., Phinney, 1989; Harter et al., 1997) and the CDSMII propose that the development of these identity configurations is dynamic, analyses were conducted to verify if the spontaneous reporting of one's configurations would vary over the course of the life story, as retrospectively narrated by the participants. To track how the evolution of people's identification experiences were constructed retrospectively through the narration of their own life stories, the proportions of the different identity configurations were examined across the childhood, adolescence and adulthood chapters of each narrative for the eighteen participants who organized their narratives chronologically. Whether a chapter was designated as childhood, adolescence, or adulthood was determined by the participants themselves since they themselves clearly named and described the content of each of their chapters. For example, participants named their chapters "childhood," "elementary school," "teenage years," "high school," "adulthood," "university," and "present day." Cochrane's Q tests demonstrated a significant difference between chapters in terms of the frequency with which instances of compartmentalization were mentioned ( $Q(2) = 7.00$ ,  $p = .03$ ): The percentage of participants who reported instances of compartmentalization in their childhood chapter was 11%, whereas 33% of participants reported compartmentalization strategies in the adolescence chapters, and 6% reported compartmentalisation in the adulthood chapters. Follow-up McNemar tests were conducted to determine which chapter significantly differed from the other in terms of compartmentalization; these tests revealed that the decrease from the adolescence to adulthood chapter was marginal ( $p = .06$ ), the other percentages did not significantly differ. There was a



significant difference across the chapters for identity integration ( $Q(3) = 9.00, p = .01$ ). In both childhood and adolescence chapters, 6% of participants reported integration strategies. Follow-up McNemar tests revealed that this percentage significantly increased from the adolescence to the adulthood chapter (39%;  $p = .03$ ). The reported proportion of the categorisation configuration was not statistically different across chapters ( $Q(1) = 2.00, p = .37$ ); the percentage of participants who reported categorization strategies tended to increase from the childhood (28%) to adolescence chapters (44%) and then remained stable in the adulthood chapter (44%) but these percentages did not differ significantly. These findings show that participants' recounting of their identity configurations evolved through their life story in a logical manner. The patterns observed are in accordance with the developmental literature (e.g., Harter & Monsour, 1992; Harter et al., 1997), which reported the emergence of multiple identification issues and conflicts in adolescence, and resolution of these conflicts by adulthood.

### **Correlations among the Constructs**

Correlations were conducted between the means of each identity configuration across the entire sample and the four narrative coherence indicators. As can be seen in Table 2, significant correlations between the means of each identity configuration and the overall narrative coherence ratings demonstrated no significant correlation between overall narrative coherence and categorisation ( $r = .004, p = .99$ ), while overall narrative coherence was significantly and negatively related to compartmentalization ( $r = -.66, p = .001$ ), and positively related to cultural identity integration ( $r = .53, p = .01$ ). The relationships between the different configurations and each of the four dimensions of narrative coherence were further examined, revealing a similar pattern across the configurations (see Table 2); categorization was not significantly related to any of the four dimensions. Compartmentalization was related negatively to the four coherence indicators: orientation, structure, affect, and

narrative integration. As expected, integration was positively related to structure, affect, and narrative integration. A similar pattern was observed where identity integration was positively related to the orientation dimension of narrative coherence, but this relationship was not significant.

### **Differences in narrative coherence between the cultural identity configurations**

Following the classification of participants into their dominant identity configuration, we expected that those with integrated cultural identities would display the greatest overall narrative coherence and higher scores on all four coherence dimensions compared to those with compartmentalized and categorized cultural identities. An initial ANOVA investigating the overall narrative coherence of each identity configuration showed a significant main effect of cultural identity configuration on overall narrative coherence ( $F(2, 19) = 4.85, p = .02$ ). Post-hoc Tukey's HSD tests revealed that integrated participants ( $M = 5.10, SD = 1.15$ ) had significantly more coherent narratives overall than the compartmentalized participants ( $M = 2.92, SD = .95, p = .02$ ); categorized participants ( $M = 4.71, SD = 1.01$ ) had marginally more coherent narratives than those with compartmentalized identities ( $p = .067$ ). There was no significant difference between those with integrated and categorized cultural identities ( $p = .74$ ). Subsequent univariate ANOVAs were conducted for each dimension of narrative coherence, and this general pattern of findings was also found across the four indicators of orientation, structure, affect and integration (see Figure 1).

**Orientation.** There was a significant main effect of cultural identity configuration to the orientation dimension of narrative coherence ( $F(2, 19) = 4.86, p = .02, \eta^2 = .34$ ). Pairwise comparison follow-up analyses revealed that integrated  $p = .008$  and categorized participants ( $p = .009$ ) had significantly higher orientation ratings than the compartmentalized participants); There was no significant difference between those with integrated and categorized cultural identities (see Figure 1).



**Structure.** Results showed a marginal main effect of cultural identity integration to narrative structure ( $F(2, 19) = 3.43, p = .05, \eta^2 = .27$ ). Pairwise comparisons demonstrated that those with integrated cultural identities had significantly higher structure ratings than those with compartmentalized cultural identities ( $p = .02$ ). Categorized participants had marginally higher structure ratings ( $p = .073$ ) than compartmentalized participants (see Figure 1). There was no significant difference between culturally integrated and categorized individuals.

**Affect.** There was a non-significant main effect of cultural identity configuration to narrative affect ( $F(2, 19) = 2.32, p = .13, \eta^2 = .20$ ). The results displayed a similar pattern to the structure dimension; pairwise comparison follow-up analyses showed that participants with integrated cultural identities) had significantly higher narrative affect than compartmentalized participants ( $p = .047$ ). Categorized participants had marginally higher narrative affect ( $p = .082$ ) than participants with compartmentalized cultural identities. Those with categorized and integrated cultural identities did not differ significantly on the affect dimension (see Figure 1).

**Integration.** A marginal main effect of cultural identity configuration to narrative integration was obtained ( $F(2, 19) = 3.40, p = .055, \eta^2 = .26$ ). Pairwise comparisons revealed that individuals with integrated cultural identities had significantly higher narrative integration ( $p = .02$ ) than individuals with compartmentalized cultural identities. There was no significant difference between categorized and compartmentalized participants, nor between participants with categorized or integrated cultural identities (see Figure 1).

These findings suggest that categorized and integrated individuals' narratives presented greater coherence compared to those of compartmentalized individuals. This was found for all domains of narrative coherence for those with integrated cultural identities; for categorized individuals, this was found specifically for orientation, with marginal effects for the structure and affect domains. These findings confirm our hypothesis that integration predicted greater narrative coherence

than compartmentalization. We also expected that categorization would be associated with lower narrative coherence, but our findings do not support this prediction. This unexpected finding will be addressed in the discussion section.

### **Discussion**

These findings provide rich insight into the identity configurations and the life experiences of multicultural individuals. Participants' spontaneous communication of their own multicultural identification reflected the identity configurations proposed in the CDSMII. Furthermore, the positive relationship between identity integration and narrative coherence, especially compared to the other configurations, confirms the proposed link between identity integration and well-being (Amiot et al., 2007).

The results comparing each cultural identity configuration on their narrative coherence ratings confirm the hypothesis that the integrated multicultural identity configuration is associated with greater well-being compared to compartmentalization, as indicated by how coherently participants convey their own multicultural story. These findings suggest that the coherence within the self that is characteristic of multicultural identity integration is associated with the ability to frame the context of one's narrative, to convey one's story in a logical order, and to create a sense of overall meaning and resolution in one's narratives. In separating and contextualizing their cultural identities, compartmentalized individuals may have a more fragmented view of the self in relation to their cultures. This compartmentalized identity configuration may then inhibit them from concretely setting the stage for their cultural narrative, from providing a logical sequence to their story, from having a clear or present emotional evaluation of the events in their narratives, or from deriving meaning or resolution from their situation. These findings for identity integration and compartmentalization to narrative coherence are also consistent with the previous work on cultural identity integration and well-being (e.g., Downie et al., 2004; Cheng et al., 2008; Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, in press).

We originally hypothesised that categorized multicultural individuals would display lower narrative coherence than compartmentalized individuals, such that identifying with one identity over the others would be associated with less coherent narratives. The findings for categorization showed that categorized individuals performed better than compartmentalized individuals for the indicators of narrative coherence, sometimes comparably to those with integrated cultural identities. These results were unexpected. There are several explanations for these findings. First, previous research demonstrated that identifying with one cultural group over others did not predict well-being while identifying with multiple cultural groups did relate to more well-being (e.g., Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, *in press*; Berry et al., 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2010), the majority of the literature on bicultural or multicultural individuals thus far has been conducted mostly among first generation immigrants relative to second or third generation individuals, or those with a “mixed” cultural heritage. The sample of the present study was composed mainly of second generation and “mixed” heritage individuals, and the categorized participants identified predominantly with the mainstream cultural group (i.e., being Canadian). In the present research, there may have been an effect of generation status: identifying primarily with the majority cultural group may not compromise well-being among this particular population, given that the second generation grew up in the context of the majority group, and have therefore identified with the group and context that they are most familiar with.

Another possible explanation is the nature of the identity that is endorsed in a categorized configuration. The categorized participants in the current study all identified predominantly as Canadian. Schwartz’ values survey (1994) demonstrated that Canada valued egalitarianism; these values can be observed in Canada’s Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Government of Canada, 1982), which endorse equal rights, tolerance, and multiculturalism. In this vein, Uskul, Lalonde and Cheng (2007) found that Chinese Canadians’ endorsement of their



Canadian identity was positively correlated with their personal openness to date interculturality. It is possible that the categorized participants, who all identified primarily as Canadians, perceived Canada to be an open and egalitarian context, thus engendering an sense of inclusiveness and tolerance, which, in turn, may have affected their well-being positively as captured in their narrative coherence.

Third, perhaps the motivations and social context behind one's alignment with one culture are at play. It is possible that categorization could predict coherence if the predominant cultural identity over the others was chosen agentically rather than induced from group pressure or lack of opportunities (e.g., Chirkov, Ryan & Willness, 2005; McAdams et al., 2006). The intergroup relations literature has examined the difference between assigned and voluntary vs. chosen social identities (e.g., Deaux, 1991; Perreault & Bourhis, 1999; Turner, Hogg, Turner & Smith, 1984). In their experiment on the effects of chosen versus assigned group identities in the context of intergroup competition, Turner and colleagues (1984) demonstrated that choosing one's own group lead to greater collective self-esteem than being assigned to a group. These findings suggest that choosing one's cultural identification may also be linked to well-being; this process may have been at work for the categorized participants in this study, who reported greater well-being. To clarify this finding, future studies will need to directly assess and account for the extent to which individuals feel that they are guided by their own personal choice when identifying predominantly with one cultural group to the exclusion of others.

In terms of potential implications for a clinical context, these findings suggest that some identity configurations may be more adaptive than others. At the same time, further evidence is needed to paint a more complete picture of multiculturalists' identity processes and their mental health. Therefore, before drawing conclusions about whether one cultural identity configuration should be preferred or recommended over another, future research using a variety of methodologies – including qualitative and quantitative approaches, various measures of identity



configuration, and established well-being and mental health instruments – should be conducted to gain a greater understanding of the relationship between multicultural identity configurations and well-being outcomes. Moreover, attention needs to be given to the fundamental contribution of various social factors in shaping how multiculturals configure their identities. Future research will be conducted to deepen our understanding of how the social context predicts multicultural identity configuration, as well as how these configurations, in turn, predict a range of well-being outcomes.

The narrative approach typically employed for research purposes could also be beneficial for use in clinical practice with multicultural people. Its previous use in measuring well-being, as well as in clinical research has demonstrated its effectiveness in capturing the process of well-being for the participating person (e.g., Baerger & McAdams, 1999; Adler, Wagner, & McAdams, 2007; Roe, 2001; Lysaker & Lysaker, 2002). In addition to gaining greater understanding of the client's well-being through the evaluations of coherence, the narrative method provides a rich account of each individual's unique and subjective appreciation of their life trajectory, history, social context, and how they arrived at their current state (McAdams, 1985). These insights into multicultural individuals' history and identity could prove a useful initial step for care practitioners in building a rapport with, and profile of, their clients.

While the life story procedure has been implemented with multicultural populations in prior research (e.g., de la Sablonnière et al., 2011; Bougie et al., 2011), it is possible that the current format of creating a story using chapters and analysing its coherence through orientation, structure, affect and integration could stand to be more culturally sensitive or culturally specific. It would therefore be valuable for future research to consider examining different narrative styles found in different cultural groups' storytelling traditions in order to adapt this method to include the

potential cultural variations in making a well-constructed, coherent life narrative (Brewer, 1985; McAdams, 2006; Pavlenko, 2002; Shweder & Much, 1987).

One of the limitations of the present study was the use of a single indicator for well-being. Future qualitative inquiries could conduct a multicultural narrative interview and include established and/or conventional clinical interview schedules (e.g., Brugha et al., 1999; Subramaniam et al., 2006) as additional indicators of mental health. Future quantitative research will also be conducted on a larger scale to examine the relationship between the multicultural identity configurations to multiple indicators of subjective and psychological well-being.

The qualitative nature of the present study resulted in a sample size of twenty two participants; another limitation of the present study is the low representation of compartmentalized individuals in our sample ( $n = 3$ ); while there were few compartmentalized participants, the inter-ratings concluded the same configuration assignment, and results from the ANOVAs comparing members from each configuration are consistent with the correlation results examining compartmentalization for the entire sample. Nevertheless, greater representation of compartmentalized people is warranted; future quantitative research, therefore, will test a larger sample of multicultural individuals to better represent each configuration.

The current research sought to qualitatively examine multiculturals' identity configuration process and well-being as indicated by their narrative coherence. The present study provides evidence that integrating one's multiple cultural identities within the self predicts greater well-being than compartmentalizing one's identities; adopting one identity over the others seems to be associated positively with measures of coherence, pointing to a need for a more nuanced understanding of this particular configuration. Future large-scale studies will continue to examine the relationship between a variety of well-being measures and the cultural identity configurations using a scale that is being developed for this purpose of quantitatively assessing these configurations. Moreover, these studies will focus on the social context of

multicultural individuals, and how a variety of social factors can influence how one configures one's multiple cultural identities within the self. These forthcoming investigations will complement the present study, and continue to build on the body of work that seeks to better grasp the experiences of multicultural individuals.



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*Table 1. Narrative excerpts from the current study illustrating low to high ratings of coherence using the 1-7 Likert scale from Baerger and McAdams (1999)*

Coherence level	Excerpts
Low coherence (coded between 1-2)	<p>"Childhood, grades, languages, I guess was my big thing. I guess if I count French, I know five languages. English, Mandarin, Cantonese, and this language really close to Taiwanese its Teochew-nese. ... So languages is part 'cause there's a school on Saturdays for that, for Mandarin. 'Cause Cantonese I speak at home and Mandarin I learned at school ever since I was four so at the same time I learned piano. So I went to school ever since then and I watched TV dramas whatever to practice my Mandarin. That's where most of my Mandarin comes from. My slang in Mandarin is better than the ones who live there. So I would talk to my friends, like, say some slang or whatever and they would have no, it's like, "Oh really!" or "Wow you know that?" "Have you ever been there?" So I would go to school and they're like "Wow! You go to school on Saturday?" and I was like "Yeah!" I felt cool you know and all that... I did really well in school when I was in elementary school. Now thinking back, I say I should've played around more, like, why get good grades in elementary school, that doesn't count! University counts, really, truly. That was my childhood. Oh there's an incident in grade two and so I live here and then there's a cul de sac [dead end street] right across from my house. And then, me and my sister would do biking there and this guy is from the, goes to the same elementary school, in the same class even, so that summer we would bike around. We wouldn't really talk, like, he's white and he has an older sister, he's fine. Anyways, we would ride our bikes whatever and he would try to do a wheelie and we would try to do it with him, but we wouldn't really talk. He'd be like "hey" and then start biking, ride around, ride here, ride there, follow him. And we would do that for like I don't know fifty minutes, half an hour maybe once a week or something. And then it was in grade two, so we were, like, seven. And then at the end of that school year, he bought Spice Girl bubble gum. Bubble gum that had Spice Girls stickers. And he gave it to every single girl except for me. I was sad. I don't know what, he said "because you're mean." I was like, "I'm the nicest person that I know!"</p>
Moderate coherence (coded as 3-5)	<p>"So now, it's like, being ok with my culture, realizing that I am always learning new stuff about my own cultures. How I relate to them, and that, like I was saying about language, also it's open to me to explore my culture more. It is open to me to learn Chinese, and to try and tap into that, and to try and communicate with my family. The thing that has discouraged me for a long time is because there are many, many dialects within the Chinese language. Not least of all Cantonese versus Mandarin, and the subdivisions. So my family speaks Cantonese which is the more difficult of the</p>



	<p>languages to learn, and my great-grandmother, who I want desperately to speak to, speaks Toisan, which is, like, even more difficult and obscure. And, like, who am I going to get to teach me that? So I think if I do anything, I will try and learn some basic Cantonese, and then if I can get, find somebody else, or go home and try and hack it out with them. Figure out something. But, like, it's daunting because I am actually, like, extremely scared of failure in that regard because, like, it has so much now, attached for so long, I've wanted to learn. Ok I'll put it off. And in my head I am always like, "Oh I'll do a summer course, I'll do this." Since high school I was planning on doing it and they didn't offer Chinese at my school. I would've taken it. But they would've only offered Mandarin anyway. Which my brother tried, 'cause I am sure he was struggling with his own things, too. It's funny that we haven't talked about it that much. And he took Chinese at his school because he went to a school that was in like, closer to Chinatown. So lots of Chinese people. And so he was like the white dude in the class. But that was the problem because everybody already spoke, they just, none of them wrote. They were all, like, first generation [Canadian born] you know their parents would read to them but they never went to school for Chinese. So they were learning to write, so he [brother] learned to write but he couldn't say anything. He was just reading, he knew what it meant. So yeah my grandmother is telling me learn Mandarin, 'cause to her she is just like, she is still "Fit in or do something pragmatic, learn Mandarin because that is the language of business and money." She is always like, "Go into business or get a pharmacy. You're a smart woman, you know those pharmacists ain't dumb." So she is telling me this, and I am like, "But I want to learn to speak to you." I don't care, plus lots of people speak Cantonese, everybody in Chinatown here speaks Cantonese. And all the best movies are in Cantonese."</p>
High coherence (coded as 6-7)	<p>"There comes this time where I got promoted to the student council ... And the job is to enforce the school rules, you know check girls skirt length and so on and so forth. But we also had to check for absences, so we had this little card we had to fill in and we knew we had to tell each teacher, "we know who is there in the morning" ... Ok, so I just told the teacher and she was like, "Oh, this is not the first time because I know they have been missing also," and so she told the powers that be at school, and they [the students] got into trouble. But they [the students] all came to see me, and that was a big revelation of my life, because that is where the line dropped: "Oh it's because you are Chinese that you did that, if it was your Chinese friend you would not have done that." So I was like: "What the heck?" ... I was so angry. I was just mad, I was frothing because it was the first time that anyone had told me that I had made any preference ... It's the first time that anyone had told</p>

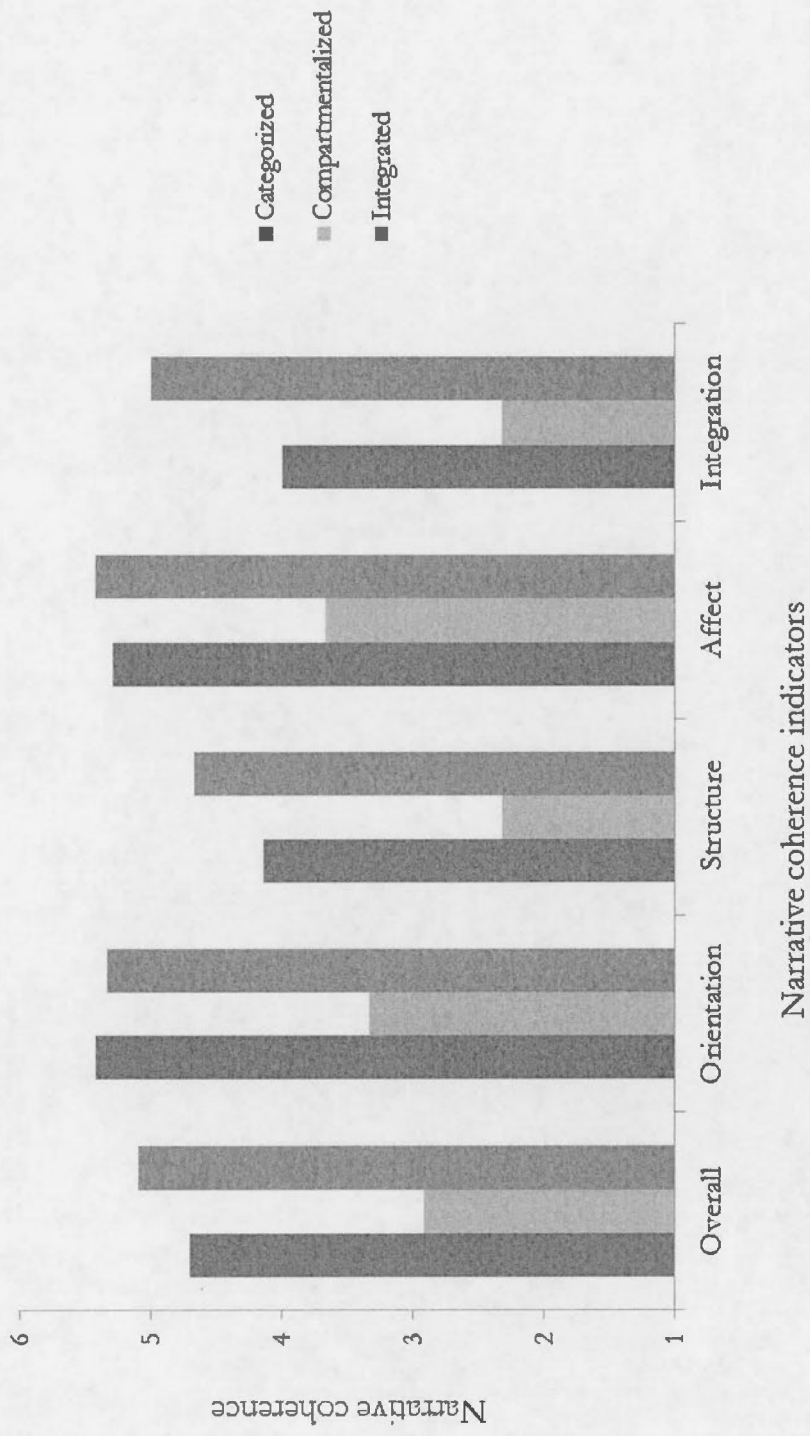
	<p>me that, because with all the weight that is implied with “Oh, you’re smart because you are Chinese, you’re rich because you are Chinese” and so on and so forth, “Oh, you did that because you are Chinese, so you can oppress other people” ... and I was so mad afterwards, I just went to my best friend, who was of Indian origin, but didn’t feel Indian in the least. So I went to her and was like, “You know what, that is the first time that anyone has told me that in such a way and I was really mad.” She was like, “well, can you tell me why?” I was like, “You know, I don’t feel Chinese. It’s just like everyone has been telling me ever since I was very little, “Oh you are Chinese, so you must be this,” or “You are Chinese so you must be that.” No, I don’t like math, I don’t like science, I don’t like economics. I like art, I like literature, I like languages. Everyone is telling me something is wrong with me because I am Chinese I am not doing the things that I am supposed to do. ... You know, it’s like I just don’t feel like I am that person. This is not who I am.” She was like “fine, so who are you?” I was like, “Hmmm good question, who am I?” So that bugged me. That was the start of what I would say, you know questioning time. And it really, really, really, like, woke me up.”</p>
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Table 2. Intercorrelations between the multicultural identity configurations and narrative coherence indicators

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Categorization	2.22	1.15	-						
2. Compartmentalization	2.22	.95	-.19	-					
3. Integration	3.36	1.34	-.69**	-.53*	-				
4. Overall narrative coherence	4.68	1.27	-.00	-.66**	.53*	-			
5. Narrative orientation	5.09	1.23	.18	-.60**	.32	.80**	-		
6. Narrative structure	4.18	1.53	-.06	-.49*	.47*	.87**	.60**	-	
7. Narrative affect	5.14	1.36	.09	-.60**	.47*	.81**	.62**	.52*	-
8. Narrative integration	4.32	1.81	-.10	-.58**	.54**	.93**	.61**	.80**	.68**

Note.  $N = 22$ , \* =  $p < .05$  level, \*\* =  $p < .01$  (2-tailed).

Figure 1. ANOVA results of multicultural identity configurations to the narrative coherence indicators





## **Appendix A: Interview questions**

### **1. Introduction questions: What are your cultural groups?**

- a. Please describe each group
- b. How long have you been a member of each group?

### **2. Cultural narrative procedure**

#### *Introduction:*

This is an interview about the story of your cultural identification. In this interview, I'll ask you to play the role of a storyteller about your own life with your cultures. I'd like you to construct the story of your own past and present in relation to your cultures.

In telling us about your own multicultural story, you do not need to tell us everything that has ever happened to you. A story is selective. You may focus on a few key events or a few key themes that you believe to be important. Think about things in your own life which say something significant about your cultural identification(s) and how your cultural identification has developed up to this point in the present. Your story should tell me how you are similar to other people as well as how you are unique in terms of your cultural identification. I will guide you through the interview so that we can finish in good time. Do you have questions?

#### *Chapters:*

I would like you to begin by thinking about your cultural identification as a story. All stories have characters, scenes, scenarios, and so forth. All stories have high points and low points, good times and bad times, heroes and villains, and so on. A long story may even have chapters. In this interview, I would like you to think about the story of your cultural identities as having at least a few different chapters.

In this section of the interview, I would like you to describe for me each of the main chapters of your cultural identification story, from where you see it beginning until now. You may have as many or as few chapters as you like, but I would suggest dividing your story into at least 2 or 3 chapters and at most about 7. I would like you to give each chapter a name, and describe briefly the overall contents in each chapter. By overall content I mean the key theme or event that happened to you in each chapter. As a storyteller here, think of yourself as giving a brief summary for each chapter.

You may need time to think about what the main chapters in your story would be. If you want, you can write them down. When you're ready, we will go through each of your main chapters (so that you can tell me a little bit more about them).

### **3. Multicultural identity integration questions:**

- a. Categorization: Do you feel a greater preference for one culture over the other(s)?

- b. Compartmentalization: Do you prefer to consider each cultural identity as being very distinct and separate from each other?
- c. Compartmentalization: Do you feel very different from one cultural context to another? (or “depending on the cultural context”)
- d. Integration: Do you see a lot of common ground between your cultural identities?
- e. Integration: Do you feel that you can identify yourself as a “global citizen,” or “Asian,” “North American,” or some other broad category that would include the different cultural identities?

### CHAPITRE III

#### ARTICLE II





The Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS): Developing a  
Comprehensive Measure for Configuring One's Multiple Cultural Identities  
Within the Self

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### Abstract

The emerging research investigating how one's multiple cultural identities are configured within the self has focused on bicultural identity integration; however, we also need to account for other existing cultural identity configurations, and for identifying with more than two cultural groups at once. The current research addresses these issues by constructing the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) to examine three different multicultural identity configurations, based on Amiot, and colleagues' (2007) cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration (CDSMII). Reliability and confirmatory factorial analyses (Studies 1A and 2A) all supported the factorial structure of the MULTIIS. Regression analyses (Studies 1B and 2B) confirmed that the integration subscale of the MULTIIS positively predicted well-being, whereas compartmentalization negatively predicted well-being. Categorization was inconsistently related to well-being. These findings support the CDSMII and the usefulness of the MULTIIS measure, and suggest that each identity configuration is uniquely related to well-being outcomes.

### The Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS): Developing a Comprehensive Measure for Configuring One's Multiple Cultural Identities Within the Self

Large-scale social shifts like migration and globalization have led to greater interaction between ethnic, national, religious and linguistic groups who share the same environment (see Vertovec, 2007). Our societies' cultural diversity has inspired researchers to investigate the experiences of migrants, children of immigrants, and individuals of "mixed" descent (see Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2006; Schwartz et al., in press; Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004). Multicultural individuals can be defined as anyone who is a member or has a lineage from more than one cultural group (Benet-Martinez & Hong, 2014). This broad category can consist of first, second and third generation citizens (e.g., Trinidadian-Canadian), people who have a "mixed" or multiethnic/faith/cultural heritage (e.g., one parent is Indian-Jewish and the other is Japanese-Brazilian), so called "third culture kids" who have lived for extended periods in multiple geographic locations (Useem & Downie, 1976), bilingual and multilingual individuals (e.g., a Quebecois who speaks the mainstream English and French, and Jamaican Patois from their parents' heritage cultural group), as well as other people who have multicultural affiliations from other types of multicultural experiences (see Vertovec, 1997; Doucerain, Dere & Ryder, 2013).

Research conducted among multicultural people highlights how these individuals need to negotiate the different norms, values, expectations, behaviors and identities that are associated with their different cultural memberships (Giguère, Lalonde & Lou, 2010; Mahtani, 2002; Phinney, 1991; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, & Wang, 2007). For instance, many multiculturals may need to simultaneously cultivate interdependent and loyalty values from their heritage groups, along with independent and libertarian values found in the mainstream culture. Research focusing on multicultural identification more



specifically, and on how multicultural individuals integrate or link their different cultural identities within the self-concept, has also shown that the way one's cultural identities are integrated in the self is of great consequence as it predicts one's adjustment, social effectiveness (e.g., Huynh, Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2011; Thomas, Brannen & Garcia, 2010), and well-being (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013).

While this prior research has focused mostly on how cultural identities are integrated and interrelated, multicultural individuals also employ other cognitive strategies for configuring their multiple cultural identities within the self (e.g., Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). For example, multiculturals can identify exclusively with one of their cultural groups, or identify with each of their cultures separately and depending on the social context. These additional identification strategies call for greater understanding and assessment of multiculturals' different identity configurations to fully account for these individuals' psychological experiences. Furthermore, each of these unique strategies can have potentially different consequences in terms of individual well-being and social functioning outcomes. Despite this, the existing models and measures tend to focus solely on the degree to which one's cultural identities are integrated or connected, while neglecting to assess these other important identity configurations.

The present study aims to create a novel, more inclusive measure of multicultural identification – the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) – that ties together the diverse literature on self and cultural identity. Given the numerous ways for individuals to have multiple cultural affiliations in our present society, it is no surprise that our bicultural categories and measurements are no longer sufficient. The MULTIIS was therefore constructed to apply to individuals already belonging to multiple cultural groups (including combinations of national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic cultural groups). Importantly, the MULTIIS extends beyond previous bicultural identity integration scales (i.e., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005;



Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi & Cree, 2004; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006) by: (1) measuring *three* distinct multicultural identity configurations instead of focusing on degree of integration alone (high vs. low), (2) accounting for any number of cultural identities instead of being limited to two identities, thereby allowing researchers to capture the culture diversity experienced by a growing number of individuals in our societies, and (3) accounting for how exactly these multiple identities are reconciled and organized by individuals— i.e., the ways that these multiple groups are endorsed and arranged. The identity configurations assessed were based on the cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration (CDSMII; Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry & Smith, 2007). Using this model as a basis allows us to capture a broader set of patterns and cognitive configurations employed by multicultural individuals when identifying with their multiple cultural groups. Given the important role that cultural identity plays in predicting individual well-being (e.g., Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2010), we also examined the relationships between each of the different identity configurations and well-being.

### **The Cognitive-Developmental Model of Social Identity Integration and the MULTIIS**

To capture these different identity configurations, the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) was constructed based on Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry and Smith's (2007) cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration (CDSMII). In contrast to prior cultural identity models, the CDSMII captures a diverse array of multiple identification strategies and accounts for more than two identities at the same time. Theoretically, the model is grounded in the developmental, social cognition, and cultural psychology literatures. More specifically, the model builds on the previous work examining bicultural identification and development (e.g., Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) and the multiple social identities literature (e.g., Roccas &

Brewer, 2002). The CDSMII was originally created to examine how individuals acquire a new social identity and, with time and effort, internalize and integrate this new identity with their other existing identities within their self-concept through the use of stages. This model has been studied in the context of changes in social identities (Amiot, Terry, Wirawan & Grice, 2010) and organizational mergers (i.e., Smith et al., 2012; Amiot, et al., 2006; see Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Smith, & Smith, 2014 for a recent update). The model has been cited in theoretical discussions of multiculturalism (e.g., Binning et al., 2009; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010) and applied to the cultural context of Québec (Amiot & de la Sablonnière, 2010; de la Sablonnière, Debrosse, & Benoit, 2010; Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2013).

Although the CDSMII suggests that the identity configurations change over time and life passages, the model also suggests that the different identity patterns can be captured and assessed at a given time period or life stage. In interviews with multicultural individuals, Yampolsky and colleagues (2013) found that the participants had settled on each of the different identity strategies proposed in the model after having already gone through their own multicultural socialization. The present research therefore focused on multiculturals' general – and somewhat more stable – identity experiences. To this aim, the current work studied the stages of the model cross-sectionally since our objective is to examine multicultural individuals' general identity configurations for the identities they already have and the cultural groups they already belong to, rather than the process of acquiring new identities.

**Multicultural identity configurations.** The CDMSII accounts for the different ways that multiculturals cognitively configure their many cultural identities within their self-concept. There are four identity configurations proposed by the CDSMII: anticipatory categorization, categorization, compartmentalization, and integration. These configurations, discussed below, form the basis for the MULTIIS measure that was developed in the current studies.

**Anticipatory categorization** applies to individuals who are preparing to join a new group, such as an immigrant who is anticipating his move to a new country. This stage involves projecting oneself into a future cultural group, or self-anchoring, and foreseeing similarities between oneself and the new group (see Otten & Wentura, 2001). This configuration is not assessed in the MULTIIS because the measure was developed among multicultural individuals who already belong to multiple cultural groups, and have lived as members of these groups for some time.

**Categorization** involves identifying with one cultural group over others by seeing one identity as predominant, and by excluding other identities from the self. Identifying with one culture can be seen as a cognitively simpler way to go about defining oneself (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002). To illustrate, an Armenian-Canadian woman may see herself as being primarily Canadian since she grew up in Toronto, and she may exclude the Armenian identity from her own self-concept, even though she recognizes her Armenian family lineage. In the MULTIIS, categorization items were constructed to reflect these *predominant* and *exclusive* components of cultural identification.

**Compartmentalization** is characterized by having multiple cultural identities that are kept in their own isolated compartments within the self; the differences between one's identities are seen as opposing, and the identities are kept separate from each other (see Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2002). Moreover, one identifies with one cultural group at a time, depending on the context (e.g., Downie et al., 2004; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). For example, an Italian-American may see himself as being both Italian and American, but these parts of himself are seen as contradictory, separate entities. When he is with Italian or American friends, he feels that he can only identify with one of his cultures instead of both at once. The items in the compartmentalization subscale of the MULTIIS reflect these components of *separate*, *divergent* and *context-bound identification*.



**Integration** is characterized by cohesively connecting and reconciling one's multiple cultural identities within oneself (see Donahue et al., 1993; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006; Rafaeli-Mor, & Steinberg, 2002). This cohesion involves seeing common ground between one's identities while seeing the differences between one's identities as complementary. Moreover, with integration, one may invoke a higher-order, inclusive identity that encompasses the different cultural identities (i.e., a superordinate identity, such as human) as a means for reconciling and uniting them (see Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993). In integration, individuals can identify with their different cultures simultaneously rather than identifying in a context-bound manner. In this way, people adapt to the demands of their contexts, but they still identify with their many cultures at the same time. For example, a woman with Indian and Trinidadian heritage growing up in Montreal may see her cultural groups as endorsing similar core values. She also finds that the differences between her identities are a rich source of multiplicity, giving her a more complete perspective for the big decisions she will need to make in her life. Her superordinate identity of being human groups all her cultural identities together and helps her create bridges between these unique identities. The integration subscale items of the MULTIIS includes the components of *similar*, *complementary*, and *superordinate identification*.

### **Previous Work in the Area of Multicultural Identity Integration**

Researchers have conceptualized multicultural identity integration in different ways. The MULTIIS's configurations have the advantage of building on and integrating many aspects of these previous approaches and measures of multicultural identity integration. In this section we compare and contrast previous models of identity integration with the approach taken to construct the MULTIIS to illustrate how the MULTIIS extends beyond these established identity integration scales.

One seminal model of bicultural identity integration (BII) is proposed by Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005). According to these researchers, cultural



identities are integrated when they are compatible, that is, when these identities are perceived to be similar (instead of different), and harmoniously related to one another (instead of conflicting). BII focuses on the integration of two cultural identities. In terms of measurement, BII has been assessed using a single-item vignette (see Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002), an 8-item questionnaire adapted to specific ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese and Mexican-Americans; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), as well as a 20-item scale (Nguyen, Huynh & Benet-Martinez, 2009).

In contrast to the BII scales, the MULTIIS assesses categorization and compartmentalization as additional identity configurations that are not covered in the BII scales. Second, while both the BII and the CDMSII conceptualize integration as involving a subjective feeling that one's different identities are similar and connected, the CDMSII is broader in its conceptualization of identity integration. Indeed, in the CDMSII, integration includes additional cognitive components such as superordinate identification and perceiving complementary differences among one's identities. These components are thus represented in the MULTIIS' items. Third, and to account for the fact that multicultural individuals increasingly identify with more than two cultural groups, the MULTIIS measures the relationship between *multiple* cultural identities rather than two, as is the case with the BII scales.

Cultural chameleonism is another model that proposes that multicultural identity integration involves feeling consistent and authentic across cultural contexts, rather than dissonantly shifting from one separate identity to another (Downie Koestner, ElGeledi & Cree, 2004; Downie, Mageau, Koestner, & Liodden, 2006). In the cultural chameleonism perspective, differentiated and context-specific cultural identities represent a fragmented organization of the self where one's self-concept becomes disjointed and disorganized (see also Donahue, Robins, Roberts & John, 1993). Such fragmentation has been shown to result in distress rather than adjustment (e.g., Campbell, Assanand, & Di Paula, 2003; Rafaeli-Mor & Steinberg, 2002; Sanchez, Shih & Garcia, 2009; Ryan, La Guardia, & Rawsthorne, 2005). The

cultural chameleonism scale therefore measures the extent to which one identifies and behaves inconsistently between one's multiple cultural identities across contexts.

When comparing the identity configurations proposed in the CDMSII to the concept of cultural chameleonism, the CDMSII again presents a broader theoretical scope; more specifically, the CDMSII differentiates between one's subjective sense of internal coherence across different cultural contexts and one's ability to behaviorally adapt to situations. In fact, contextually shifting between salient identities and behaviors ("frame switching") is in itself an efficient way to manage one's different cultural identities (Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996), and allows one to synchronize the self and the salient cultural group (Kawakami et al., 2012). Being sensitive to the social context and adapting to it in this manner does not necessarily imply fragmentation and maladjustment. In fact, work on BII has shown that identity integration is associated with *greater* culture-consistent adaptation when specific cultural identities are primed, and hence higher ability to adjust to the cultural context (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002). Reconciling the BII and the cultural chameleonism/fragmentation perspectives, the CDMSII holds that integration is characterized by simultaneously maintaining a subjective feeling of internal coherence between one's identities while also being able to behaviorally adjust to each cultural context in order to be socially effective.

It is the CDMSII's compartmentalization configuration that captures the sense of fragmentation and lack of internal coherence which is at the heart of the concept of cultural chameleonism. As a result, the compartmentalization items of the MULTIIS share conceptual similarities with the cultural chameleonism scale in that they both focus on the internal experience of identifying with each identity differently across contexts. However, like the BII scales, the cultural chameleonism scale only measures degree of integration (or lack of) as a single dimension - instead of examining multiple configurations - and it is only applicable to individuals who have two or three cultural identities; in contrast, the MULTIIS examines several unique

configurations and accounts for identification with more than two cultural groups, which is important given our increasingly complex cultural reality (Vertovec, 2007).

While the MULTIIS is unique in its focus, it also builds on these prior cultural identity integration scales. To account for this conceptual overlap and test the MULTIIS' convergent validity, we expect that the MULTIIS' integration subscale would be positively related to BII, while the compartmentalization subscale would be positively related to cultural chameleonism. Categorization should be negatively related to BII.

### **Cultural and Personal Identity Variables**

As a further test of the MULTIIS' convergent and divergent validity, we tested the subscales' association with mainstream constructs in the self and cultural psychology literatures.

**Self-concept clarity** denotes the degree to which one's personal self-concept is clearly defined, temporally stable, and consistent within itself (Campbell et al., 1996). At the collective level of analysis, **collective identity clarity** (see Usborne & Taylor, 2010) refers to the stability, consistency and certainty of one's beliefs about one's social group. Given that identity integration involves reconciling one's identities, we expect multicultural identity integration to relate to a clearer and temporally stable sense of one's cultural identities. On the other hand, compartmentalization should relate to lower identity clarity, given that this configuration involves highly context-bound and variable identification across situations.

To ensure that the MULTIIS's configurations are not biased towards an exclusively individualist or collectivist perspective (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991), **independent** and **interdependent self-construals** were also assessed. While an **independent self-construal** involves the perception of the individual as fundamentally separate relative to others, **interdependent self-construal** involves the perception of the individual as fundamentally connected to others (see Heine &



Buchtel, 2009; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1998). We expect that the identity configurations of the MULTIIS should not be related only to independent or interdependent self-construal. Finally, and given that integration and compartmentalization both involve endorsing multiple identities and the ability to adapt to different cultural contexts, we test if these two configurations are associated with the classic concept of **self-monitoring**. **Self-monitoring** is the observation of, and control over, one's own social behavior in order to be appropriate in a given social situation (see Snyder, 1974). We expect integration and compartmentalization to be positively associated with self-monitoring.

### **Well-Being**

Well-being has several facets, including the experience of life satisfaction, high levels of positive affect and low levels of negative affect (Diener, 1984; Diener, Sapyta & Suh, 1998; Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999), self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965; Leary et al., 1995), as well as optimal, self-congruent functioning across fundamental life domains (Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995). In addition to being desirable in and of itself, well-being has been shown to further benefit individuals by predicting greater adaptation to stress (Ong et al., 2006), spread of happiness to one's broader social network (Fowler & Christakis, 2008), and success in one's career, relationships and health (see Lyubomirsky et al., 2005 for a review). As a result, the present study focuses on this vital outcome in relation to one's multicultural identification. In this context, the identity integration construct is important to assess given its concrete implications for individual well-being; generally, being involved in and identifying with multiple cultural groups is associated with greater well-being and psychological adjustment (Chen, Benet-Martinez & Bond, 2008; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2010; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Binning et al., 2009; Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013; de la Sablonnière et al., 2010; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Torres and Rollock, 2011).



Over and above the benefits of identifying with multiple groups, the manner in which these multiple groups are endorsed also matters. The more individuals perceive that their cultural identities are consistent (Downie et al., 2004) and compatible (Cheng et al., 2008), the greater their well-being. The CDMSII also contends that the integration configuration would predict greater well-being. In their qualitative examination of the CDMSII among multicultural individuals, Yampolsky, Amiot, and de la Sablonnière (2013) examined how coherently categorized, compartmentalized, and integrated multiculturals constructed their own cultural life narratives. The authors found that multicultural individuals with integrated cultural identities demonstrated the highest degree of well-being compared to compartmentalized and categorized individuals, as indicated through narrative coherence (see Baerger & McAdams, 1999; Adler, Wagner, & McAdams, 2007). The current research investigates these associations on a larger, quantitative scale among multicultural Canadians. In the present research, we expect that only the integration subscale of the MULTIIS will predict well-being. These associations are expected to emerge above and beyond previous measures of bicultural identity integration (i.e., BII, cultural chameleonism). To ensure the stability and generalizability of these associations, different indicators of well-being were examined. These include self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), subjective well-being factors, such as positive affect and satisfaction with life (see Diener, 1984; Diener, Sapyta & Suh, 1998; Ryan & Deci, 2001), and psychological well-being factors, such as personal growth and environmental mastery (see Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995).

### **Overview of the Current Studies**

#### **Objectives**

The present research aims to develop and validate the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) to account for the categorization, compartmentalization, and integration configurations by drawing from the CDMSII. In addition to the

content of the measure, the MULTIIS was created for use with multicultural individuals, to be broadly applicable to any cultural group (rather than to specific cultural groups), to all types of cultural affiliations (e.g., national, ethnic, religious, linguistic, etc.), and to any number of cultural identities (rather than limited to two or three cultural affiliations). We expected that the MULTIIS would display adequate convergent validity with previous measures of cultural identity integration, as well as convergent and divergent validity with constructs from the cultural and personal identity literatures. Lastly, the current studies examined how the MULTIIS' configurations each predict well-being.

Study 1 was run with two subsamples. Study 1A focused on the MULTIIS measure and tested the structure of the first version of the MULTIIS; Study 1B examined the MULTIIS' convergence with previous measures of cultural identification, as well as the MULTIIS's ability to predict well-being using a subsample of participants from Study 1A who were administered additional scales to test the predicted relationships of the MULTIIS configurations with other cultural identity and well-being measures. The MULTIIS was refined in light of the results from Studies 1A and B, and a revised version of the scale was further tested in Study 2, which is also composed of two subsamples. The structure of the improved MULTIIS was tested in Study 2A, and its ability to predict well-being was again tested in Study 2B using a subsample of participants from Study 2A who were administered several well-being scales in addition to the MULTIIS. All the studies employed a correlational design.

### **Scale Construction and Piloting Phase**

This first version of the MULTIIS was constructed based on the criteria for each configuration proposed in the CDSMII. The measure was then subject to feedback from individuals who were interviewed about their multicultural identity experiences (see Yampolsky et al., 2013). These interviews allowed us to verify how well the measure could clearly and accurately capture multiculturals' identification

configurations. Following this, the same version of the MULTIIS was piloted to seventy-three college students. The means and standard deviations were satisfactory, and correlations showed that the subscales did not significantly overlap. The internal consistency for categorization ( $\alpha=.63$ ; 4 items) and compartmentalization ( $\alpha=.66$ ; 5 items) were acceptable, while integration demonstrated satisfactory internal consistency ( $\alpha=.85$ ; 11 items). The pilot participants understood and correctly interpreted the items, and indicated that the items were applicable to their own experiences. The scale was further improved by refining a few categorization and compartmentalization items based on participants' feedback and the preliminary findings.

### **Study 1A**

#### **Objectives**

Following this piloting phase, the objective of Study 1A was to test the factorial structure of the first version of the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale. We predicted that the items in the MULTIIS would reflect the model's underlying structure of categorization, compartmentalization, and integration, and that the subscales would demonstrate good internal consistency.

#### **Methods**

##### **Participants and Data Cleaning**

Given that the questionnaires were administered in English, the participants were selected from English speakers or bilinguals who speak English. A convenience sample of 412 participants were recruited from English-speaking colleges and universities in Montreal, including Dawson College, Marianopolis College, and Concordia University. Missing data was examined, and multiple imputation was conducted (Rubin, 1976; 1986; Shaefer & Graham, 2002) using 50 iterations. Five multivariate outliers were also removed. As a result, the final sample consisted of 407 multicultural Canadian students (285 female, 102 male, 2 unreported). The participants' cultural backgrounds were diverse, spanning hundreds of national,

linguistic, ethnic, and religious groups. Table 1 summarizes the overall breadth of birthplaces, language and heritage groups, and religious affiliations that each participant reported having, providing additional support for the need of a multicultural identity measure that is not restricted to a bicultural (i.e., two identities only) framework. The mean age of the sample was 19.73 years old ( $SD = 4.26$ ), ranging from 16 to 47. For those participants who were under the age of 17, informed consent was also obtained from their parents prior to testing through a parental consent form.

### **Procedure**

After obtaining informed consent, participants completed a questionnaire package. Following the recruitment procedures requested from each school, Dawson College students were tested during class, Concordia students completed the questionnaire individually in the lab, and Marianopolis students completed the questionnaire online, following online testing guidelines (see Reips, 2002; Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava & John, 2004).

### **Measures**

Participants' demographic information concerning their age, gender, program of study, most recent degree obtained, languages spoken, ancestries, and cultural identities were first obtained.

The **Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS)** assessed categorization, compartmentalization and integration of one's multiple cultural identities. Before administering the MULTIIS, we asked participants to list their cultural identities in order to orient and prepare participants to think about their cultural identities before asking them about the relationships between them. The introduction to the MULTIIS includes a brief definition of cultural identity and cultural context to ensure that all the participants consistently understood what was meant by cultural identity and context as they completed the scale: "Cultural identity refers to (1) the feeling of being a member of a particular cultural group, and (2) the



experience of aligning with values, beliefs, behaviors, etc. of a particular culture. Cultural context refers to an environment that contains values, beliefs and practices specific to a particular culture, and involves the company of members from that particular cultural group.”

The categorization subscale assessed the components of predominant and exclusive identification. The compartmentalization subscale measured the components of context-bound identification, as well as divergent and separate identification. The integration subscale assessed the components of similar, complementary and superordinate identification. The 20 items of this first version of the MULTIIS were refined from the pilot version based on the aforementioned feedback from the interview and pilot participants. The measure employs a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) to rate each item. Examples of items include “One cultural identity predominates in how I define myself” (categorization; 4 items), “Each of my cultural identities reflects a separate part of who I am” (compartmentalization; 5 items), and “My cultural identities complement each other” (integration; 11 items).

### Results and Discussion

All analyses, except for the CFA, were conducted using SPSS statistical software. The means and standard deviations were examined for the categorization ( $M = 3.95$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ), compartmentalization ( $M = 3.95$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) and integration ( $M = 4.55$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ) subscales. Histograms were first used to visually verify the nature of the distributions for each subscale (see Tabachnick and Fidell (2006) and Field (2005) for large samples recommendations). The findings for categorization (skewness:  $-.05$  ( $SE = .12$ ), kurtosis:  $-.07$  ( $SE = .24$ )), compartmentalization (skewness:  $-.14$  ( $SE = .12$ ), kurtosis:  $.26$  ( $SE = .24$ )) and integration (skewness:  $-.52$  ( $SE = .12$ ), kurtosis:  $.88$  ( $SE = .24$ )) were normally distributed. by checking the skewness and kurtosis statistics divided by their standard error, and by verifying that

the skewness statistic was within the range of -1 to +1 (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006; Field, 2005).

### **Reliability and Correlations**

Inter-item reliability was measured using Cronbach's alpha and correlations between the subscales (John & Benet-Martinez, 2000). The alpha for the integration subscale is satisfactory ( $\alpha = .87$ ), but those for categorization ( $\alpha = .58$ ) and compartmentalization ( $\alpha = .66$ ) are acceptable. Significant correlations emerged between the integration subscale and the categorization and compartmentalization subscales, suggesting that the subscales are relatively interdependent. Significant correlations were found between the categorization and compartmentalization subscales ( $r = .33, p < .01$ ), between the categorization and integration subscales ( $r = .12, p < .05$ ), and between the compartmentalization and integration subscales ( $r = .20, p < .01$ ), suggesting low to moderate overlap between these configurations as measured by this initial version of the MULTIIS.

### **Confirmatory Factor Analysis**

To assess construct validity of the MULTIIS and the goodness of fit between the data and the measurement model, the factorial structure of the scale was examined using confirmatory factorial analyses. There were three proposed latent variables representing the categorization, compartmentalization, and integration subscales of the MULTIIS. The observed variables were each of the MULTIIS subscale items.

The fit and the parameters of the measurement model were estimated using LISREL version 9.1 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2012). Given the correlations among the subscales, the model was run with assumed correlations between the latent variables of categorization, compartmentalization, and integration.

Four indicators were used to assess the goodness of fit of the measurement model: The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), the non-normed fit index (NNFI), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). The RMSEA estimates the discrepancy between the error of the

model and a perfectly fitting model: the lower the value, the better the fit. A value below .08 indicates reasonable fit (Byrne, 1998), while a value below .06 indicates a good fit (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). The NNFI evaluates the proposed model by comparing it with an independence model, or a model where there are no relationships between the variables. A high value, namely one greater than .95, indicates good fit. The CFI also compares the measurement model to an independent model, showing whether the proposed model improves upon the independent model. Values for the CFI range from 0 to 1; higher values are considered better, with .90 serving as the lower cut off for a good fit (Byrne, 1998; Hu & Bentler, 1995), but values greater than .95 are more desirable. Lastly, the SRMR is a measure of error in the model that represents the mean difference between the variances and covariances in the sample and the estimated variances and covariances in the population. The SRMR values range from 0 to 1, and a value below .8 is considered a good fit.

The resulting model ( $\chi^2 = 339.72$ ,  $df = 167$ ) presented satisfactory fit for three of the four indices: RMSEA = .072, CFI = .924, and Standardized RMR = .093. The fit for the NNFI was .948, just shy of the .95 mark. Figure 1 shows the coefficients between the observed and latent variables. We further consulted the chi square modification indices to explore any specification issues (see Kenny, 2011). The indices suggested connecting two of the integration items – those concerned with simultaneous identification – with a categorization item measuring exclusive identification. For the sake of maintaining clarity and distinctiveness of the subscales, these two integration items were dropped for the improved version of the MULTIIS in Study 2A.

## Summary

For Study 1A, we predicted that the analyses of the factorial structure of the MULTIIS would support the categorization, compartmentalization, and integration configuration subscales. The results from these analyses largely supported the three



subscale factorial structure, and the reliability was acceptable. At the same time, the categorization and compartmentalization subscales only yielded acceptable reliability values, which was likely due to the small number of items for each of these subscales. Consequently, we increased the number of items for both of these subscales, and clarified several items across all the subscales in Study 2A.

### **Study 1B**

#### **Objectives and Hypotheses**

The first objective for Study 1B was to demonstrate the convergent validity of the first version of the MULTIIS with already established measures of bicultural identity integration (i.e., BIIS2 and Cultural Chameleonism) and measures of cultural and personal identity (i.e., personal and collective clarity, self-monitoring). We predicted that the integration subscale will be positively related to the BIIS2, while the compartmentalization subscale will be positively related to cultural chameleonism, and the categorization subscale will be negatively related to the BIIS2. We also expected that compartmentalization would be negatively associated with personal and collective clarity and positively related with self-monitoring. We predicted that the three MULTIIS subscales would not be exclusively related to either interdependent or independent self-construal.

The second goal of Study 1B was to test the ability of the MULTIIS to predict different facets of well-being. It was expected that the MULTIIS integration subscale will be positively associated with measures of well-being, and will predict well-being above and beyond the previous measures of identity integration. We also predicted that the categorization and compartmentalization subscales would be negatively associated with well-being, and would negatively predict well-being over and above previous measures of identity integration.

#### **Methods**

The sample of this study is composed of the subset of participants ( $N=318$ ) out of the  $N=412$  participants from Study 1A. Study 1B participants were recruited from



the colleges and they were administered a longer questionnaire that included measures of cultural identification and well-being in addition to the MULTIIS. Missing data was again imputed using multiple imputations (50 iterations). A total of ten outliers were filtered out of the data set, including two univariate outliers and 8 multivariate outliers. The final sample consisted of 310 participants (153 females, 62 males, 2 unreported). The mean age of the sample was 18.49 years old ( $SD = 2.62$ ), ranging from 16 to 41. For those participants who were under the age of 17, informed consent was also obtained ahead of time from their parents through a parental consent form.

### **Procedure**

After obtaining informed consent, participants completed a questionnaire package consisting of several measures.

### **Measures**

Each questionnaire package included the same demographic questions and the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) as in Study 1A. In addition, several cultural identity, personal identity, and well-being measures, listed below, were administered.

**Degree of identification.** Participants first free-listed the cultures that they identified with, and then indicated their degree of identification with each identity using the Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self (IIS; Tropp & Wright, 2001). This measure involves using a single visual item displaying the relationship between two circles - one representing the individual, and the other representing their cultural group - and was rated on a scale ranging from 1 (completely separate circles) to 7 (completely overlapping circles). The IIS is based on the original work of Aron, Aron and Smollan's (1992) Inclusion of Other in the Self scale, where the degree of closeness between oneself and one's relationship partner is portrayed through the degree of overlap between two circles.

### **Cultural Identity Integration Measures**

**Bicultural Identity Integration Scale 2 (BII2;** Nguyen, Huynh & Benet-Martinez, 2009, adapted for all multicultural individuals). This 20-item scale ( $\alpha = .93$ ) measures the perceived compatibility of the individual's cultural identities in terms of the two dimensions purported by BII: harmony and similarity or blendedness between one's cultural identities. The 5-point Likert scale ranges from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). An example of a harmony item is "I feel like someone who is caught between two cultures (reversed)," and an example of a similarity item is "I do not blend my different cultures (reversed)."

**Cultural Chameleonism** (Downie et al., 2004; Downie, Mageau, Koestner & Liodden, 2006). This scale measures how consistent individuals' identities remain across cultural contexts using a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 9 (*Strongly agree*) to rate 15 statements ( $\alpha = .70$ ). An example of an item is "Within myself I feel that I've successfully combined the different cultures, however, in particular situations I feel forced to choose between them."

### **Cultural and Personal Identity Measures**

The **Identity Clarity Scale** (Campbell, Trapnell, Heine, Katz, Lavallee, & Lehman, 1996) measures the consistency, temporal stability and certainty of one's self-concept ( $\alpha = .89$ ), while the **Collective (Cultural) Identity Clarity Scale** (Usborne & Taylor 2010) measures the consistency, temporal stability and clarity of one's cultural groups ( $\alpha = .86$ ). Each questionnaire consists of 8 items with a 7-point Likert scale that ranges from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Examples of items: "In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am" and "My beliefs about my cultural group(s) seem to change very frequently" (reverse-coded).

The **Self-Construal Scale** (Singelis, 1994) is a 24-item measure that assesses interdependent and independent self-construal using a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Examples for interdependent and independent self-construal items, respectively: "It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group"; "My personal identity independent of others is very

important to me.” Satisfactory internal consistency was found for both the independent ( $\alpha = .70$ ) and interdependent ( $\alpha = .75$ ) self-construal subscales.

The **Revised Self-Monitoring Scale** (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984) is a 13-item scale that measures two components of self-monitoring: sensitivity to one’s surroundings ( $\alpha = .84$ ), and the ability to behaviorally self-present ( $\alpha = .51$ ). Each item is rated on a 6-point scale indicating how true the statement is for the participant, ranging from 0 (*Always false*) to 5 (*Always true*). Example items: “In conversations, I am sensitive to even the slightest change in the facial expression of the person I’m conversing with” (sensitivity), and “I have found that I can adjust my behavior to meet the requirements of any situation I find myself in” (self-presentation).

### **Well-Being Measures**

The **Positive and Negative Affect Schedule** (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) asks participants to rate how much they generally experience ten positive and ten negative emotions using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Extremely*). Some examples of emotions include “Strong,” “Distressed,” “Determined,” “Afraid,” “Hopeful,” and “Worried.” This scale demonstrated good internal consistency for both positive ( $\alpha = .87$ ) and negative affect ( $\alpha = .79$ ).

The **Satisfaction With Life Scale** (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) consists of five items measuring the extent to which participants are satisfied with their lives on the whole ( $\alpha = .87$ ). Each item is rated with a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). One of these items is “If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.”

The **Vitality Scale** (Ryan and Frederick, 1997) is a 7-item measure of psychological well-being that accounts for how much energy and liveliness one experiences in general ( $\alpha = .87$ ), and uses a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Do not agree at all*) to 7 (*Very strongly agree*). An example of an item is “I feel alert and awake.”



**The Psychological Well-Being Scale: Personal Growth Subscale** (Ryff & Keys, 1995) measures personal growth, which is one's proclivity to learn about one's self and surroundings with the aim of self-improvement. Fourteen items ( $\alpha = .84$ ) that are rated using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). One statement from this subscale is "With time, I have gained a lot of insight about life that has made me a stronger, more capable person."

**The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale** (Rosenberg, 1965) is a 10-item scale measuring the degree to which individuals evaluate themselves positively, using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). An illustrative item from this scale is "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

## Results and Discussion

### Convergent Validity

Convergent validity was verified by inspecting the correlations between the MULTIIS subscales and previously established measures of cultural identity integration and personal and cultural identification (see Table 2).

**Cultural identity integration.** As can be seen in Table 2, categorization was negatively related to the BIIS2, confirming that identifying exclusively with one cultural group is inversely related to perceiving compatibility between one's identities. As expected, integration was positively related to the BIIS2, supporting a conceptual overlap between these concepts. Both categorization and compartmentalization were positively related to cultural chameleonism. This suggests that both compartmentalization and categorization may be associated with a sense of context-bound identification, even though categorization involves one clearly dominant identity. Categorization was positively related to degree of identification with one identity, exclusively. The integration subscale was positively correlated with degree of identification for more than one cultural identity. Compartmentalization was not significantly related to degree of identification for any



cultural identity, suggesting that maintaining one's multiple identities as separate may not be conducive to defining oneself by any particular identity. The findings concerning pre-established identity integration measures indicated that the overlap between the MULTIIS, BII and cultural chameleonism concepts of integration were only moderate, and that these concepts cannot be equated to each other.

**Cultural and personal identity.** No significant correlations were found between personal identity clarity and the MULTIIS' configurations. Compartmentalization was negatively associated with clarity of one's cultural identities, indicating that compartmentalization may run counter to developing a clear, stable understanding of one's own cultural identities. Integration and categorization were positively related to both independent and interdependent self-construal, suggesting that these configurations are not exclusive to either self-construal. Compartmentalization was positively related to interdependent self-construal, which may suggest that the compartmentalization subscale may be related to a heightened awareness of one's cultural group boundaries rather than just their personal ones. Moreover, the context-bound nature of compartmentalization may be more sensitive to interdependence processes of shifting into one's social role to meet the demands of the situation (see Heine & Buchtel, 2009; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Integration, compartmentalization, and categorization were also positively associated with both the self-presentation and sensitivity subscales of self-monitoring. This suggests that having a cohesive relationship between one's cultural identities within the self is consistent with effective social adaptation, while having a context-bound multicultural identification may allow individuals to switch between their different cultural norms.

### **Well-Being**

We conducted correlations between the MULTIIS subscales and measures of well-being to test the predictive validity of the scale. Compartmentalization was not correlated with any of the well-being outcomes, while categorization was positively

related to satisfaction with life. Integration was positively related to vitality, positive affect, self-esteem, and the personal growth subscale of the PWB scale. At the same time, the BIIS2 was positively related to positive affect, satisfaction with life, self-esteem, and personal growth; the BIIS2 was also negatively related to negative affect. Cultural chameleonism was positively related to negative affect, and negatively related to positive affect, self-esteem, and personal growth.

To assess the incremental validity of the MULTIIS in predicting well-being relative to the BIIS2 and the cultural chameleonism scales, hierarchical linear regression analyses were conducted (see Table 3). Step 1 consisted of the BIIS2 and the cultural chameleonism scale. The BIIS2 positively predicted satisfaction with life, self-esteem and personal growth, and marginally positively predicted vitality. Cultural chameleonism positively predicted negative affect, and negatively predicted self-esteem and personal growth. Cultural chameleonism also marginally and negatively predicted positive affect and vitality.

In Step 2, the MULTIIS subscales were added as predictors. Once the MULTIIS subscales were added, the BIIS2 only positively predicted personal growth and satisfaction with life, and marginally predicted self-esteem. Cultural chameleonism remained a positive predictor of negative affect, and a negative predictor of self-esteem, vitality and personal growth. It also marginally and negatively predicted satisfaction with life. In terms of the MULTIIS, the integration subscale positively predicted positive affect, vitality, and personal growth. These results support the predictive validity of the integration subscale. Interestingly, the compartmentalization subscale emerged as a positive predictor of self-esteem in step 2. This may be a result of our use of a classic measure of self-esteem which only focused on how high or low one's self esteem is without examining the nature of one's self-esteem (Kernis, 2005). That compartmentalization was related to both negative outcomes while being positively related to self-esteem may be due to a closer relationship between compartmentalization and more fragile forms of self-

esteem, such as defensive high self-esteem (e.g., Jordan et al, 2003; Schneider & Turkat, 1975), where individuals outwardly show high self-enhancement while they internally experience low self-regard. Surprisingly, the categorization subscale positively predicted satisfaction with life in the regression analyses; the unexpected findings will be considered further in the general discussion section.

### **Summary**

Overall, these findings provide support for the convergent and divergent validity of the MULTIIS and confirm that the integration subscale of the MULTIIS predicts positive well-being outcomes above and beyond previous measures of cultural identity integration. Since Study 1B employed measures of well-being that had been developed within an independent cultural framework (e.g., self-esteem), Studies 2B sought to further test the MULTIIS' predictive validity by examining the relationship between the MULTIIS and well-being using additional culturally sensitive measures, namely, the Oxford Happiness Scale (Hills & Argyle, 2002) and a measure of social well-being created for this study.

### **Study 2A**

#### **Objectives and Hypotheses**

Given the reliability indicators and small number of items for the categorization and compartmentalization subscales in Study 1, the MULTIIS was improved in Study 2A by creating new items for these subscales. Certain items from all three subscales were also simplified and strengthened. Lastly, repetitive items and the integration items that were also loading onto the categorization subscale were dropped. The goal for Study 2A was to test the robustness of the improved second version of the MULTIIS, and to confirm the underlying factorial structure of the scale using confirmatory factorial analysis (CFA). We predicted that the items in the improved MULTIIS will reflect the model's underlying structure of categorization, compartmentalization, and integration, and will demonstrate good internal consistency. Moreover, confirmatory factorial analyses should support the latent



variables of categorization, compartmentalization, and integration, and the individual items will load onto their respective latent variables.

## Methods

### Participants

Multiculturals in Canada were recruited through word-of-mouth, social networks, as well as through universities and community centers. As in Study 1, recruitment was limited to English speaking and bilingual individuals who speak English since the questionnaire was administered in English. From the 357 people recruited, participants who did not complete the MULTIIS measure – which is central to the current analyses – were excluded from the dataset, leaving a convenience sample of 338 participants. Multiple imputation was employed to impute missing data using 50 iterations. A Total of six outliers were removed (5 multivariate, 1 univariate) were removed from this sample; the final sample consisted of 332 participants (97 male, 223 female). The age of the sample ranged from 18 to 73 years old ( $M = 26.90$ ,  $SD = 9.73$ ).

### Procedure

Participants completed the survey online. Online testing again followed the same formatting and procedures employed in Studies 1A and 1B.

### Measures

**Demographic information.** The participants' information concerning their age, gender, languages spoken, ancestries, cultural identities, program of study, most recent degree obtained and income were recorded.

The **Multicultural identity integration scale (MULTIIS)**. The improved 22-items of the MULTIIS can be seen in Table 4. The scale uses a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Exactly*) to rate the degree to which each item describes participants' experience. Many items were reworked and five new items were added; the phrasing of many items was further refined by revisiting the phrasing used by the interview participants in Yampolsky and colleagues (2013), who spontaneously



expressed their identity configuration experiences in their own words. Examples of revised or new items include “While I come from different cultures, only one culture defines me” (categorization; 5 items), “The differences between my cultural identities cannot be reconciled” (compartmentalization; 9 items), and “My cultural identities fit within a broader identity” (integration; 8 items). The complete iteration can be seen in Table 4.

### **Results and Discussion**

As in Study 1A, histograms were examined along with the skewness and kurtosis statistics for the categorization (skewness: .43 ( $SE = .13$ ), kurtosis: -.13 ( $SE = .27$ )), compartmentalization (skewness: .72 ( $SE = .13$ ), kurtosis: .14 ( $SE = .27$ )), and integration (skewness: -.25 ( $SE = .13$ ), kurtosis: -.30 ( $SE = .27$ )); subscales were within the acceptable range for normality (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). No transformations were applied. The descriptive statistics for the categorization ( $M = 3.14$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ), compartmentalization ( $M = 2.75$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ) and integration ( $M = 4.99$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ) subscales were verified.

### **Reliability and Correlations**

Satisfactory alphas were found for the improved categorization ( $\alpha = .75$ ), compartmentalization ( $\alpha = .82$ ) and integration ( $\alpha = .82$ ) subscales. Correlations revealed that categorization was significantly, positively associated with compartmentalization. Additionally, the integration subscale was significantly, negatively correlated with the compartmentalization subscale, and there was no significant correlation between categorization and integration, supporting the distinctiveness of these constructs from each other. These results supported the prediction that the MULTIIS would demonstrate good reliability.

### **Confirmatory Factorial Analyses**

Confirmatory factorial analyses were conducted to test the factorial structure of the revised MULTIIS and the goodness of fit between the data and the measurement model. As in Study 1A, the three proposed latent variables represented

the categorization, compartmentalization, and integration subscales of the MULTIIS. The observed variables were each of the MULTIIS subscale items. LISREL version 9.1 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2012) was used to estimate the fit and the parameters of the measurement model. After observing the moderate correlations among the subscales, the initial model was run with assumed correlations between the latent variables of categorization, compartmentalization, and integration.

The same four fit indices consulted in Study 1A were used to assess the goodness of fit for the measurement model: RMSEA, NNFI, CFI, and the SRMR. The fit indices for the initial model ( $\chi^2 = 766.33$ ,  $df = 206$ ,  $p < .001$ ) suggested that modifications were needed in order to obtain an acceptable fit (RMSEA = .091, CFI = .871, NNFI = .855, SRMR = .075). Consequently, the chi square modification indexes were consulted (Kenny, 2011; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). Using the guidelines discussed by Kenny (2011), the fit was improved by correlating the error terms from the observed variables within each subscale, exclusively; in this way, greater variance would be explained while still upholding the theoretical structure of the model's categorization, compartmentalization and integration subscales. As a result of this procedure, a total of 10 links between the error terms were included (see Figure 2), and the resulting model ( $\chi^2 = 436.48$ ,  $df = 196$ ,  $p < .001$ ) presented satisfactory fit indices: RMSEA = .054, CFI = .956, NNFI = .948, Standardized RMR = .063. Figure 2 shows the coefficients between the observed and latent variables. The difference in chi square test indicated that including the modifications significantly improved the overall fit of the model ( $\Delta df = 11$ ,  $\Delta \chi^2 = 332.55$ ,  $p < .005$ ).

During the modification process, we noted that the correlated errors that were added a posteriori based on the modification indices were between items that represented a component within each identity configuration. That is, items representing the components of predominant and exclusive identification were being respectively linked within the categorization latent variable; the same was true for the items from the divergent, separate, and context-bound components within the

compartmentalization latent variable, and the items from the similar, complementary and superordinate components within the integration latent variable. Consequently, a higher-order model was tested in line with Kenny (2011), who suggests that correlations between observed variables within a latent factor may in fact indicate the existence of higher-order factors. In this model, the components that compose each configuration were considered as latent variables that were themselves contributing to the larger latent variables of each identity configuration (see Figure 3). This higher-order model ( $\chi^2 = 459.68$ ,  $df = 198$ ,  $p < .001$ ) presented acceptable fit indices (RMSEA = .068, CFI = .930, NNFI = .918, Standardized RMR = .063) without needing to correlate the error terms, supporting the higher-order structure for the MULTIIS as the best fitting model. The difference in chi square test indicated that the higher order model presented a significantly better overall fit compared to the initial model ( $\Delta df = 8$ ,  $\Delta\chi^2 = 230.6$ ,  $p < .005$ ).

### **Summary**

The findings from confirmatory factorial analyses supported the three-factor structure of the MULTIIS. The deeper examination of the underlying links within each of the MULTIIS' subscales using confirmatory factorial analyses revealed a second-order structure to the subscales, where the components that characterize each configuration formed their own latent variables within the three subscales.

## **Study 2B**

### **Objectives and Hypotheses**

The objective for Study 2B was to further test the predictive ability of the revised MULTIIS to a variety of measures of well-being, including measures for subjective and psychological well-being, and measures that were more broadly applicable across cultural groups. We expected that the MULTIIS integration subscale would positively predict well-being, and that the compartmentalization and categorization subscales would negatively predict well-being.

### **Method**



## Participants

The sample for Study 2B consisted of a subset of 261 participants out of the  $N = 338$  participants from Study 2A. Participants for Study 2B were members of community centers, university students, and members of the general population. They were administered a longer questionnaire that included measures of well-being as well as the revised version of the MULTIIS. As with Studies 1A, 1B and 2A, multiple imputation was employed to impute missing data; a total of 50 iterations were run. From the 261 participants who began the questionnaire, a total of seven outliers, including 2 univariate outliers and 5 multivariate outliers were filtered out, leaving a final sample of 254 participants (181 female, 71 male). The mean age of the sample was 28.63 years old ( $SD = 9.72$ ), ranging from 18 to 73.

## Measures

The same revised version of the **Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS)** that was employed in Study 2A was used for Study 2B.

### Well-being Measures

As in Study 1, the **Positive and Negative Affect Schedule** ( $\alpha = .89$ ; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), the **Satisfaction with Life Scale** ( $\alpha = .89$ ; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), and the **Psychological Well-Being Scale: Personal Growth Subscale** ( $\alpha = .87$ ; Ryff & Keys, 1995) were used. In addition, several other well-being measures were administered:

The **Psychological Well-Being Scale: Environmental Mastery Subscale** (Ryff & Keys, 1995) is a 14-item subscale that measures the extent to which an individual is competent in managing their own life and their surroundings using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). One statement from this subscale is "I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life" ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

The **Oxford Happiness Questionnaire** (Hills & Argyle, 2002) is a 29-item measure that includes several indicators of both psychological and subjective well-



being, including being satisfied with life, perceiving oneself positively, seeing life as rewarding and beautiful, and being mentally alert and effective. The items are rated using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). This scale in particular was chosen since it has been validated across different cultures. An example of an item is “I do not have particularly happy memories of the past” (reversed) ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

**The Interdependent well-being scale:** Since many well-being measures have a Western, individual-centric focus (see Diener, Wirtz, Biswas-Diener, Tov, Kim-Prieto, Choi, & Oishi, 2009), an additional scale was created for this study to account for a more interdependent focus on individuals’ social functioning. One of the important elements of psychological well-being is one’s positive relationships with others since it reflects one’s fundamental belonging needs (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). This scale was constructed in the spirit of psychological well-being – or optimal functioning – by accounting for a more cooperative take on well-being and optimal social functioning as emphasized in interdependent contexts (e.g., Kitayama, Markus & Kurokawa, 2000; Heine & Buchtel, 2009). As a result, this 6-item interdependent well-being scale was constructed to account for well-being that reflects one’s social success by serving family and friends. Each item is rated on a 6-point Likert ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 6 (*Strongly agree*). An example of an item is “I am attentive to the needs of my family” ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

### Results and Discussion

The predictive validity of the revised MULTIIS to the measures of well-being was examined using correlations and regressions. As can be seen in Table 5, correlations demonstrated that the categorization subscale was significantly negatively related to environmental mastery and personal growth, and positively related to negative affect. Compartmentalization was positively related to negative affect. Moreover, compartmentalization was negatively correlated with positive affect and personal growth. Finally, the integration subscale was positively related to all

well-being measures, including positive affect, satisfaction with life, the Oxford Happiness Scale, environmental mastery, personal growth, and interdependent well-being. Furthermore, the integration subscale was negatively related to negative affect.

Linear regression analyses were conducted to further determine the unique predictive effect of each subscale to the well-being measures. As can be seen in Table 6, the categorization subscale was not a significant predictor of any of the well-being measures when all of the MULTIIS subscales were included as predictors, and only marginally and negatively predicted personal growth. The compartmentalization subscale positively predicted negative affect, and negatively predicted personal growth. Compartmentalization also marginally and negatively predicted environmental mastery and the Oxford Happiness Scale. The integration subscale positively predicted positive affect, satisfaction with life, the Oxford Happiness Scale, environmental mastery, personal growth, and interdependent well-being. Integration also negatively predicted negative affect.

### **Summary**

These findings indicate that the MULTIIS subscales each predict different well-being outcomes, notably that integration positively predicts well-being. Compartmentalization negatively predicts well-being; that the reworked subscale was unambiguously negatively related to well-being demonstrates how these findings presented a clearer pattern after the improvement of the MULTIIS. Categorization did not predict well-being; while it was negatively associated with well-being outcomes in the correlations, this relationship was not significant in the regression analyses.

### **General Discussion**

Our diverse societies require a more fine-grained understanding and measurement of the multicultural identity experiences of its members. Recent literature assessed how biculturals integrate their different identities (e.g., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Downie et al., 2004); however these prior scales focused solely on degree of identity integration with two identities without assessing a greater

range of identification patterns with multiple cultures. The current research therefore created the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale, which builds on and integrates theoretical literature on self and cultural identity. In line with the CDSMII, the MULTIIS captures several patterns for configuring multiple identities within one's self, namely categorized, compartmentalized and integrated multicultural identity configurations. In addition to accounting for multiple identity configurations, the MULTIIS can account for any combination of multiple cultural affiliations, thereby improving on prior bicultural identity scales which are limited to only two or three.

The MULTIIS was validated by examining the scale's reliability and validity. Moreover, we examined its convergence with previously established bicultural identity integration scales, and with relevant personal and cultural identification scales. The findings from Studies 1A and 2A support the robustness and integrity of this measure, with analyses demonstrating satisfactory validity and reliability. In terms of the structure of the MULTIIS, the findings from the confirmatory factor analyses (Studies 1A and 2A) supported the three factors of categorization, compartmentalization and integration. Since the CFA was conducted on the complete sample, rather than cross-validating, CFAs should be conducted on future independent samples to see how the MULTIIS's factorial structure replicates. The results from Study 1B showed that the MULTIIS converged sufficiently with the previous measures of Bicultural Identity Integration and Cultural Chameleonism, as well as with the other measures of personal and cultural identity, such as cultural identity clarity, and self-monitoring. These results demonstrated that the MULTIIS is consistent with the previous measures while making its own unique contribution to the multicultural identification domain. These findings also support the application of the CDSMII as a unifying framework for assessing the greater range of multiple identity strategies that multiculturals can experience.

Finally, the present research examined the predictive validity of the MULTIIS to different measures of well-being, and the unique relationship between each identity



configuration and well-being. The measure demonstrated its ability to predict multiple facets of well-being above and beyond previous measures of cultural identity integration. Results from Studies 1B and 2B show that identity integration consistently predicted greater well-being. Furthermore, compartmentalization negatively predicted well-being (e.g., greater negative affect), and to lower levels of positive outcomes, such as personal growth. These results are consistent with previous findings demonstrating that compartmentalization fares worse than identity integration (e.g., Yampolsky et al., 2013).

The present research also showed that categorization was inconsistently associated with well-being outcomes; in Study 1B, categorization was positively related to life satisfaction, and in Study 2B, it was positively associated with negative affect, and negatively associated with personal growth and environmental mastery. In a similar manner, Yampolsky and colleagues (2013) found that categorization was not correlated with well-being while compartmentalization was negatively correlated with well-being. While these findings are inconsistent with the previous literature on multiple versus singular cultural identification (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013), they demonstrate that having one predominant cultural identity is not necessarily the most beneficial configuration, but it is also not the least adaptive as it does not consistently predict lower well-being. Categorization also appears to be less detrimental relative to compartmentalizing one's multiple identities; yet when pursuing a simplified multicultural identification, one loses out on the potential benefits that come with successfully navigating and integrating one's multiple cultural identities.

Interestingly, the MULTIIS' integration subscale was positively related to personal growth while both categorization and compartmentalization were negatively related to personal growth. These findings may point to a relationship between one's multicultural identity configurations and the potential for self-expansion (e.g., Aron & Aron, 1996; Aron, Norman & Aron, 1998; Aron, Aron & Norman, 2001). Self-



expansion posits that we include close others and relevant ingroups in our self-definition (Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, Mashek, Lewandowski, Wright & Aron, 2004). Including our ingroups – and in this case, our cultural groups – in ourselves provides us with relevant information and resources to function in these groups. Similarly, the acculturation literature suggests that those who affiliate with both their heritage and mainstream groups have access to additional sources of information and support due to their numerous cultural memberships (Berry, 1997). The present research findings also suggest that multiculturals are privy to multiple cultural ingroups, and therefore to multiple cultural resources.

Including one's ingroups in the self also indicates a chronic connectedness with these ingroups (Tropp & Wright, 2001); our findings indicated that while integration was related to multiple cultural identification, compartmentalization was unrelated to cultural identification, and categorization was related to identification with only one cultural group. Consequently, future research could examine whether integrating one's multiple cultural identities may expand oneself by increasing one's cultural resources, relations, and perspectives through the process of negotiating and internalizing multiple cultural identities. On the other hand, categorization and compartmentalization may limit this capacity for self-expansion since these configurations do not necessarily involve resolving the complexities in one's multicultural identification.

Across North America, our superdiverse societies are undertaking the complex process of managing our cultural multiplicity, raising concerns about how to successfully balance multiple cultural affiliations both socially and subjectively (Kymlicka, 2002; Uitermark, Rossi, & Van Houtum, 2005; Vertovec, 1996; 2007). When taken together, our findings show that, contrary to principles of multiculturalism (Berry, 1977; Vertovec 2010), simply having more than one cultural identity may not be sufficient to reap the benefits of belonging to multiple cultural groups. Rather, successful negotiation and integration of one's multiple cultural

identities is key to attaining well-being. Though our findings suggest that integration is the more adaptive of the three configurations, the antecedents of these configurations need to be understood before promoting integration without understanding the contextual factors that precede it. Future research on these multicultural identity configurations should therefore examine important elements in one's social environment to identify which social experiences give rise to these different configurations in the first place. Certain factors may facilitate the integration process. Social support, for instance, has been linked to other relevant outcomes such as cultural competence (Oppedal, Røysamb & Sam, 2004) and adjustment (Zhang & Goodson, 2011). Furthermore, higher bicultural identity integration is related to more culturally diverse social networks (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007). Multiculturals may feel accepted by supportive others from their different cultural groups, enabling them to reconcile their multiple cultural identities. Other factors, like discrimination, may inhibit one's ability to reconcile one's different identities, given that discrimination is associated with lower identification with multiple groups (Grant, 2007; Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992) and with greater inter-identity conflict (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Grant, 2007). Understanding the potential facilitating and inhibiting impact of these social influences may contribute to a more successful navigation of one's multicultural identities. Better understanding of the predictors of identity integration could be accompanied by social interventions designed to support multiculturals in their identity negotiation process, as well as public education programs designed to decrease discrimination and increase awareness of multicultural experiences. In this way, the present research can serve as a step towards improving the social climate and quality of life for multiculturals at the community level. The great diversity of our current North American contexts means that more multicultural individuals will need to negotiate their different identities to render this social diversity intra-individually functional. Going over and above previous work on multicultural

identity, the present research showed that beyond having multiple cultural identities, the multiplicity of configurations for these multiple cultural identities predicts important and divergent individual outcomes. To capture this, we developed a scale which accounts for the unique configurations of one's multiple cultural identities. Our studies confirm that each configuration is differentially related to well-being outcomes, such that integration is consistently associated with more positive well-being outcomes, while compartmentalization is related to negative well-being outcomes. Future research probing further into the complex relationships between multicultural identity configurations and one's internal and environmental influences will deepen our understanding of how one's social and cultural experiences specifically shape our identity configuration processes.



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*Table 1. Cultural demographics of participants in studies 1 and 2*

	Study 1A	Study 1B	Study 2A	Study 2B
<i>Participants' birthplace by continent</i>				
North America	392	333	309	249
Latin America	15	10	11	9
Europe	37	24	43	36
Middle East	18	10	19	18
Africa	4	2	6	5
Asia	46	33	37	31
<i>Mother's birthplace by continent</i>				
North America	267	228	189	143
Latin America	26	17	34	30
Europe	85	64	66	53
Middle East	35	26	31	30
Africa	5	4	14	12
Asia	71	52	71	63
<i>Father's birthplace by continent</i>				
North America	240	212	180	132
Latin America	22	16	31	26
Europe	105	76	77	67
Middle East	43	33	32	30
Africa	8	6	10	8
Asia	64	46	77	68
<i>First language by continent</i>				
North America	342	339	312	249
Latin America	1	1	0	0
Europe	41	39	39	30
Middle East	6	6	11	10
Africa	0	0	4	4
Asia	31	29	51	47
<i>Second language by continent</i>				
North America	354	346	345	276
Latin America	0	0	1	1
Europe	28	29	26	21
Middle East	5	5	7	6
Africa	0	0	5	5
Asia	4	4	25	22
<i>Religion</i>				
Abrahamic (Judaism, Christianity, Islam)	221	175	196	162
East Asian (Buddhism, Taoism, Shinto, etc.)	18	8	43	39
South Asian (Hinduism, Sikhism, Jainism, etc.)	0	0	1	1
Other (Shamanism, Agnostic, Pagan, etc.)	11	10	20	19
Atheist	4	3	0	0

Mean # of heritage cultures per participant	1.07 (1.06)	.99 (1.08)	1.25 (1.18)	1.15 (1.19)
Mean # of languages per participant	2.05 (1.67)	2.41 (1.55)	2.57 (1.57)	2.47 (1.64)
Mean # of religions per participant	.43 (.52)	.39 (.52)	.66 (.79)	.66 (.81)







Table 3. Study 1B: Regression Coefficients and Levels of Significance for the BII2, Cultural Chameleonism, and the MULTIS Subscales to Well-Being.

	Well-being					
	PA	NA	Vitality	Satisfaction with life	Self-esteem	Personal Growth
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Independent variables						
Step 1:						
BII2	.13*	-.08	.10 <sup>†</sup>	.17**	.13*	.21***
Cultural chameleonism	-.11 <sup>†</sup>	.27***	-.10 <sup>†</sup>	-.07	-.26***	-.17**
Step 2:						
BII2	.07	-.07	.06	.18**	.11 <sup>†</sup>	.15**
Cultural chameleonism	-.12*	.28***	-.13*	-.15 <sup>†</sup>	-.30***	-.16**
MULTIIS: Categorization	.03	-.06	.03	.15*	.03	.02
MULTIIS: Compartmentalization	.04	.02	.07	.06	.12*	-.04
MULTIIS: Integration	.32***	-.06	.21***	.07	.09	.31***
Total R <sup>2</sup> for step 2	.15***	.10	.08***	.08**	.13*	.19***

Note. N=310. <sup>†</sup>p=.05, .07, .08, .09, \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.



Table 4. List of original, revised, new and dropped items from Study 1A to Study 2A, organized by subscale

Subscale	Study 1A Original	Revised for Study 2A	New for Study 2A
<i>Categorization</i>			
<i>Exclusive identification</i>	While I have different cultures, only one culture defines me.		
	I feel that I am excluding some of my cultural identities because I identify so much with one culture.	I identify exclusively with one culture	
<i>Predominant identification</i>	I identify with one culture more than any other.		
	One cultural identity predominates in how I define myself.		One of my cultures is more relevant in defining who I am than the others
<i>Compartmentalization</i>			
<i>Separate identification</i>	Each of my cultural identities fits separately within my self. ( <i>dropped</i> )		
	Each of my cultural identities reflects a separate part of who I am.	I keep my cultural identities separate from each other.	
	Each of my cultural identities is a separate part of who I am.		
<i>Context-bound identification</i>	I only experience each of my cultural identities in their own context.		
	When I'm in one cultural context, I mostly identify with that particular culture.	I only really experience my different cultures if I identify with them one at a time	
		I identify with one of my cultures at a time	
		When I am in a particular cultural context, I feel that I should not show my other cultural identities	
		When I'm in one cultural context, I feel like I should play down my other cultural identities	

<i>Divergent identification</i>		The differences between my cultural identities contradict each other
		The differences between my cultural identities cannot be reconciled
<i>Integration</i>		
<i>Similar identification</i>	I can draw similarities between my cultural identities.	
	My cultural identities are interconnected.	My cultural identities are connected.
<i>Complementary identification</i>	My cultural identities complement each other.	
	The differences between my cultural identities complete each other.	
	The differences between my identities are an advantage. <i>(dropped)</i>	
<i>Superordinate identification</i>	My cultural identities are all part of a broader group identity.	
	My cultural identities are nested within a larger group identity.	My cultural identities fit within a broader identity
	I identify with a larger group that encompasses my different cultural identities.	I have an identity that includes all my different cultural identities
	My cultural identities are linked through one or more overarching identity(ies).	My cultural identities are part of a more global identity
<i>Simultaneous identification</i>	I can identify with more than one culture at the same time. <i>(dropped)</i>	
	Even when I am in one specific cultural context, I can identify with my other cultural groups. <i>(dropped)</i>	
<i>Note: Items in bold denote those that comprise the final version of the MULTIS.</i>		

Table 5. Study 2B: Correlations Between the *MULTIIS* Subscales and Well-Being

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. <i>MULTIIS</i> : Categorization	3.13	1.21	-								
2. <i>MULTIIS</i> : Compartmentalization	2.75	1.11	.32**	-							
3. <i>MULTIIS</i> : Integration	5.02	1.08	-.16**	-.33**	-						
4. <i>PANAS</i> : Positive affect	4.88	.85	.003	-.14*	.36**	-					
5. <i>PANAS</i> : Negative affect	2.77	.95	.15*	.33**	-.24**	-.29**	-				
6. Satisfaction with life	4.65	1.30	.04	-.08	.19**	.57**	-.37**	-			
7. Oxford happiness scale	4.35	.69	-.07	-.23**	.37**	.80**	-.53**	.74**	-		
8. <i>PWB</i> : environmental mastery	4.16	.78	-.14*	-.25**	.36**	.66**	-.51**	.67**	.79**	-	
9. <i>PWB</i> : personal growth	5.18	.54	-.20**	-.30**	.30**	.46**	-.16*	.27**	.44**	.43**	-
10. Interdependent well-being	5.25	.60	-.02	-.17**	.27**	.53**	-.36**	.42**	.60**	.50**	.39**

Note.  $N = 254$ , \* =  $p < .05$  level, \*\* =  $p < .01$  (2-tailed). *PANAS* = Positive and Negative Affect Schedule; *PWB* = Psychological well-being.





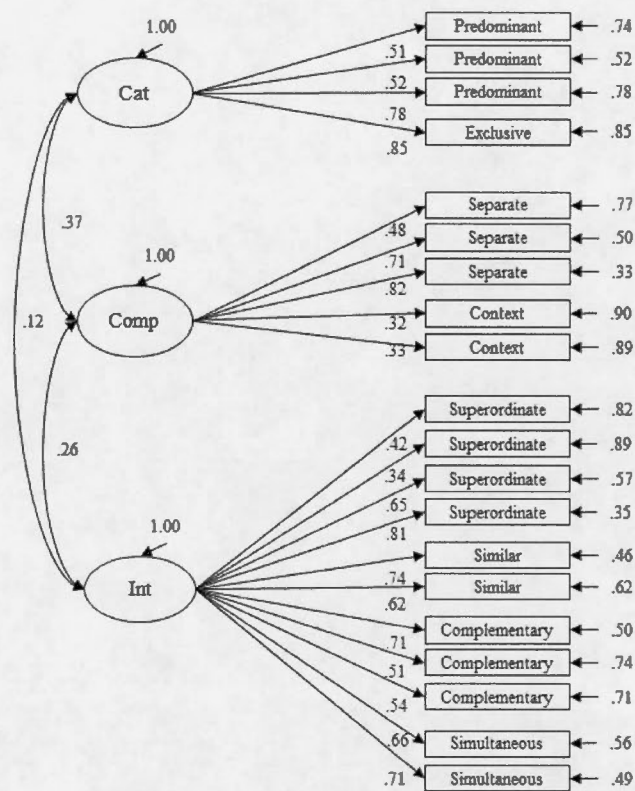


Figure 1. Study 1A: Factorial Structure for the first version of the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale. Cat = Categorization, Comp = Compartmentalization, Int = Integration.

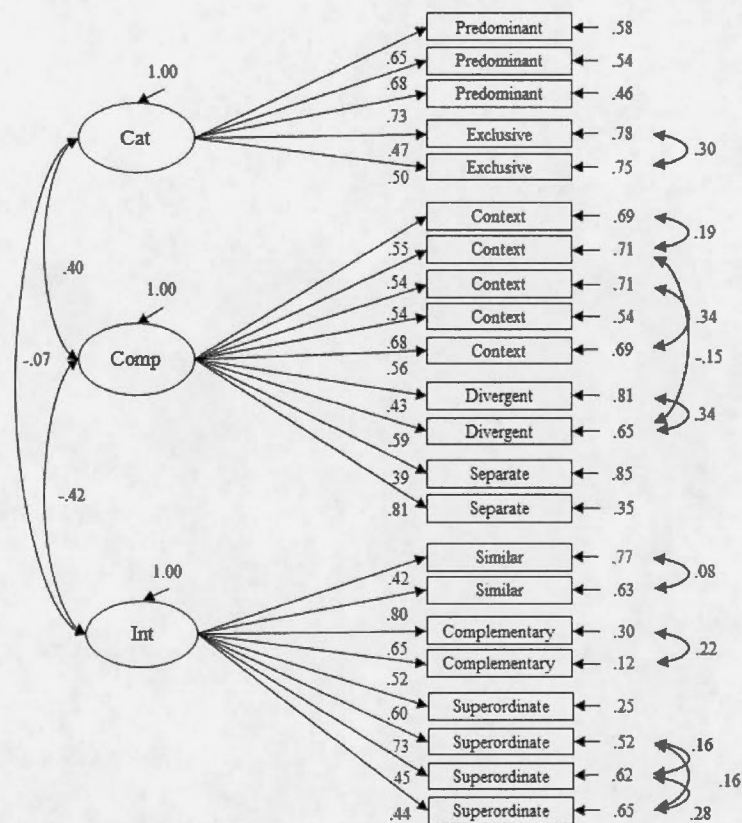


Figure 2. Study 2A: Initially Hypothesized Model of Factorial Structure with modifications for the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale. Cat = Categorization, Comp = Compartmentalization, Int = Integration.



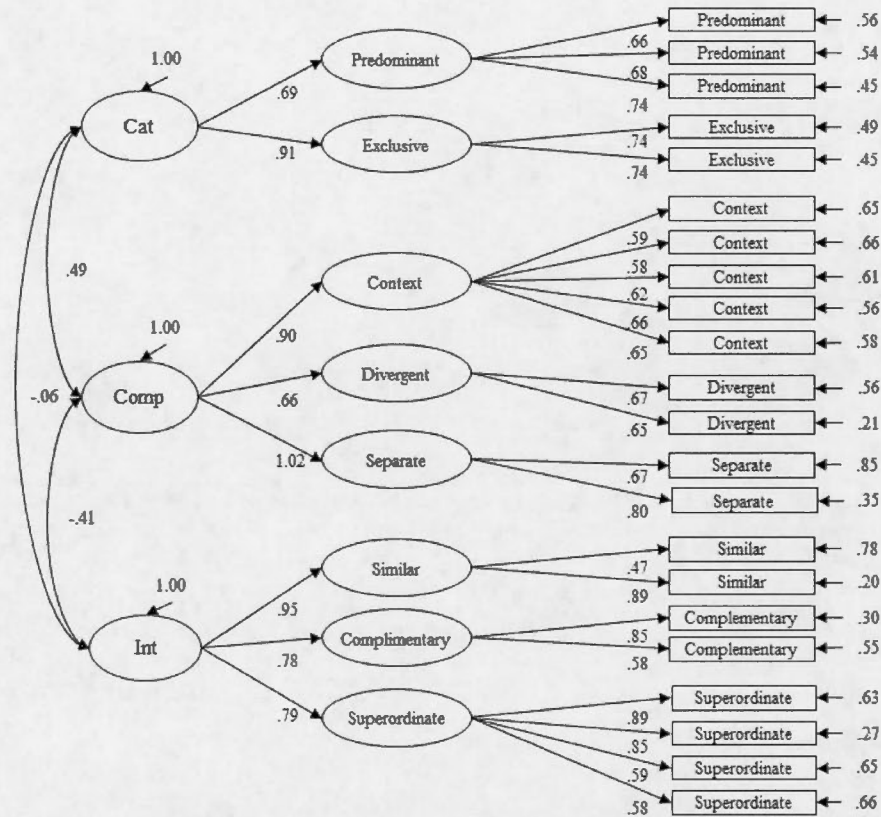


Figure 3. Study 2A: Second-Order Model of Factorial Structure for the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale. Cat = Categorization, Comp = Compartmentalization, Int = Integration.

CHAPITRE IV

ARTICLE III





Discrimination and Multicultural Identity Configurations:  
The Mediating Role of Stress

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### **Abstract**

The present research examines perceived discrimination as a predictor of how multicultural individuals negotiate and configure their different cultural identities within the self. We focused on three multicultural identity configurations: having one predominant identity (categorization), compartmentalizing one's different identities, and integrating one's identities. Since discrimination is related to intraindividual discordance and is stressful, we examined the mediating role of stress in the associations between discrimination and the identity configurations. Mediation analyses revealed that greater discrimination predicted compartmentalization through greater stress, while lower discrimination predicted greater identity integration through lower stress. Categorization was not predicted by discrimination or by stress. Stress appears to have a depleting role that hampers multiculturals' capacity to reconcile their identities into a cohesive whole.

**Keywords:** Multicultural identity, identity integration, identity configurations, discrimination, stress

### **Discrimination and Multicultural Identity Configurations: The Mediating Role of Stress**

Globalization and migration have made multicultural encounters more common (see Vertovec, 2007), with the number of immigrants, second and third generation individuals, and people with mixed ethnocultural heritages on the rise in Canada and the United States (Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011; Jantzen, 2009). Multicultural individuals are often faced with navigating different sets of norms, expectations, relationships and practices stemming from their diverse cultural groups, which inevitably impacts their cultural identification experiences (Giguère, Lalonde, Lou, 2010). Both recent research and multicultural policies now promote identification with multiple cultural groups and respect for people's diverse cultural backgrounds (e.g., Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2006; Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown & Zagefka, 2014). Research has yet to understand exactly how one comes to identify with their multiple cultural groups, and how one organizes and configures their different identities within the self-concept. Given that navigating multiple cultural memberships can be challenging and even stressful (Giguère et al., 2010; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), understanding these processes is essential to capture how this cultural diversity is negotiated by multicultural individuals in order to integrate their multiple cultural identities.

To understand these processes, the current research focuses on discrimination as a social factor that predicts the level of stress and the resulting types of identity configurations that multiculturals employ to organize their multiple cultural identities. Prior research has identified factors that inhibit the reconciliation and integration of one's multiple cultural identities, including the experience of social isolation, disapproval, rejection, and discrimination (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2006; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). However, research has yet to directly investigate how discrimination predicts a broader range of multicultural identity configurations, and the mechanism through which this takes place. The present



research fills these gaps in the literature by being the first to examine discrimination's predictive relationship to several multicultural identity configurations: categorization, compartmentalization and integration. Moreover, the current study directly investigates how stress – as an indicator of one's available resources in dealing with external demands – mediates these associations.

### **Multicultural Identity Configurations**

To account for how one's multiple cultural identities are negotiated and organized within the self, this research examines three multicultural identity configurations proposed in the cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration (CDSMII; Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007). Grounded in the developmental, social cognition, and self literatures (Markus & Wurf, 1987; Roccas & Brewer, 2002), the CDSMII offers an integrative framework to examine how social and cultural identities are cognitively organized within one's self concept. The model builds on and goes beyond prior work in the cultural identity literature (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) by proposing four distinct identity configurations that are applicable to all multicultural individuals: anticipatory categorization, categorization, compartmentalization, and integration. The current study accounts for the latter three configurations.

**Anticipatory categorization** occurs when one has yet to join a new (e.g., cultural) group, and involves projecting oneself into this future group and foreseeing similarities between oneself and one's future group. We do not examine this configuration in the present research since we examine the experiences of multicultural individuals who already belong to multiple cultural groups.

**Categorization** involves identifying with one cultural identity above all others, and excluding other identities from the self. For instance, a Montrealer who has lived in Sweden for the last 15 years may see herself as being truly Montrealer but not Swedish.

In **compartmentalization**, one keeps one's identities separate from each other, and the differences between them are seen as divergent. Moreover, one's identities are context-bound, such that the person only identifies with each of their cultures depending on the context. For example, a Mexican-American may see herself as being both Mexican and American, but she sees her identities as separate, opposing parts of herself. She also feels that she is Mexican only when she is with other Mexican friends, and American when she is with her American friends.

**Integration** is characterized by linking one's multiple cultural identities together within the self. This is achieved by perceiving similarities and complementing differences between one's groups. Moreover, one may identify with a higher-order, superordinate identity that includes one's different cultural identities, thereby bridging them together. To illustrate, a Mongolian-Canadian integrates her Mongolian and Canadian cultural identities together by perceiving the common values that these groups share, and by seeing the differences between them as enriching who she is and how she sees the world.

Importantly, how individuals organize and configure their multiple identities is associated with different outcomes. Specifically, integrating one's identities – such that they are compatible and simultaneously important to the self – predicts greater adjustment and social effectiveness (e.g., Huynh, Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2011; Thomas, Brannen & Garcia, 2010), and greater well-being and intrapersonal coherence (Chen, Benet-Martinez & Bond, 2008; Cheng et al., 2008; Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013; Yampolsky, Amiot & de la Sablonnière, 2013; submitted). In contrast, compartmentalizing one's identities is associated with lower well-being, despite the fact that this configuration involves identifying with multiple groups. On the other hand, categorization is not consistently predictive of well-being outcomes (Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013; Yampolsky, Amiot & de la Sablonnière, submitted).

While our understanding of the outcomes of each identity configuration is increasing, we know relatively little about the social predictors of each identity configuration. Understanding the predictors of these configurations and how we can promote the endorsement of one configuration over another at the social level is important in light of these configurations' concrete outcomes. To better understand what fuels multicultural identity integration, compartmentalization or categorization, the current study investigates discrimination as a predictor of the different multicultural identity configurations.

### **Discrimination and Multicultural Identity Configurations**

Discrimination is the process of behaviorally elevating one's ingroup and denigrating or disadvantaging outgroups to benefit one's own group (Bourhis, Sachdev, & Gagnon, 1994). Perceived ethnocultural discrimination refers to the individual's experience of discriminatory behavior against themselves, or against other members of their cultural group (Nguyen & Huynh, 2003). Discrimination is manifested through insults and aggression (Noh & Kaspar, 2003), identity denial (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), institutional unfairness (Robinson, 2005), and negative media representations (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008).

Discrimination is a relatively common experience for multicultural individuals. Immigrants and second-generation individuals often encounter unfair treatment in their host country (Berry et al., 2006; Zayas, 2001). Arthur and colleagues (2009) found that a third of children with at least one immigrant parent experienced discrimination. Second-generation visible and religious minority groups are often subject to public scrutiny (Potvin, 2009) and negative media representations (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2013). Individuals with mixed heritages encounter social disapproval and discrimination (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995), and may be subject to marginalization (Brown, 1990).

In terms of identity, being discriminated against can lead members of disadvantaged minorities to feel rejected and to negatively evaluate their own



devalued cultural memberships (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Tajfel, 1978). This feeling that one's cultural groups and identities are unequally socially valued can produce an imbalance at the level of the multicultural individual's own self-concept, and may predict feelings of disparity and strain between one's multiple cultural identities. In fact, the more first (Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992) and second-generation Canadians (Grant, 2007) experience discrimination from the mainstream cultural group, the more likely they are to report dis-identifying with this mainstream group. Being stigmatized against may promote the strategic concealment of one's identities, depending on the context (Clair, Beatty, & Maclean, 2005). Recalling negative multiracial experiences also predicts greater perceptions of conflict and separateness between one's multiple racial identities (Cheng & Lee, 2009; 2013), suggesting some form of fragmentation of one's identities following these social experiences. Furthermore, Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) found that discrimination, among other components of acculturative stress, is associated with lower bicultural identity integration; more specifically, the more participants encountered discrimination, the more they reported distance and conflict between their identities.

Research has not yet investigated how exactly discrimination predicts individuals' *configurations* of their different identities within the self. The current research examines how the experience of this social inequality is reflected in the relationships between one's own cultural identities. Specifically, we expect that experiencing discrimination is likely to predict increased categorization of one's multiple cultural identities since discrimination tends to promote social withdrawal from the group that discriminates against the self. Experiencing discrimination should also predict the compartmentalization configuration, given that discrimination is related to greater perceived incompatibility between one's heritage and mainstream culture. Finally, because discrimination implies a devaluing of one social group relative to another – which may lead to an imbalance (rather than connectivity and

cohesion) within the self – perceived discrimination should predict to lower identity integration.

### **The Mediating Role of Stress**

Investigating multiculturals' stress levels as a mediator between discrimination and multicultural identity configurations helps to account for how the social experience of discrimination reverberates at the level of the individual self. Previous work has established that perceived discrimination leads to greater stress and lower adjustment (see Barnes & Lightsey, 2005; Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Sawyer, Major, Casad, Townsend, & Mendes, 2012). These associations were uncovered among both African-Americans (Brody et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 2003) and Latino-Americans (Dawson, 2009). We therefore expect that perceived discrimination will positively predict stress for multiculturals in general.

The stress generated by discrimination is then likely to predict how individuals configure their own multiple cultural identities. Stress represents the depleting demands that one experiences as a result of encountering threatening events (see Folkman & Lazarus, 1986; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Stressful encounters drain our resources, leaving less energy to dedicate to more challenging or difficult tasks (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven & Tice, 1998; Hagger, Wood, Stiff & Chatzisarantis, 2010), like reconciling and integrating multiple cultural identities. Thus far, the links between overall stress experience and the different multicultural identity configurations have not been investigated. Theoretically, Amiot and colleagues (2007) propose in the CDSMII that stressful events that represent a social threat and tax the individual should in turn inhibit the integration of multiple cultural identities within the self. Empirically, Roccas and Brewer (2002) demonstrated that stress decreases social identity complexity, which involves simultaneously differentiating and integrating one's multiple ingroup identities; in addition, stress increases contextualizing and isolating one's social

identities. Using a mediation model, here we specifically anticipated that stress will positively predict the configurations of categorization and compartmentalization, and will negatively predict integration.

### **Objectives and Hypotheses**

The present research aims to examine discrimination as a social factor that predicts one's multicultural identity configurations. Given discrimination's stressful nature, and the fact that stress should inhibit the integration of multiple identities in the self, we also test if stress mediates this relationship. Specifically, we first anticipated that discrimination would positively predict the configurations of categorization and compartmentalization, and negatively predict the integration configuration. We also expected that discrimination would positively predict stress, and that stress, in turn, would positively predict categorization and compartmentalization, but negatively predict integration. Lastly, we expected that stress would mediate the relationships between discrimination and the multicultural identity configurations.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Participants were recruited from Montreal community centers and universities, as well as from the general population in order to complete the online questionnaire. The questionnaire was part of a larger survey that took approximately 90 minutes to complete. From the 262 participants who began the questionnaire, those who had completed less than 75% of the remaining measures were removed from the sample, leaving 205 participants. A total of 11 outliers (8 univariate, 3 multivariate) were also filtered out from this sample, leaving a final sample of 194 participants (135 female, 59 male). The mean age of the sample was 29.21 years old, ranging from 18 to 68.

### **Measures**



**Demographic information.** Participants' age, gender, languages, ancestries, cultural identities, program of study, most recent degree obtained and income were all recorded.

The **Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS; Yampolsky, Amiot & de la Sablonnière, submitted)**. This 22-item measure assesses the categorization, compartmentalization, and integration multicultural identity configurations proposed in the CDSMII. The scale uses a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) to rate each item. Examples of items include "I identify exclusively with one culture" (categorization; 5 items;  $\alpha = .74$ ), "The differences between my cultural identities contradict each other" (compartmentalization; 9 items;  $\alpha = .82$ ), and "My cultural identities complement each other" (integration; 8 items;  $\alpha = .83$ ).

**Perceived discrimination experience** was assessed with a scale constructed to cover a broad range of discriminatory experiences encountered by multicultural individuals identified in prior research, such as derogation, identity denial, exoticism, negative media representations and institutional inequality (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008; Robinson, 2005; Yancey, 2003). The items of the scale were also developed based on accounts of discrimination spontaneously voiced by multicultural interview participants in Yampolsky, Amiot and de la Sablonnière's (2013) research. Participants rated 13 items measuring the degree to which they experienced discrimination instances using a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*constantly*). Examples of a few items include "I have been bullied based on my culture(s)," "I have been told that I am not really a member of my culture(s)," "I have been called "exotic," and "My culture(s) have been depicted negatively in the mass media." In addition to normality, the discrimination measure presented an adequate mean and standard deviation, confirming its applicability among multicultural individuals ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ). The measure also had satisfactory internal consistency ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

The **Perceived Stress Questionnaire** (Levenstein et al. 1993) is a 30-item instrument that assesses the extent to which individuals subjectively experience stress symptoms in their lives in general ( $\alpha = .93$ ) using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Almost never*) to 4 (*Usually*). An example of an item from this scale is "You feel tense."

## Results

Before proceeding to the main analyses, we first verified the normality of each variable. Following this, correlations between discrimination, stress, and the multicultural identity configurations were observed. Finally, mediation analyses were performed using Baron and Kenny's (1986) procedures, followed by bootstrapping analyses (Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

### Preliminary Analyses

Normality was examined through histograms along with the skewness and kurtosis statistics. The distributions for the categorization, compartmentalization, and integration subscales, as well as the discrimination and stress scales were within the acceptable range for normality (Tabachnik & Fidel, 2007). Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics for each of the variables. Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics for each of the variables.

### Correlations

Table 2 presents the correlations between discrimination, stress, and each multicultural identity configuration. Discrimination was positively correlated with stress. Compartmentalization was positively correlated with both discrimination and stress. Integration was negatively correlated with stress, and categorization bore no significant correlations with either stress or discrimination.

### Mediation

A regression analysis first confirmed the expected link between discrimination and stress. A series of hierarchical linear regressions were then conducted to test the relationships between discrimination, stress and the multicultural identity

configurations. Step 1 included the discrimination measure to examine its role in predicting each identity configuration. As can be seen in Figure 1, discrimination positively predicted compartmentalization. To pre-test mediation using the method recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986), the stress mediator was added in Step 2; including stress in Step 2 explained a significant additional amount of variance in both compartmentalization and integration, and discrimination became a non-significant predictor. The regression findings provide preliminary support for stress as a mediator between discrimination and compartmentalization.

While the direct relationship between discrimination and integration was not significant, we found the expected negative relationship between discrimination and integration. Moreover, whereas the conventional Baron and Kenny method is appropriate for mediation models where the independent, mediating and dependent variables have the same sign (i.e., positive *or* negative), we expected a mediation model where discrimination and stress would be positively related to compartmentalization but negatively related to integration (i.e., positive *and* negative; see MacKinnon, Krull & Lockwood, 2000; Shrout & Bolger, 2002). As a result, further probing was warranted, and bootstrapping analyses were therefore conducted to estimate the mediation of stress to both compartmentalization and integration. Using Preacher and Hayes' (2008) method, the indirect effects of discrimination on compartmentalization and on integration, respectively, were computed from unstandardized regression weights with 5000 bootstrap resamples. The findings revealed a significant indirect effect of discrimination to compartmentalization through greater stress ( $IE = .05$ ,  $SE = .02$ , 95% confidence interval [CI] = [.02, .11]); greater discrimination predicted greater stress, which, in turn, predicted greater compartmentalization. Additionally, we found a significant indirect effect of discrimination to integration through lower stress ( $IE = -.07$ ,  $SE = .03$ , 95% confidence interval [CI] = [-.15, -.03]); lower discrimination predicted lower stress, which predicted greater integration. These findings provide support for the mediating



role of stress in the relationship between discrimination and compartmentalization, as well as in the relationship between discrimination and integration.

### Discussion

In addition to increasing the representation of multiculturals' identity experiences in the literature, the current research aimed to better understand how the social experience of discrimination is reflected by how multicultural individuals organize and configure their multiple cultural identities. By doing so, the current study extends beyond an examination of discrimination's relationship to a single identity to focus on how discrimination predicts the very *relationship* between one's identities, and how one configures these identities within the self in response to the experience of discrimination. It is also the first to directly examine how multiculturals' stress experience predicts multicultural identity configurations, and how stress mediates the relationship between discrimination and multicultural identity configurations.

Specifically, we predicted that discrimination would positively predict the configurations of compartmentalization and categorization, but negatively predict integration. Furthermore, we examined stress as a potential mediator of this relationship since discrimination represents a potent social threat to one's ability to reconcile and negotiate one's multiple cultural identities. Also, previous work in self and identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Amiot et al., 2007) contends that stress – as a depleting experience – should impact how individuals negotiate their identities and reconcile them within themselves. We therefore sought to examine stress as a mechanism through which the social experience of discrimination reverberates into the self to predict the different identity configurations.

Consistent with our predictions, we found a positive relationship between perceived discrimination and compartmentalization. Furthermore, bootstrap analyses confirmed that stress mediates the relationship between discrimination and compartmentalization: greater discrimination predicted greater stress, which predicted

greater compartmentalization. We did not find the expected significant direct negative relationship between discrimination and integration, but the mediation analyses confirmed that low stress mediated the relationship between lower discrimination and greater integration. Unexpectedly, no significant relationships were found between discrimination, stress, and categorization.

Our findings for the configurations of compartmentalization and integration align with prior work on multicultural identification, but they are also consistent with the ego-depletion literature (Baumeister et al., 1998; Hagger, Wood, Stiff, & Chatzisarantis 2010). According to the ego-depletion perspective, when one's resources are drained – in this case, through the experience of stress – then one has less energy to devote to subsequent effortful tasks – such as integrating one's different identities. Integrating one's multiple cultural identities together is effortful and complex (Amiot et al., 2007; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Discrimination appears to hinder one's capacity to engage in this process through its depleting nature, and instead predicts compartmentalization as an identity configuration that involves dealing with one's multiple identities by keeping them separated. On the other hand, when multicultural individuals perceive low levels of discrimination, their resources are not monopolized by having to deal with this social threat and instead they can allocate cognitive energy to integrate and reconcile their multiple cultural identities. Discrimination can therefore be seen as a detrimental experience that potentially obstructs multicultural individuals from successfully reconciling their identities and attaining the associated well-being benefits (see Yampolsky et al., 2013; submitted).

Unexpectedly, we found no relationship in the mediating pathway between discrimination, stress, and categorization, suggesting that the process of predominantly and exclusively identifying with one cultural group is not necessarily driven by experiencing negative treatment, or by the stress predicted by discrimination. Since categorization represents a cognitively simplified way to manage one's multiple social affiliations (as it involves identifying only with one

cultural group), it is possible that multicultural individuals choose this configuration strategy as a way of avoiding any potential conflict that could occur when attempting to maintain identification with multiple cultural groups. It is also possible that when these multiculturals do not encounter any discrimination and the threat to their identities that it brings, they also do not practice negotiating or resolving these conflicting identities, an experience which could have potentially led to the integration of their multiple identities (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006).

### **Future Directions**

Given that this study was run using a correlational, self-report questionnaire design, future work could adopt an experimental approach to test the expected causal relationships of discrimination to stress and to the identity configurations. Such research could manipulate whether or not multiculturals are subject to discrimination (see Cheryan & Monin, 2005, for an example of a discrimination induction) and examine the effect of this manipulation on one's identity configurations. Stress and ego depletion could also be respectively induced (e.g., Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven & Tice, 1998) to test their causal impact on how one configures one's multiple cultural identities.

Our findings showed no direct relationship between discrimination and integration, but that lower stress is related to integration, and mediates the relationship between discrimination and integration. This may in fact point to the presence of moderating variables that account for how multicultural individuals react to and interpret their discrimination experiences in order to mitigate the link between discrimination and stress. For instance, whether multiculturals reflect upon vs. ruminate about their discrimination experiences may explain when individuals with multicultural identities are able to integrate their identities despite facing discrimination (Burwell & Shirk, 2007; Regina, Lillian, Aliona & Jorge, 2013). Directly asking multiculturals about their discrimination experiences using a



qualitative approach would elucidate and clarify how these individuals cope with and respond to discrimination.

Additional moderators, such as perceived self-efficacy, may also change the relationship between experiencing discrimination and configuring one's cultural identities. For instance, encountering conflict between the norms stemming from one's multiple groups has been found to be depleting or energizing, depending on one's level of self-efficacy (McDonald, Fielding & Louis, 2013). McDonald and colleagues showed that when confronted with diverging norms stemming from one's different ingroups, the more people felt efficacious in resolving this normative conflict, the more they intended to engage in the normative behavior. On the other hand, less perceived effectiveness predicted lower behavioral intentions. In a similar sense, one's self-efficacy to reconcile and navigate one's identities in the face of conflict may also moderate discrimination's influence on the identity configurations via stress. That is, when multiculturals are faced with discrimination against one of their multiple groups, perceiving that they are efficacious in their efforts toward identity reconciliation may attenuate the negative impact of discrimination on their stress levels, resulting in more integrated cultural identities. Conversely, seeing any inter-identity reconciliation efforts as useless may amplify the negative impact of discrimination on stress, resulting in more compartmentalized cultural identities. Future research should therefore examine whether higher perceived self-efficacy to cope with discrimination predicts lower stress and greater inter-identity reconciliation and integration, while lower perceived self-efficacy predicts greater stress and greater compartmentalization.

The findings from this study also point to the potential for applied approaches to support multicultural individuals in their identity negotiation process. Large-scale social interventions that dismantle discrimination can be tested at institutional levels, like programs to reduce bullying, harassment and disparities in sectors such as education, occupation and healthcare (e.g., Griffith et al., 2007; Guerin, 2005). Such

programs may prevent multiculturals from feeling an inter-identity disparity as a result of one of their identities being devalued, and may consequently facilitate greater integration. Interventions can also take place at the level of one's individual stress experience by increasing one's overall resources and coping capacity (e.g., Grossman et al., 2004) and by addressing discrimination-related stress collectively (e.g., Mays, 1995). These interventions may prevent individual depletion and enable multicultural individuals to successfully negotiate and integrate their identities.

We found that multiculturals' experience of discrimination can be internalized at the level of their self-concept, predicting differences in how one configures one's multiple cultural identities. This research deepens our understanding of this relationship by showcasing the mediating role of stress. Our findings demonstrate that discrimination negatively predicts multiculturals' ability to successfully reconcile their identities through the experience of greater stress. Future studies could further examine these relationships experimentally and qualitatively. Investigations into the potential moderating variables can shed further light on these complex relationships, and contribute to greater fairness and solutions for multicultural individuals. Knowing discrimination's role in multicultural identification patterns ultimately expands our understanding of how discrimination can predict fragmented or cohesive identification outcomes, thereby enabling us to better appreciate and respond to the needs of multiculturals.

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*Table 1. Cultural demographics of participants*


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<i>Participants' birthplace by continent</i>	
North America	249
Latin America	9
Europe	36
Middle East	18
Africa	5
Asia	31
<i>Mother's birthplace by continent</i>	
North America	143
Latin America	30
Europe	53
Middle East	30
Africa	12
Asia	63
<i>Father's birthplace by continent</i>	
North America	132
Latin America	26
Europe	67
Middle East	30
Africa	8
Asia	68
<i>First language by continent</i>	
North America	249
Latin America	0
Europe	30
Middle East	10
Africa	4
Asia	47
<i>Second language by continent</i>	
North America	276
Latin America	1
Europe	21
Middle East	6
Africa	5
Asia	22
<i>Religion</i>	
Abrahamic (Judaism, Christianity, Islam)	162
East Asian (Buddhism, Taoism, Shinto, etc.)	39
South Asian (Hinduism, Sikhism, Jainism, etc.)	1
Other (Shamanism, Agnostic, Pagan, etc.)	19
Atheist	0
Mean # of heritage cultures per participant	1.15 (1.19)
Mean # of languages per participant	2.47 (1.64)
Mean # of religions per participant	.66 (.81)

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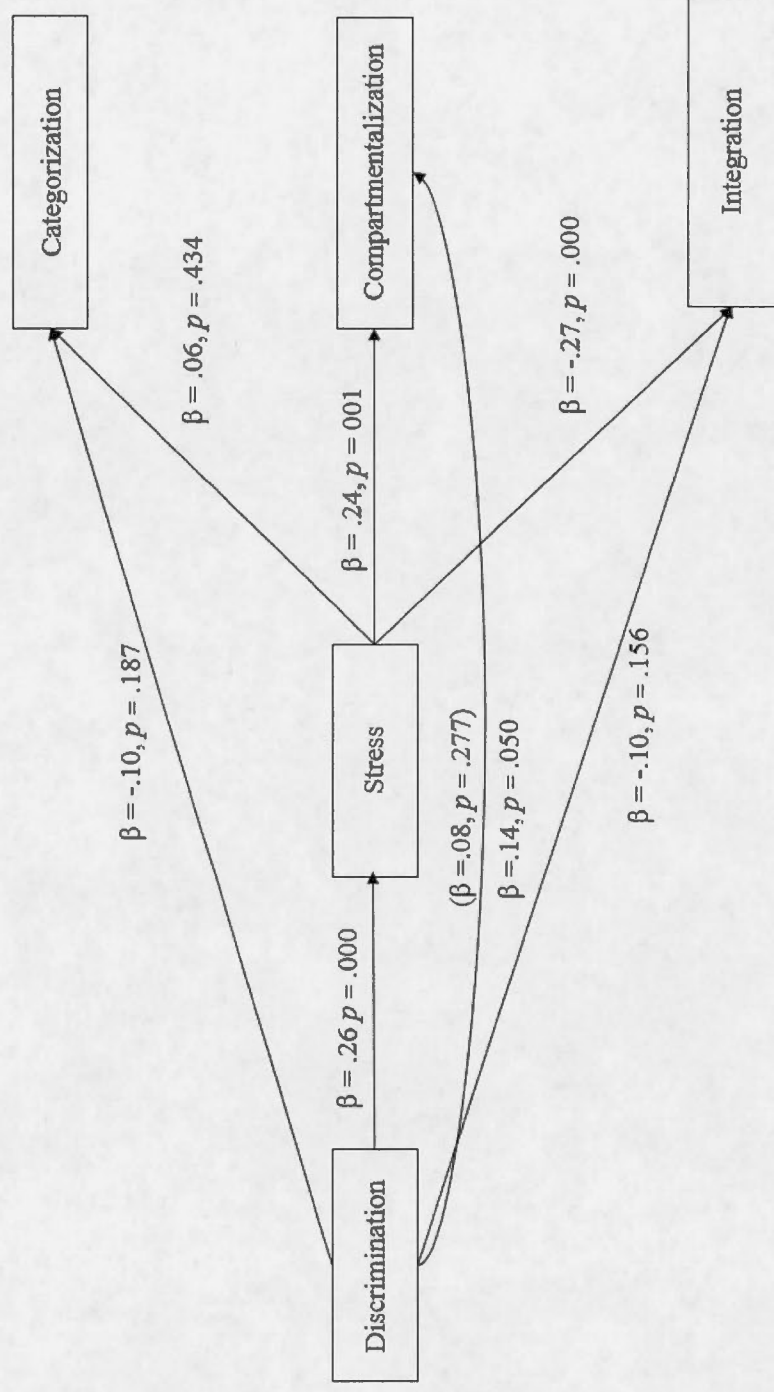


*Table 2. Correlations between discrimination, stress and the multicultural identity configurations.*

	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Discrimination	3.40	1.18	-			
2. Stress	2.19	.52	.26**	-		
3. Categorization	3.05	1.19	-.10	.03	-	
4. Compartmentalization	2.62	1.02	.14*	.26**	.24**	-
5. Integration	5.09	1.13	-.10	-.28**	-.18*	-.40**

*Note.*  $N=194$ . \* $p<.05$ ; \*\* $p<.01$ , \*\*\* $p<.001$ .

Figure 1. Mediation indicators for discrimination and stress to the multicultural identity configurations.



## CHAPITRE V

## CONCLUSION



This final chapter considers the contribution of the studies that comprise this thesis. The first section discusses the implications of these studies in terms of how this work has expanded our theoretical knowledge, as well as our understanding of the interplay between the multicultural identity configurations with well-being and the social antecedents. The second section addresses the limitations of this program of research. The third section suggests potential paths for future research which could help advance the area of multicultural identification and experience further.

## 5.1 Theoretical and methodological implications

### 5.1.1 Multicultural identification and identity configurations

The past decade has seen a rise in the body of research focusing on multicultural identification (e.g., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). The majority of studies examining the relationship between one's multiple cultural identities has focused primarily on two cultural identities (i.e., "biculturals"), on specific cultural groups (e.g., Chinese-Americans; Benet-Martinez, Lee & Leu, 2006), and on degree of integration alone (e.g., Downie et al., 2004; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). The studies in this thesis broadened the spectrum for capturing multicultural's identity experiences by accounting for individuals' multiple cultural identities, and by examining different identity patterns across multiculturals from a wide range of cultural backgrounds. Importantly, in applying the CDSMII, these thesis studies expanded our ability to capture a more comprehensive and complex range of multiculturals' identity experiences, and understand the uniqueness of each configuration. Moreover, the present research program demonstrated how consequential the three configurations of categorization, compartmentalization and

integration are for multiculturals in terms of how they predict individual outcomes and how they themselves are influenced by the social context.

### 5.1.2 Multicultural identity configurations and well-being

Prior studies examining multicultural identity and well-being focused on well-being differences in identifying with multiple identities versus with a single identity (see Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2006); these studies showed that having more than one identity tended to predict more well-being than identifying with only one group. Research probing further into the relationship between one's identities and well-being tended to focus solely on the degree to which one's identities were integrated or not (e.g., Downie et al., 2004) as predictive of well-being. This thesis demonstrated that how one configures one's identities is of great consequence to well-being beyond simply having more than one identity.

Furthermore, the examination of the configurations extended beyond solely focusing on degree of integration alone to investigating the unique contribution of the three identity configurations to well-being. We found across Studies 1 to 3 that integration consistently predicted the greatest well-being outcomes, which is consistent with the previous work on bicultural identity integration (Downie et al., 2004; Cheng et al., 2008). At the same time, compartmentalization negatively predicted well-being. Interestingly, categorization demonstrated a different pattern of well-being results, where identifying with one identity was not necessarily predictive of greater well-being, but it was not negatively related to well-being either. These findings suggest that the coherence within the self that is characteristic of multicultural identity integration is most adaptive. In keeping one's identities unresolved, separate, and context-bound, compartmentalization yields a more fragmented view of one's cultural identities, and predicts lower well-being outcomes. The unexpected findings that categorization predicted better well-being outcomes relative to compartmentalization

suggests that simplifying one's multicultural identification experience avoids the potential downfalls of ineffectively managing one's multiple cultural identities, as seems to be the case with compartmentalization. On the other hand, by simplifying one's identification, categorization avoids reaping the potential benefits of successfully resolving and connecting one's multiple cultural identities within the self, as seems to be the case for integration. The findings for these three configurations to well-being demonstrate how understanding the process of managing one's different cultural identities leads to adaptive and maladaptive individual outcomes in our multicultural populations.

### 5.1.3 Antecedents to multicultural identity configurations

Configuring one's identities occurs as a function of one's social context and the present thesis sought to dig deeper into the social antecedents involved in configuring one's identities. Study 4 specifically focused on the role of discrimination and stress as inhibitors to multicultural identity integration. Our findings revealed that stress significantly mediated the relationships between discrimination and compartmentalization and integration, where greater discrimination predicted greater stress, which predicted greater compartmentalization. On the other hand, lower discrimination predicted lower stress, which predicted greater integration. Unexpectedly, categorization was not related to either discrimination or stress. The depleting experience of discrimination drains the individuals' cognitive resources needed for the complex process of reconciling multiple identities, and results in the strategic configuration of one's identities into separate, context-bound entities. Lower discrimination means that one's cognitive resources remain available to devote to integrating the identities. Categorization's lack of a relationship to either discrimination or to stress may indicate that there is no threat and no reconciliation of one's identities, resulting in this simplified identification pattern. These results point



to the importance of our social context in hindering multiculturals' capacity to navigate their identities.

#### 5.1.4 Methodological contributions

This thesis used both qualitative and quantitative approaches to examine the topic of multicultural identity configurations and their outcomes. By conducting interviews, Study 1 was able to give voice to multiculturals, and capture their rich and nuanced experiences of their cultural identity configurations. By further testing the variables with a quantitative approach, this thesis was able to test the same relationships using large samples from the general population, with the exception of Study 2; this facilitated the generalizability of the results to multicultural populations. The samples for these thesis studies were also very diverse rather than being restricted to just one or two cultural groups, thereby allowing us to find patterns across all multiculturals, regardless of their specific cultural backgrounds. Finally, one of the major methodological contributions of this thesis was the creation and validation of the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale; this versatile and comprehensive instrument can now be used for future studies seeking to test multicultural identity configurations.

#### 5.2 Research Limitations

While the present studies contributed to the psychology of multicultural individuals within their social context, the four studies presented in this thesis also had some methodological limitations. First, as a result of the correlational design employed by all four studies, causation cannot be inferred between the multicultural identity configurations and their well-being outcomes, or between the discrimination and stress predictors to the configurations. Second, all the studies relied on self-report

measures. Because of this, the data provided may be subject to response biases. Third, even though testing across multiculturals with numerous backgrounds was a strength of the thesis studies, it is also a limitation since we are unable to draw conclusions and make comparisons about multiculturals from specific cultural groups. Lastly, while the MULTIIS was validated over several studies, a test-retest of the measure was not conducted, and so temporal reliability has yet to be determined.

### 5.3 Future studies

In addressing multicultural identity configurations with their outcomes and antecedents, more questions arise that prompt deeper investigation into the topics studied in this thesis as well as examination into new avenues of research on multicultural identity configurations.

In terms of methodological approaches, experimental studies can be conducted to determine the causal relationship between multicultural identity configurations and their well-being outcomes; this can be achieved by priming the different identity configurations (Mok & Morris, 2011). The causal relationship between discrimination, stress, and the configurations can also be tested in laboratory studies where discrimination and stress can be manipulated (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Baumeister et al., 1998). Study 1 found that multiculturals retrospectively recounted changes in their identity configurations as they moved from childhood to adolescence into adulthood. A longitudinal design can then be employed in future research to further examine how multicultural people become categorized, compartmentalized, and integrated through developmental phases and major events in one's lifespan.

While the present research focused on social inhibitors to integration, future studies can examine facilitating factors, such as social support. Social support has been shown to predict relevant outcomes such as cultural competence (Oppedal et al.,

2004). Previous work on social networks (Mok et al., 2007) found that greater diversity in one's social network is related to higher bicultural identity integration. It is possible that when multiculturals are supported by close others, they are enabled to reconcile their multiple cultural identities.

In terms of applied directions, interventions can be tested at the societal and individual level in order to help multiculturals successfully negotiate their cultural identities. Interventions for reducing discrimination in our social institutions can be tested, such as programs to reduce negative treatment and inequality (e.g., Griffith et al., 2007; Guerin, 2005). By preventing multiculturals from feeling an inter-identity imbalance due to discrimination, these interventions may facilitate integration. Stress interventions can also be tested, where one can increase one's resources (e.g., Grossman et al., 2004) and engage in collective coping (e.g., Mays, 1995). By preventing individual depletion, multicultural individuals may have greater resources available to adaptively configure their cultural identities.

#### 5.4 Concluding note

The research program for this thesis used qualitative and quantitative approaches to shed light on the importance of the intra-individual process of configuring one's multicultural identities, and how these different configurations predict distinctive well-being outcomes. The present research also accounted for the important social phenomenon of discrimination for multicultural individuals, and how one's stress experience reveals how multiculturals' experience of discrimination inhibits the ability to reconcile and integrate one's identities. The findings provide empirical support for the use of the CDSMII in the context of multicultural identification. This program of research showed that simply having more than one culture is not enough to reap adaptive consequences, but that successful navigation and configuration of one's identities is essential to attaining well-being. This thesis also draws our



attention to the importance of one's social environment in explaining our multicultural identity configurations, and how discrimination, specifically, can be particularly damaging and strenuous in terms of multiculturals' ability to successfully negotiate their identities. Future inquiries will pursue greater understanding and application of these findings to facilitate multiculturals' successful negotiation of their identities, and to further test the underlying processes using experimental methods.

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDY 1

**Multicultural identity integration: An interview study**

This study is being conducted by Maya A. Yampolsky, a Doctoral Student at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM), under the supervision of Dr. Catherine Amiot in the Department of Psychology. The goal of this study is to understand your experience as a person who has lived with more than one culture. Specifically, we wish to understand how you perceive your different cultural memberships and how you think and feel about these different cultural identities. We invite you to participate in an interview about your experience with biculturalism. Your participation should take approximately 40 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers, and you will not be evaluated on your responses.

This interview will be recorded with an electronic audio recorder. It is important for you to know that the information that you provide will be kept in complete confidentiality. Your name will not be attached to any file or other document. In addition, the data from this study will be stored in the primary researcher's (Maya Yampolsky) computer, which is password protected and is located in a locked office at UQÀM. Moreover, only the primary researcher will know whether or not you have participated in this study. The data will be kept for up to 5 years after publication. During this time, only the primary researcher and Dr. Catherine Amiot will have access to the data. The results obtained from the data will only be used towards publication in scientific journals. Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to answer questions that may cause discomfort. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences, and there are no costs to participate.

Your participation is important because it will advance overall knowledge of the bicultural experience. If you wish to receive a report containing the group results, please contact us at (514) 987-3000, extension 5006. You may also use this number to find out more about this study. This project has received approval from the Comité d'éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains in the Department of Psychology at UQÀM. If you wish to obtain information concerning the ethical responsibilities of the researchers, you can contact the research director of this project, Dr. Catherine Amiot: (514) 987-3000, extension 5006.

Thank you for your time and participation!



Maya Yampolsky, B.A., doctoral student

Catherine Amiot, Ph.D.

Département de psychologie

Université du Québec à Montréal

Tél. : 514-987-3000 poste 5006

Email : amiot.catherine@uqam.ca

mayajgd@yahoo.com

By signing this form, I, (print name), agree that  
I have read the above information, and I agree to participate in this study.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR STUDY 1

**Introduction questions: What are your cultural groups?**

Please describe each group

How long have you been a member of each group?

**Cultural narrative procedure**

*Introduction:*

This is an interview about the story of your cultural identification. In this interview, I'll ask you to play the role of a storyteller about your own life with your cultures. I'd like you to construct the story of your own past and present in relation to your cultures.

In telling us about your own multicultural story, you do not need to tell us everything that has ever happened to you. A story is selective. You may focus on a few key events or a few key themes that you believe to be important. Think about things in your own life which say something significant about your cultural identification(s) and how your cultural identification has developed up to this point in the present. Your story should tell me how you are similar to other people as well as how you are unique in terms of your cultural identification. I will guide you through the interview so that we can finish in good time. Do you have questions?

*Chapters:*

I would like you to begin by thinking about your cultural identification as a story. All stories have characters, scenes, scenarios, and so forth. All stories have high points and low points, good times and bad times, heroes and villains, and so on. A long story may even have chapters. In this interview, I would like you to think about the story of your cultural identities as having at least a few different chapters.

In this section of the interview, I would like you to describe for me each of the main chapters of your cultural identification story, from where you see it beginning until now. You may have as many or as few chapters as you like, but I would suggest dividing your story into at least 2 or 3 chapters and at most about 7. I would like you to give each chapter a name, and describe briefly the overall contents in each chapter. By overall content I mean the key theme or event that happened to you in each chapter. As a storyteller here, think of yourself as giving a brief summary for each chapter.

You may need time to think about what the main chapters in your story would be. If you want, you can write them down. When you're ready, we will go through each of your main chapters (so that you can tell me a little bit more about them).

**Multicultural identity integration questions:**

1. Categorization: Do you feel a greater preference for one culture over the other(s)?
2. Compartmentalization: Do you prefer to consider each cultural identity as being very distinct and separate from each other?
3. Compartmentalization: Do you feel very different from one cultural context to another? (or "depending on the cultural context")
4. Integration: Do you see a lot of common ground between your cultural identities?
5. Integration: Do you feel that you can identify yourself as a "global citizen," or "Asian," "North American," or some other broad category that would include the different cultural identities?



APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDY 2

## **Experiencing multiple cultures and identities: Statement of informed consent**

### **Introduction**

We invite you to participate in a study that explores culture and identity. The purpose of this form is to state your agreement to participate in a program of research being conducted by Maya A. Yampolsky, a Doctoral Student at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM), under the supervision of Dr. Catherine Amiot in the Department of Psychology.

Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to answer questions that may cause discomfort. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

### **Research Purpose**

The goal of this study is to validate a newly developed scale that will be used to account for your experience as a person who has lived with more than one culture. We wish to understand how you perceive your different cultural memberships and how you think and feel about these different cultural identities. More specifically, we are concerned with how you see your different cultural memberships, and how you think and feel about these different cultural identities.

### **Research Method/Procedure**

We invite you to complete different questionnaires that pertain to culture and identity. Your participation should take approximately 40 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers, and you will not be evaluated on your responses.

### **Risks/Benefits of Participation**

Please know that by participating, you will be helping to better understand and represent the experiences of multicultural individuals, and will contribute to greater knowledge in the field of cultural identity. In addition, you will experience first-hand what social science research can involve.

The questionnaires inquire about your personal experience with your cultures and cultural identities. Though not anticipated, if there are any questions which make you feel uncomfortable, you are under no obligation to complete said questions. In addition, you are free to withdraw from the study at any point in time without penalty.

### **Confidentiality**

It is important for you to know that the information that you provide will be kept in complete confidentiality and anonymity. Your name will not appear on any questionnaire or other document. Furthermore, neither Maya Yampolsky nor Dr. Catherine Amiot will know if you have participated in this study. In addition, the data from this study will be kept in a locked facility at UQÀM for up to 5 years after publication. Only the primary researcher (Maya Yampolsky) and Dr. Catherine Amiot will have access to the data.

### **Use of Data and Findings**

The results obtained from the group data will only be put towards publication in scientific journals. In addition, the data from this study will be kept in a locked facility at UQÀM for up to 5 years after publication.

#### **Participant Rights**

You do not have to answer questions that may cause discomfort. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you have any questions about this research, please contact Maya A. Yampolsky at [mayaigd@gmail.com](mailto:mayaigd@gmail.com), or Dr. Catherine Amiot at [amiot.catherine@uqam.qc.ca](mailto:amiot.catherine@uqam.qc.ca).

#### **Support Professional(s) External to project**

If at any time you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact Mme Muriel Binette, the ombudsman at the Université du Québec à Montréal, at (514) 987-3151, or by email at: [binette.muriel@uqam.ca](mailto:binette.muriel@uqam.ca).

#### **Statement of Consent**

I certify that I have read the above information, understand the risks, benefits, responsibilities and conditions of participation as outlined in this document, and freely consent to participate in the Experiencing multiple cultures and identities.

**Name:**

**Signature:**

**Date:**

**Primary researcher:**

**Signature:**

**Date:**

Maya A. Yampolsky

**(If participant is below the age of 18)**

#### **Parent/Guardian Statement of Consent**

I certify that I have read the above information, understand the risks, benefits, responsibilities and conditions of participation as outlined in this document, and freely give my consent for my child to participate in the Experiencing multiple cultures and identities.

**Name:**

**Signature:**

**Date:**

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDY 2



**Demographic information**Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Birth date: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_

Your current school: \_\_\_\_\_

Please indicate which degree you are currently pursuing:

☐ Cegep degree/Diplôme d'études collégiales ou technique (DEC)☐ Undergraduate degree (BA, BAC)☐ Masters degree (MA)☐ Doctorate (PhD, MD)☐ Not in school☐ Other (Please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

Program of study: \_\_\_\_\_ Year of study: \_\_\_\_\_

Are you full-time or part-time? \_\_\_\_\_

Please indicate your average overall grade (in %) \_\_\_\_\_

Length of time (in years) that you have lived in Canada: \_\_\_\_\_

Length of time (in years) that you have lived in Québec: \_\_\_\_\_

Your first language (s): \_\_\_\_\_

What other languages do you speak, if any? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you adhere to particular religious or spiritual beliefs?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

Religion(s) practiced by your immediate family: \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's country of origin: \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's first language: \_\_\_\_\_

Father's country of origin: \_\_\_\_\_

Father's first language: \_\_\_\_\_

Maternal Grandparents' country of origin: \_\_\_\_\_

Maternal Grandparents' first language: \_\_\_\_\_

Paternal Grandparents' country of origin: \_\_\_\_\_

Paternal Grandparents' first language: \_\_\_\_\_

Are your parents separated or divorced?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, for how long have they been separated or divorced? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any siblings?

If yes, please indicate how many brothers and/or sisters you have:

---

Relationship status (please check the one option that best applies to your current circumstances):

- ☐ Single (never married)
- ☐ Casual dating
- ☐ Committed relationship
- ☐ Engaged
- ☐ Married/Cohabiting
- ☐ Divorced/Separated
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

If in a relationship, please indicate the cultural background(s) of your significant other:

---

### Cultural affiliation sheet

In this section, we would like to know the cultures that influence you and/or that you feel connected to. Please read the following information to inform your entries. Each type of cultural affiliation will be described for you before you complete each section of the culture sheet. Know that the numbers assigned to each culture are not used as a ranking system, and are only used as a way to organize your answers. Some of the following sections may not apply to your situation. **Please do not repeat entries across the sections that follow.**

#### Section 1: Mainstream culture(s)

Refers to the predominant cultural environment in which you **currently** reside. For example, in Montreal, people generally refer to mainstream cultures like Quebecois/Quebeker, English- and French-Canadian, etc.

Please list your mainstream cultures:

How long you've been a member:

1.1

---

1.2

---

1.3

---

1.4

---

1.5

---

#### Section 2: Heritage culture(s)

Refers to the culture(s) into which you were born and/or raised and that have influenced your development and/or that of your family. It may be the culture of your birth, the culture in which you have been raised, or another culture that forms part of your background. Examples include Indian, Chinese, Jewish, Irish, Sikh, etc. If there are several such cultures, list those that have influenced you the most.

Please list your heritage culture(s):

How long you've been a member:

2.1

---

2.2

---

2.3

---

2.4

---

2.5

---

**Section 3: Hybrid/Fusion culture(s).**

People may endorse attitudes, values, and practices that incorporate elements of **two or more cultures** and which result in a new and unique hybrid culture, reflective of the prolonged contact between the groups in question. As such, individuals may identify themselves with a combined culture, such as Asian-Canadian, Polish-Canadian, Indo-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. This category may or may not apply to your situation

Please list your Hybrid culture(s):

How long you've been a member:

3.1 \_\_\_\_\_

3.2 \_\_\_\_\_

3.3 \_\_\_\_\_

3.4 \_\_\_\_\_

3.5 \_\_\_\_\_

**Section 4: Overarching/Superordinate culture(s)**

People may identify themselves using a broad, overarching (cultural) identity which encompasses the other, more specific identities. Examples include Asian, North American, European, etc. This category may or may not apply to your situation

Please list your Overarching culture(s):

How long you've been a member:

4.1 \_\_\_\_\_

4.2 \_\_\_\_\_

4.3 \_\_\_\_\_

4.4 \_\_\_\_\_

4.5 \_\_\_\_\_

Do you anticipate joining a new cultural group in the next few months?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_



This questionnaire looks at your cultural identities and cultural contexts. While completing this questionnaire, please keep the following information in mind:

**Cultural identity** is: (1) the feeling of being a member of a particular cultural group, and (2) the experience of aligning with the values, beliefs, behaviours, etc. of a particular culture.

**Cultural context** refers to an environment that contains the values, beliefs and practices specific to a particular culture, and involves the company of members from that particular cultural group.

We would like to know about how you think about your cultural identities. The following is a series of statements about how you see your different cultural identities. Please read each item carefully. Please rate how much you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale:

Strongly disagree	Slightly disagree	Moderately disagree	Neutral	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Before meeting with others from another culture, I tend to think that they will be similar to me.
2. I identify with one culture more than any other.
3. Each of my cultural identities fits separately within my self.
4. All of my cultural identities are important to who I am.
5. While I behave differently from one cultural context to another, overall I still feel that I am myself.
6. My cultural identities are nested within a larger group identity.
7. My various cultural identities have a great deal in common.
8. I tend to foresee similarities between my own personality and those of members from other cultures.
9. Some of my cultural identities are much less important to who I am.
10. I identify with a larger group that encompasses my different cultural identities.

11. I identify with just one culture since other cultural identities can be very different from each other.
12. My cultural identities are interconnected.
13. I have a multicultural identity.
14. One cultural identity predominates in how I define myself.
15. The differences between my identities enrich each other.
16. I anticipate that my unique personal traits or values are also found in other cultural groups.
17. My sense of self includes all of my cultural identities.
18. Each of my cultural identities is a separate part of who I am.
19. My cultural identities complement each other.
20. I tend to expect that the characteristics shared by members of other cultures will reflect my own personal traits.
21. I feel that I belong to my different cultural groups, even when I am in one particular cultural group.
22. I only experience each of my cultural identities in their own context.
23. When I'm in one cultural context, I mostly identify with that particular culture.
24. What I have learnt from my different cultural groups contributes to who I am.
25. Each of my cultural identities reflects a separate part of who I am.
26. I can identify with more than one culture at the same time.
27. When I am in a specific cultural context, I still think that my cultural identities have a lot in common.
28. I feel that I am excluding some of my cultural identities because I identify so much with one culture.
29. My cultural identities are all part of a broader group identity.

- 30. I tend to foresee similarities between my own culture(s) and other cultures.
- 31. I am comfortable with my other cultural identities, even while I am in one cultural context.
- 32. The differences between my identities are an advantage.
- 33. My cultural identities are interrelated.
- 34. It is difficult for me to identify with more than one of my cultures at the same time.
- 35. My cultural identities are linked through one or more overarching identity(ies).
- 36. Even when I am in one specific cultural context, I can identify with my other cultural groups.
- 37. I can draw similarities between my cultural identities.
- 38. The differences between my cultural identities complete each other.
- 39. The way I feel about my different cultural identities depends on the cultural context that I am in.
- 40. My cultural identities are important to who I have become.
- 41. I can adapt to different cultural contexts and know that I am still being myself.
- 42. I identify as a multicultural individual.
- 43. While I come from different cultures, only one culture defines me.

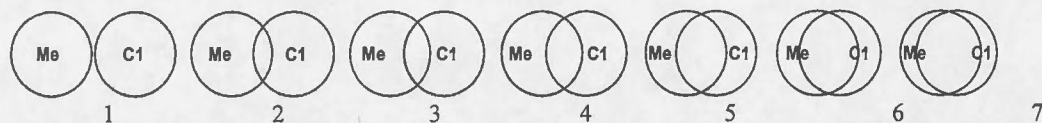


Referring again to your cultural affiliation information, please list up to 5 of your cultures that are important to you.

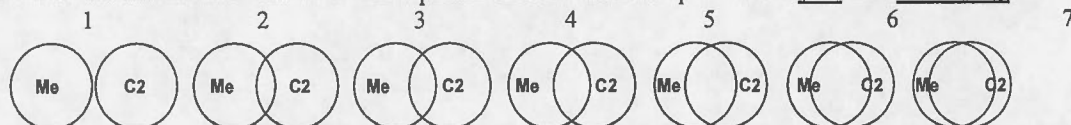
Culture 1: \_\_\_\_\_, Culture 2: \_\_\_\_\_, Culture 3: \_\_\_\_\_,

Culture 4: \_\_\_\_\_, Culture 5: \_\_\_\_\_

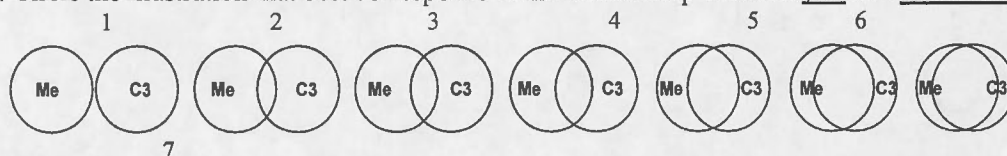
1. Circle the illustration that best corresponds to the relationship between **you** and **Culture 1**.



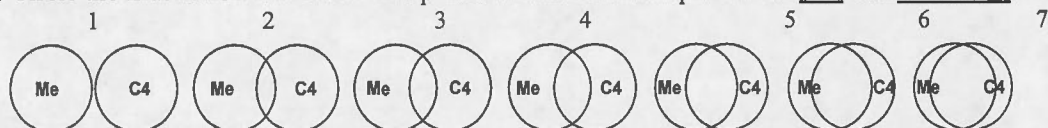
2. Circle the illustration that best corresponds to the relationship between you and **Culture 2**.



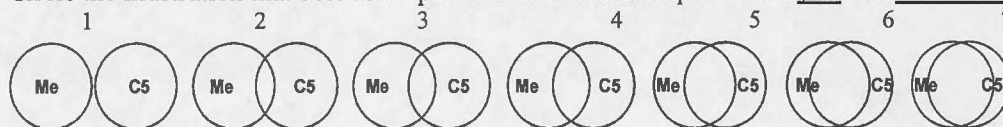
3. Circle the illustration that best corresponds to the relationship between **you** and **Culture 3**.



4. Circle the illustration that best corresponds to the relationship between **you** and **Culture 4**.



5. Circle the illustration that best corresponds to the relationship between you and **Culture 5**.





Using the scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by writing the appropriate number on the line next to that item.

Strongly disagree							Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

1. My beliefs about myself often conflict with one another.
2. On one day I might have an opinion of myself and on another day I might have a different opinion.
3. I spend a lot of time wondering about what kind of person I really am.
4. Sometimes I feel that I am not really the person that I appear to be.
5. Sometimes I think I know other people better than I know myself.
6. My beliefs about myself seem to change very frequently.
7. If I were asked to describe my personality, my description might end up being different from one day to another day.
8. In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am.

Using the same scale, we would like you to think of your **cultural groups** and respond to the following statements on the basis of how you feel about these groups.

Strongly disagree							Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

1. My beliefs about my cultural groups often conflict with one another.
2. On one day I might have an opinion of my cultural groups and on another day I might have a different opinion.
3. I spend a lot of time wondering about what kind of groups my cultural groups really are.
4. Sometimes I feel that my cultural groups are not really the groups that they appear to be.
5. Sometimes I think I know other cultural groups better than I know my own cultural groups.
6. My beliefs about my cultural groups seem to change very frequently.

7. If I were asked to describe my cultural groups, my descriptions might end up being different from one day to another day.
8. In general, I have a clear sense of what my cultural groups are.

How accurately do the following statements describe your own experience as a multicultural person?

Please use the following scale to answer each question:

Strongly disagree					Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	

1. I find it easy to harmonize my different cultures.
2. I cannot ignore the different cultural sides of me.
3. I feel torn between my different cultures.
4. I find it difficult to combine my different cultures.
5. I rarely feel conflicted about being multicultural.
6. I feel that I am all my cultures at the same time.
7. I feel that my different cultures are incompatible.
8. I do not blend my different cultures.
9. I find it easy to balance all of my cultures.
10. I relate better to a combined culture than to one or another culture alone.
11. Being multicultural means having several cultural forces pulling on me at the same time.
12. I am simply a cultural minority who lives in North America.
13. I do not feel trapped between my different cultures.
14. I feel that I am a cultural blend.
15. I feel conflicted between the different cultures' ways of doing things.
16. I keep my different cultures separate.
17. I feel that my different cultures are complementary.
18. I feel like someone moving between several cultures.
19. I feel caught between my different cultures.
20. I feel part of a combined culture.

Please answer each question as carefully as possible by circling one of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement.

Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neutral/ Depends		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. My behaviour changes based on which culture I am interacting with.
2. Within myself, I feel that my heritage, English- and/or French-Canadian cultures conflict.
3. In my daily life I am very aware that I am an ethnic minority
4. I prefer to associate with my friends from different cultures separately.
5. Within myself, I feel that my heritage, English- and/or French-Canadian cultures coexist comfortably, but separately.
6. Within myself I feel that I've successfully combined the different cultures, however, in particular situations I feel forced to choose between them.
7. How I present myself changes based on the cultural context of a particular situation.
8. In general, my heritage culture could be described as similar to North American culture.
9. In my daily interactions I believe others are very aware of my ethnicity because of my appearance, dress, mannerisms and/or way of speaking.
10. Within myself, I feel that my heritage, English- and/or French-Canadian cultures coexist comfortably combined as a whole.
11. I feel comfortable simultaneously associating with members of my ethnic group and other Canadians.
12. In general, my heritage culture could be described as conflicting with North American culture
13. In my daily interactions I believe others are not aware of my ethnicity, until they get to know me.
14. Within myself, I feel that I've successfully combined the different cultures, however, in the presence of others I often feel forced to choose between them.

15. If I am made aware of my ethnic identity I am likely to alter my behaviour.

Please indicate the extent to which the following items correspond to the way you feel in general.

Do not agree at all 1	Agree very slightly 2	Slightly agree 3	Moderately Agree 4	Agree 5	Strongly Agree 6	Very strongly agree 7
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------	--------------------------	------------	------------------------	--------------------------------

**In general...**

1. I feel alive and vital
2. I don't feel very energetic
3. I feel so alive I just want to burst
4. I have energy and spirit
5. I look forward to each new day
6. I feel alert and awake
7. I feel stimulated



This questionnaire is composed of adjectives that describe certain feelings and emotions. Use the scale below to indicate the extent to which each adjective describes how you feel in general.

Not at all	Very little	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Very much	Extremely
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**In general, I feel....**

- |                 |                |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Enthusiastic | 11. Confident  |
| 2. Upset        | 12. Alert      |
| 3. Strong       | 13. Afraid     |
| 4. Hostile      | 14. Worried    |
| 5. Distressed   | 15. Hopeful    |
| 6. Interested   | 16. Sad        |
| 7. Scared       | 17. Happy      |
| 8. Excited      | 18. Relieved   |
| 9. Nervous      | 19. Determined |
| 10. Inspired    | 20. Anxious    |

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number in the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself.  
Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

The following set of questions deals with how you feel about yourself and your life. Please remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Circle the number that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement using the following scale.

Strongly disagree 1	Disagree somewhat 2	Disagree slightly 3	Agree slightly 4	Agree somewhat 5	Strongly agree 6
---------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

1. I am not interested in activities that will expand my horizons.
2. In general, I feel that I continue to learn more about myself as time goes by.
3. I am the kind of person who likes to give new things a try.
4. I don't want to try new ways of doing things--my life is fine the way it is.
5. I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world.
6. When I think about it, I haven't really improved much as a person over the years.
7. In my view, people of every age are able to continue growing and developing.
8. With time, I have gained a lot of insight about life that has made me a stronger, more capable person.
9. I have the sense that I have developed a lot as a person over time.
10. I do not enjoy being in new situations that require me to change my old familiar ways of doing things.
11. For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth.
12. I enjoy seeing how my views have changed and matured over the years.
13. I gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago.
14. There is truth to the saying you can't teach an old dog new tricks.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements using this scale:



Strongly disagree							Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

1. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact
2. I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood
3. Speaking up during a class is not a problem for me
4. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group
5. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me
6. Having a lively imagination is important for me
7. I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor
8. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards
9. I respect people who are modest about themselves
10. I am the same person at home that I am at school
11. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in
12. I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments
13. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me
14. I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education/career plans
15. I act the same way no matter who I am with
16. I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am
17. It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group
18. I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group
19. I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met
20. If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible
21. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects



- 22. Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument
- 23. My personal identity independent of others is very important to me
- 24. I value being in good health above everything

These next statements concern your personal reactions to a number of different situations. No two statements are exactly alike, so consider each statement carefully before answering. Please use the following scale to indicate how accurate each statement is for you.

Always false	Generally false	Somewhat false	Somewhat true	Generally true	Always true
0	1	2	3	4	5

- 1. In social situations, I have the ability to alter my behaviour if I feel that something else is called for.
- 2. I am often able to read people's true emotions correctly through their eyes.
- 3. I have the ability to control the way I come across to people, depending on the impression I wish to give them.
- 4. In conversations, I am sensitive to even the slightest change in the facial expression of the person I'm conversing with.
- 5. My powers of intuition are quite good when it comes to understanding others' emotions and motives.
- 6. I can usually tell when others consider a joke to be in bad taste, even though they may laugh convincingly.
- 7. When I feel that the image I am portraying isn't working, I can readily change it to something that does.
- 8. I can usually tell when I've said something inappropriate by reading it in the listener's eyes.
- 9. I have trouble changing my behaviour to suit different people and different situations.
- 10. I have found that I can adjust my behaviour to meet the requirements of any situation I find myself in.

11. If someone is lying to me, I usually know it at once from that person's manner of expression.
12. Even when it might be to my advantage, I have difficulty putting up a good front.
13. Once I know what the situation calls for, it's easy for me to regulate my actions accordingly.

APPENDIX E  
CONSENT FORM FOR STUDY 3 AND 4

## EXPERIENCING MULTIPLE CULTURES AND IDENTITIES IN YOUR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

### STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

#### INTRODUCTION

We invite you to participate in a study that explores culture and identity in your social environment. The purpose of this form is to state your agreement to participate in a program of research being conducted by Maya A. Yampolsky, a Doctoral Student at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM) under the supervision of Dr. Catherine Amiot, Professor in the Department of Psychology.

#### RESEARCH PURPOSE

The goal of this study is to understand the experience of having more than one cultural membership, and how you think and feel about these different cultural identities/memberships. By cultural memberships and identities, we are referring to national

(e.g., Canadian, Quebecois, Italian, Chinese), religious (e.g., Jewish, Sikh), ethnic (e.g., Black, Hispanic) and/or language cultures (e.g., English or French Canadian, Basque). In addition, this study seeks to understand your relationship, discrimination, cultural participation, and well-being experiences.

#### RESEARCH METHOD/PROCEDURE

We invite you to complete different questionnaires that pertain to culture and identity. Your participation should take approximately 60 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers, and you will not be evaluated on your responses. Please complete this questionnaire in one sitting. This study is only open to individuals who are at least 18 years old.

Please complete this questionnaire individually and do not consult with others during your participation. In order for us to have sound data, it is important that you complete the entire study. If you have already completed this survey, please do not repeat it again since this will compromise the data.

#### RISKS/BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION

Though not anticipated, if there are any questions which make you feel uncomfortable, you are under no obligation to complete said questions. In addition, you are free to withdraw from the study at any point in time without penalty.

Participants who complete this study are eligible to participate in a draw with 5 chances to receive \$100.00.



Please know that by participating, you will be helping to better understand and represent the experiences of multicultural individuals, and will contribute to greater knowledge in the field of cultural identity. In addition, you will experience first-hand what social science research can involve.

#### SPECIFICATIONS

This survey software is compatible with Firefox, Internet Explorer and Safari. Please do not use your browser's "back" or "refresh" buttons when completing the survey. Use only the buttons provided within the survey.

#### CONFIDENTIALITY

It is important for you to know that the information that you provide will be kept in complete confidentiality and anonymity. Your name will not appear on any questionnaire or other document. Furthermore, neither Maya Yampolsky nor Dr. Catherine Amiot will know if you have participated in this study. For the purpose of the draw, we will ask you for your email address. Please know that your email will be kept in complete confidentiality in a separate database from your questionnaire responses. Only the primary researcher (Maya Yampolsky) and Dr. Catherine Amiot will have access to the database.

#### USE OF DATA AND FINDINGS

The results obtained from the group data will only be put towards publication in scientific journals. Your responses will be gathered through UQAM's secure database, which is located exclusively on UQAM's secure mainframe. No individual questionnaire packages will be collected or kept. In addition, the database from this study will be kept in a locked facility at UQAM for up to 8 years after data collection.

#### PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to answer questions that may cause discomfort. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you have any questions about this research, please contact Maya A. Yampolsky at [mayaigd@gmail.com](mailto:mayaigd@gmail.com), or Dr. Catherine Amiot at [amiot.catherine@uqam.qc.ca](mailto:amiot.catherine@uqam.qc.ca).

#### SUPPORT PROFESSIONAL(S) EXTERNAL TO PROJECT

You can contact Dr Catherine Amiot (e mail: [amiot.catherine@uqam.ca](mailto:amiot.catherine@uqam.ca); 514-987-300 x5006) if you have questions or comments about your participation in this research. If at any time you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact Mme Muriel Binette, the ombudsman at the Université du Québec à Montréal, at (514) 987-3151, or by email at: [binette.muriel@uqam.ca](mailto:binette.muriel@uqam.ca).

1. In order to proceed, you must meet the following requirements.

I am at least 18 years old\*

Yes

No

2. I am completing this questionnaire alone\*

Yes

No

3. I have not participated in this study before\*

Yes

No

4. Statement of Consent \*

☐ I certify that I have read the above information, understand the risks, benefits, responsibilities and conditions of participation as outlined in this document, and freely consent to participate in the study Experiencing multiple cultures and identities.

☐ I do not consent to participate in this study

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDY 3 AND 4

## DEMOGRAPHICS

## YOUR EMAIL

Please enter your email address below in order for us to contact you regarding the results of the draw for \$100. Rest assured that your email will be kept separate from the rest of your data and will not be divulged to anyone except the primary researcher.

Please indicate your age (in years)

Please indicate your sex

Male

Female

Other, please specify

In which city do you currently reside?

In what country were you born?

What is the country of birth of your...

Mother:

Father:

Maternal grandmother:

Maternal grandfather:

Paternal grandmother:

Paternal grandfather:

Please indicate how long you have lived in the following places (in number of years). E.g., if you have lived in Montreal for 6 months, you can enter 0.5 years.

How long have you lived in Canada:

How long have you lived in Quebec:

How long have you lived in Montreal:

Please indicate your nationality/nationalities (i.e., the countries where you have citizenship status):

1.

2.

3.

Please list all the languages that you know in the order that you learned them:

First language learned

Second language learned

Third language learned

Fourth learned language

Fifth language learned



Please indicate when you learned each of your languages (in years), starting with the one you first learned to the one you learned most recently:

Age you started learning your first language (in years):

Age you started learning your second language (in years):

Age you started learning your third language (in years):

Age you started learning your fourth language (in years):

Age you started learning your fifth language (in years):

Please indicate how proficient you are in each of your languages using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very poor	Poor	Basic	Functional	Good	Very good	Native-like

First language learned

Second language learned

Third language learned

Fourth language learned

Fifth language learned

Please list the languages spoken by your parents, starting with their mother tongue, or native language:

1. Mother's mother tongue /native language
2. Mother's other known language
3. Father's mother tongue/native language
4. Father's other known language

Please enter the native language/mother tongue of your grandparents:

1. Maternal grandmother
2. Maternal grandfather
3. Paternal grandmother
4. Paternal grandfather

Do you identify with any religion(s) and/or spiritual tradition(s), regardless of current belief or practice?

Yes

No

If yes, please specify which one(s) in the space(s) below:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Does at least one of your parents identify with any religion and/or spiritual tradition, regardless of current belief or practice?

Yes

No

If yes, please specify which one(s) in the spaces below:

Mother:

Father:

Please describe your cultural background below. For people who do not "fit" neatly into a single category, this can be a difficult question. That's why these people often develop a more elaborate d yet generic answer to that question. What would such an answer be in your case? To aid you in your responding to this question, imagine the following scenario: You're meeting someone for the first time and this person asks, "What is your cultural background?" How would you answer this question most of the time?

### CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

In this section, we would like to know the cultures that influence you and/or that you feel connected to.

By cultures, these can be national cultures (e.g., Canadian, Chinese), language cultures (e.g., Francophone, Acadian), religious cultures (e.g., Christian, Sikh) and ethnic cultures (Hispanic, Black).

Each type of cultural affiliation will be described for you before you complete each section. Please do not repeat entries across the sections that follow. For example, if you have written "English- Canadian" in the section titled "Mainstream cultures", please do not repeat "English-Canadian" in the section titled "Heritage cultures".

Know that the numbers assigned to each culture are not used as a ranking system, and are only used as a way to organize your answers. Some of the following sections may not apply to your situation.

### MAINSTREAM CULTURE(S)

Refers to the predominant cultural environment in which you currently reside.

For example, in Montreal, people generally refer to the two mainstream cultures of English- and French- Canadian/Quebecois.

How long have you been a member of each of your Mainstream cultures (in years)?

English-Canadian/Quebecois

French-Canadian/Quebecois

### HERITAGE CULTURE(S)

Refers to the culture(s) into which you were born and/or raised and that have influenced your development and/or that of your family; these cultures differ from mainstream cultures. It

may be the culture of your birth, the culture in which you have been raised, or another culture that forms part of your background.

Examples include Indian, Chinese, Jewish, Irish, Sikh, etc. If there are several such cultures, list those that have influenced you the most.

Please list your Heritage culture(s) (up to 4):

Heritage 1:

Heritage 2:

Heritage 3:

Heritage 4:

How long have you been a member of each of your Heritage cultures (in years)?

Heritage 1:

Heritage 2:

Heritage 3:

Heritage 4:

41. Hybrid/Fusion culture(s). People may endorse attitudes, values, and practices that incorporate elements of two or more cultures and which result in a new and unique hybrid culture, reflective of the prolonged contact between the groups in question. As such, individuals may identify themselves with a combined culture, such as Asian-Canadian, Polish-Canadian, Indo-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. This category may or may not apply to your situation

Please list your Hybrid culture(s) (up to 3):

Hybrid 1:

Hybrid 2:

Hybrid 3:

How long have you been a member of each of your Hybrid cultures (in years)?

Hybrid 1:

Hybrid 2:

Hybrid 3:

45. Overarching/Superordinate culture(s) People may identify themselves using a broad, overarching (cultural) identity which encompasses the other, more specific identities. Examples include Asian, North American, European, etc. This category may or may not apply to your situation.

Please list your Superordinate culture(s) (up to 3):

Superordinate 1:

Superordinate 2:



Superordinate 3:

How long have you been a member of each of your Superordinate cultures (in years)?

Superordinate 1:

Superordinate 2:

Superordinate 3:

Do you anticipate joining a new cultural group in the next six months (approximately)?

Yes

No

If yes, which one(s)?

### CULTURAL IDENTITIES

This questionnaire looks at your cultural identities and cultural contexts. While completing this questionnaire, please keep the following information in mind:

Cultural identity refers to (1) the feeling of being a member of a particular cultural group, and (2) the experience of aligning with the values, beliefs, behaviours, etc. of a particular culture.

Cultural context refers to an environment that contains the values, beliefs and practices specific to a particular culture, and involves the company of members from that particular cultural group.

We would like to know how you think about your cultural identities. The following is a series of statements about how you see your different cultural identities. Please read each item carefully. Please indicate how much each statement represents your experience using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	Slightly	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Mostly	Exactly

I draw similarities between my cultural identities.

My cultural identities are connected.

I have an identity that includes all my different cultural identities

My cultural identities fit within a broader identity

My cultural identities are all part of a broader group identity.

My cultural identities are part of a more global identity

My cultural identities complement each other.

The differences between my cultural identities complete each other.

I keep my cultural identities separate from each other.



Each of my cultural identities is a separate part of who I am.  
I only experience each of my cultural identities in their own context.  
I only really experience my different cultures if I identify with them one at a time.  
When I am in a particular cultural context, I feel that I should not show my other cultural identities.  
I identify with one of my cultures at a time  
When I'm in one cultural context, I feel like I should play down my other cultural identities.  
The differences between my cultural identities contradict each other.  
The differences between my cultural identities cannot be reconciled.

I identify with one culture more than any other.  
One cultural identity predominates in how I define myself.  
One of my cultures is more relevant in defining who I am than the others.  
I identify exclusively with one culture.  
While I have different cultures, only one culture defines me.

## DISCRIMINATION

Using the following scale, please indicate to what extent you have experienced the following:

1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderately	5	6	7 Constantly
--------------------	---	---	-----------------	---	---	-----------------

1. I have been insulted based on my culture(s)
2. I have been made fun of because of my culture(s)
3. I have been bullied based on my culture(s)
4. I have been labeled based on cultural stereotypes
5. My culture(s) have been considered weird
6. My culture(s) have been considered abnormal
7. I have been called "exotic"
8. I have been found appealing because of my culture(s)
9. I have been considered sexually desirable because of my culture(s)
10. My belonging to my culture(s) has been called into question
11. Upon meeting someone, I have been asked, "Where are you really from?"
12. Upon meeting someone, I have been told that my English is very good
13. I have been told "You don't even have an accent!"
14. I have been told that I do not look like a member of my culture(s)
15. I have been told that I am not really a member of my culture(s)
16. I have been told that I do not meet certain criteria to identify with my culture(s)
17. I have been denied access to institutions based on my culture(s)
18. I have been denied employment based on my culture(s)
19. I have not been eligible for scholarships based on my culture(s)
20. My culture(s) have been depicted negatively in the mass media
21. I have been excluded from groups because of my culture(s)
22. I have been excluded from events because of my culture(s)

Please indicate the extent to which you have experienced cultural, ethnic, and/or racial discrimination from the following groups using the scale provided:

1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderately	5	6	7 Very much
--------------------	---	---	-----------------	---	---	-------------------

To what extent have you personally been discriminated against by the following groups:

English-Canadian/Quebecois  
 French-Canadian/Quebecois  
 Heritage 1:  
 Heritage 2:  
 Heritage 3:  
 Heritage 4:

To what extent have any of your family members, friends and/or significant others been discriminated against by the following groups:

English-Canadian/Quebecois

French-Canadian/Quebecois

Heritage 1:

Heritage 2:

Heritage 3:

Heritage 4:

Please use the following scale when answering the questions below:

1 Never	2 Once	3 A few times	4 Many times	5 All the time
------------	-----------	---------------------	--------------------	----------------------

Because of racial, ethnic and/or cultural discrimination...

1. Have you ever been hit or handled roughly?
2. Have you ever been insulted or called names?
3. Has anyone ever been rude to you?
4. Have you ever been treated unfairly?
5. Have you ever been threatened?
6. Have you ever been refused service (e.g., in a store or restaurant) or had service delayed?
7. Have you ever been excluded or ignored?
8. Has anyone in your family ever been discriminated against in any way?



## WELL-BEING

This questionnaire is composed of adjectives that describe certain feelings and emotions. Use the scale below to indicate the extent to which each adjective describes how you feel in general.

1 Not at all	2 Very little	3 A little	4 Moderately	5 Quite a bit	6 Very much	7 Extremely
--------------------	---------------------	------------------	-----------------	---------------------	-------------------	----------------

In general, I feel...

1. Enthusiastic
2. Upset
3. Strong
4. Hostile
5. Distressed
6. Interested
7. Scared
8. Excited
9. Nervous
10. Inspired
11. Confident
12. Alert
13. Afraid
14. Worried
15. Hopeful
16. Sad
17. Happy
18. Relieved
19. Determined
20. Anxious



Below are a number of statements about happiness. Would you please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each by entering a number alongside it according to the following scale:

Strongly disagree	Moderate ly disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

You will need to read the statements carefully because some are phrased positively and others negatively. Don't take too long over individual questions; there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and no trick questions. The first answer that comes into your head is probably the right one for you. If you find some of the questions difficult, please give the answer that is true for you in general or for most of the time.

1. I don't feel particularly pleased with the way I am
2. I am intensely interested in other people
3. I feel that life is very rewarding
4. I have very warm feelings towards almost everyone
5. I rarely wake up feeling rested
6. I am not particularly optimistic about the future
7. I find most things amusing
8. I am always committed and involved
9. Life is good
10. I do not think that the world is a good place
11. I laugh a lot
12. I am well satisfied about everything in my life
13. I don't think I look attractive
14. There is a gap between what I would like to do and what I have done
15. I am very happy
16. I find beauty in some things
17. I always have a cheerful effect on others
18. I can fit in everything I want to
19. I feel that I am not especially in control of my life
20. I feel able to take anything on
21. I feel fully mentally alert
22. I often experience joy and elation
23. I do not find it easy to make decisions
24. I do not have a particular sense of meaning and purpose in my life
25. I feel I have a great deal of energy
26. I usually have a good influence on events
27. I do not have fun with other people
28. I don't feel particularly healthy
29. I do not have particularly happy memories of the past

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number in the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

1 Strongly disagree	2 Disagree	3 Slightly disagree	4 Neither agree nor disagree	5 Slightly agree	6 Agree	7 Strongly agree
---------------------------	---------------	---------------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------------	------------	------------------------

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

Using the following scale, indicate how often each sentence applies to you in general. Complete these questions quickly, without bothering to check your answers.

1 Almost never	2 Sometimes	3 Often	4 Usually
----------------------	----------------	------------	--------------

1. You feel rested.
2. You feel that too many demands are being made on you.
3. You feel irritable or grouchy.
4. You have too many things to do.
5. You feel lonely or isolated.
6. You find yourself in situations of conflict.
7. You feel you're doing things you really like.
8. You feel tired.
9. You feel that you may not manage to attain your goals.
10. You feel calm.
11. You have too many decisions to make.
12. You feel frustrated.
13. You are full of energy.
14. You feel tense.
15. Your problems seem to be piling up.
16. You feel you're in a hurry.
17. You feel safe and protected.
18. You have many worries.
19. You are under pressure from other people.
20. You feel discouraged.
21. You enjoy yourself.
22. You are afraid for the future.
23. You feel you're doing things because you have to not because you want to.
24. You feel criticized or judged.
25. You feel lighthearted.
26. You feel mentally exhausted.

27. You have trouble relaxing.
28. You feel loaded down with responsibility.
29. You have enough time for yourself.
30. You feel under pressure from deadlines.

The following set of questions deals with how you feel about yourself and your life. Please remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Please circle the number that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly degree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Strongly agree

1. In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live.
2. The demands of everyday life often get me down.
3. I do not fit very well with the people and the community around me.
4. I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life.
5. I often feel overwhelmed by my responsibilities.
6. If I were unhappy with my living situation, I would take effective steps to change it.
7. I generally do a good job of taking care of my personal finances and affairs.
8. I find it stressful that I can't keep up with all of the things I have to do each day.
9. I am good at juggling my time so that I can fit everything in that needs to get done.
10. My daily life is busy, but I derive a sense of satisfaction from keeping up with everything.
11. I get frustrated when trying to plan my daily activities because I never accomplish the things I set out to do.
12. My efforts to find the kinds of activities and relationships that I need have been quite successful.
13. I have difficulty arranging my life in a way that is satisfying to me.
14. I have been able to build a home and a lifestyle for myself that is much to my liking.

Please circle the number that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly degree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Strongly agree

1. I am not interested in activities that will expand my horizons.
2. In general, I feel that I continue to learn more about myself as time goes by.
3. I am the kind of person who likes to give new things a try.
4. I don't want to try new ways of doing things--my life is fine the way it is.
5. I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world.
6. When I think about it, I haven't really improved much as a person over the years.
7. In my view, people of every age are able to continue growing and developing.



8. With time, I have gained a lot of insight about life that has made me a stronger, more capable person.
9. I have the sense that I have developed a lot as a person over time.
10. I do not enjoy being in new situations that require me to change my old familiar ways of doing things.
11. For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth.
12. I enjoy seeing how my views have changed and matured over the years.
13. I gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago.
14. There is truth to the saying you can't teach an old dog new tricks.

Please circle the number that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly degree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Strongly agree

1. I can contribute to the well-being of my family
2. I can contribute to the well-being of my friends
3. I am attentive to the needs of my friends
4. I am attentive to the needs of my family
5. My friends can rely on me
6. My family can rely on me



## DEMOGRAPHICS 2

Given that people are some times categorized into large groups, which of the following labels best apply to you? \*Please select all that apply.

Aboriginal (e.g., First Nations, Inuit, Metis, Native American, Native Australian)  
 Black (e.g., African-American, Nigerian, Haitian, Jamaican, Somali)  
 East Asian, South-East Asian, Pacific Islander (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Thai, Filipino, Indonesian)  
 Hispanic/Latino/Latin-American (e.g., Brazilian, Chilean, Mexican, Cuban)  
 Middle-Eastern, North African, Central Asian (e.g., Jordanian, Saudi, Egyptian, Moroccan, Iranian, Afghan, Tajikistani)  
 South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Nepalese)  
 White/Caucasian (e.g., Russian, German, Latvian, French, Scottish, Italian)

What is the relationship status of your parents:

Married/Cohabiting  
 Separated/Divorced  
 Widowed  
 Other, please specify

Please indicate how many siblings you have (please include step siblings, half siblings, adopted siblings, and any other child that you regarded as a sibling).

Do you have a romantic partner?

Yes  
 No

The people I am living with are :

From a similar cultural background than me  
 From a different cultural background than me  
 Both from a similar and different cultural background than me  
 I live alone

What is the highest level of education you have completed:

Elementary School  
 High School  
 College /CEGEP (DEC)  
 Undergraduate/Bachelors  
 Graduate /Post-Graduate Studies (Masters, PhD)

Are you currently a student?

Yes

No

If you are currently a student, are you registered:

Full-time

Part-time

What is your field of study:

Are you currently employed?

Yes

No

If yes, are you working full-time or part time?

Full-time

Part-time

If you are employed, what is your current occupation? e.g., "stay at home mom", "freelance writer", "cashier" ...

## DEBRIEFING

### TITLE OF STUDY

Experiencing multiple cultures and identities in your social environment

### PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS:

Maya A. Yampolsky, B.A., Ph.D. student in Experimental Psychology, UQAM,  
Catherine Amiot, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, UQAM,  
Jonathan Cadieux, Research Assistant and Honours Thesis student, UQAM.

### SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH:

The aim of this study is to understand how multicultural individuals view their different cultural memberships, and how they cognitively organize these different cultural identities within the self. In addition, the aim of this research is to explore the role of relationship factors in contributing to this identity experience, and how this identity experience is related to stress and well-being. This research applies the cognitive-developmental model of social identity integration by Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry and Smith (2007) to the domain of cultural identity. The authors propose several strategies that individuals employ for organizing their identities within the self. One may, for example, keep one's identities separate and context-specific, or one may create links between the identities based on perceived similarities and reconciled differences.

If you have any questions about this research, please contact Maya A. Yampolsky at [mayaajgd@gmail.com](mailto:mayaajgd@gmail.com), or Dr. Catherine Amiot at [amiot.catherine@uqam.qc.ca](mailto:amiot.catherine@uqam.qc.ca).

If at any time you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact Mme Muriel Binette, the ombudsman at the Université du Québec à Montréal, at (514) 987-3151, or by email at: [binette.muriel@uqam.ca](mailto:binette.muriel@uqam.ca).

### SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING:

Amiot, C. E., de la Sablonnière, R., Terry, D. J., & Smith, J. R. (2007). Development and integration of social identities in the self: Toward a cognitive-developmental model. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11, 364-388.

Nguyen, A.-MT D., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2007). Biculturalism unpacked: Components, measurement, individual differences, and outcomes. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 1, 101-114.

Thank you for your time and participation.

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APPENDIX G

CONFIRMATION OF RECEPTION OF THE TWO ARTICLES



[View Letter](#)<http://www.editorialmanager.com/cdp/viewLetter.asp?id=8704&sid=616..>**View Letter**[Close](#)

**Date:** 02/28/2014  
**To:** "Maya Adina Yampolsky" mayajgd@gmail.com  
**From:** "Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology" cdemp@umn.edu  
**Subject:** Submission Confirmation for The Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS): Developing a Comprehensive Measure for Configuring One's Multiple Cultural Identities Within the Self

---

Dear Ms. Yampolsky,

Your submission "The Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS): Developing a Comprehensive Measure for Configuring One's Multiple Cultural Identities Within the Self" has been received by Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology.

You will be able to check on the progress of your submission by logging on to Editorial Manager as an author. The URL is <http://cdp.edmgr.com/>.

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Dear Ms Yampolsky,

Thank you for submitting your manuscript entitled "Discrimination and Multicultural Identity Configurations: The Mediating Role of Stress" to Self and Identity. It has been successfully submitted online and is with the editorial assistant awaiting further processing.

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## NOTES

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