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**Am I a Canadian, an Ethnic, or an Ethnic-Canadian?:
Dilemmas of Second Generation Immigrant Youth**

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**AM I A CANADIAN, AN ETHNIC, OR AN ETHNIC-CANADIAN?:
DILEMMAS OF SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANT YOUTH. ∞**

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Abstract

The present project aims at examining the identity issues of the second generation of immigrants. We assume that, within a multiculturalist framework, the successful integration of immigrants would involve the incorporation within individual identities a mosaic of selected elements of both the ancestral and mainstream cultures, a form of cultural blending. For children of immigrants, who grow up between two cultures, having to choose between the two is often challenging. On the one side is the prospect of being assimilated into the mainstream at the risk of losing what the ancestral culture has to offer, and on the other side is the lure of one's parents' way of life with the danger of being separated from the mainstream. Worse, some face the danger of being marginalized, of being neither here nor there. Against this background, the present project uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to study the dynamics of identity development among immigrant youth. Pilot studies have shown differing ways in which individual youth characterize themselves as Canadian, Canadian-Ethnic, Ethnic, or Ethnic-Canadian, depending on their degree of preference for ancestral or mainstream cultures. The investigation now under way seeks co-operation with various community organizations in approaching second generation immigrants (including adolescents who immigrate with their parents) from a variety of backgrounds for a deeper investigation of their relative attachment with their own "ethnic" traditions and the traditions of other Canadians. The study will also examine the levels of comfort or stress associated with differing styles of relating to differences in the cultural contexts of home, community, and the larger society.

Introduction

The Context of Multiculturalism

The policy

This current investigation into issues of identity among immigrant youth begins with the adoption of the multicultural policy by the Canadian government in the early 1970s. Stemming from Pierre Trudeau's speech to the House of Commons on October 8, 1971 in which he stated his vision of Canadian identity, numerous Canadian psychologists have been inspired to research various facets of that policy. In that speech, Trudeau outlined that his policy of multiculturalism was, among other things, designed:

. . . to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies [where] National Unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share attitudes and assumptions. . . . and so contribute to a richer life for all (cited in Berry 1984, 354).

Berry points out that the policy was adopted to produce a distinct Canadian identity with four goals in mind. These goals were: 1) support for the maintenance of cultural traditions, 2) the fostering of positive inter-group contact, 3) the development of tolerance for diversity amongst Canada's various cultural groups, and 4) the learning of the two official languages.

The Research

During the 1970s, Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) started a flurry of relevant research with their landmark study on the attitudes of Canadians toward multiculturalism and other Canadians as members of various ethnic or linguistic groups. Each of these researchers has continued to publish on issues surrounding the policy of multiculturalism (Berry 1997; Berry and Kalin 1995; Kalin and Berry 1996; Kalin 1996; Moghaddam and Taylor 1987; Taylor, Ruggiero and Louis 1996).

Specifically, John Berry has actively taken a role in the scientific study of Canada's national policy of multiculturalism (Berry 1984) as well as the nature of psychological

adjustment in multicultural pluralist societies (Berry 1979; 1986). Focussing primarily on attitudes towards two of the principal elements of the multiculturalism policy, Berry has developed a research programme of acculturation that has grown over three decades (Berry 1970, 1997). As such, this paradigm of acculturation has been built upon the questions of: 1) maintenance of cultural traditions and, 2) interest in positive contact with other groups. Four characteristic styles of acculturation are derived from these concerns, styles that have been examined among numerous cultural groups along with numerous other psychological variables (Berry 1997). In particular, these acculturative strategies have been examined along with acculturative stress, passive and active coping, psychopathology, age of beginning of acculturation, gender, education, and place in the economic world (Berry et al. 1989; Berry 1997).

Implications to Immigrants and Canadians

Having developed from Redfield, Linton & Herskovits' (1936) work (and a 1960s uprising over forced assimilation in Australia), Berry reports that acculturation may be at the level of the group or the individual. Group acculturation is often difficult to ascertain; however, examination of institutional, geographic and economic structures and patterns may give some indication of this. Alternatively, Berry identifies his model as being focused on *psychological acculturation* as a normative process which

. . . may involve [changes in] personal values and habits (dress, eating), beliefs (religion, political ideology), social relationships (marriage, clubs), and identity (as belonging to one's heritage group or to the new society) (Berry 1987, 224).

The analysis of acculturative attitude styles is the product of Berry's interest in psychological acculturation.

Acculturative Attitude Styles

Berry's scheme of Acculturative Attitudes enables psychologists and social scientists to assess and understand the diversity of identities to which various immigrant and Canadian

born individuals ascribe. First, he asks: “*Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?*” and secondly, “*Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?*” By answering yes or no to these two questions, a person can be placed into the resulting four-fold classification scheme (see Figure 1) of Integration, Separation, Marginalization and Assimilation.

		<i>Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?</i>	
		Yes	No
<i>Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?</i>	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Marginalization Deculturation

Fig. 1. Berry’s Scheme of Acculturative Attitude Styles (Berry 1997, 10)

By implicitly or explicitly answering yes to both questions, the individual or group is said to have adopted an *Integrative* approach to acculturation. Such an approach suggests the integration of various facets of identity. Here the person has adopted identifications with traditions and values from two or more cultures. It is expected that he/she usually engages in activities from these traditions, often synthesizing them into a novel style of living through these traditions. Berry (1984, 1997) points out that this style is most desired by the “multicultural assumption” of maintenance and contact where it is expected to lead to a positive identity and tolerance of others.

The second alternative occurs when the first question is answered yes and the second question is answered no. This is the case for *Separation* when the person is from a group that is in an inferior position of power. Alternatively, *Segregation* occurs when the group’s relative dominance (in terms of social and economic systems) is that of a superior

position. Essentially this style involves the maintenance of traditional cultural behavioural patterns, values and identities without the acceptance of and contact with the behaviours, values or identities of people from other groups.

The third acculturative attitude generated from Berry's conceptual framework is *Marginalization*. This attitude occurs when both of the two definitive questions are answered no. Berry points out that marginalization:

. . . is difficult to define precisely, possibly because it is accompanied by a good deal of collective and individual confusion and anxiety. It is characterized by striking out against the larger society and by feelings of alienation, loss of identity, and what has been termed *acculturative stress*. (1989, 4, original emphasis).

In earlier work on the "multicultural ideology," Berry referred to this alternative as "deculturation," a style that appears largely to be equivalent to this more recent description of marginalization (Berry, Kalin & Taylor 1977). This earlier version of deculturation was defined by Berry (1984) as a pattern that "occurs when a group's culture is not maintained and when there is no participation in the affairs of the dominant group" (p. 357). It is a far cry, however, from the "acculturatively stressed" style of marginalization that replaced it in more recent years.

A newer articulation of the deculturation option was presented by Tonks (1990, 1998) where it was pointed out that this Acculturative Style involves a loss of concern with ethnicity and culture *per se*. This reincarnated style of deculturation can also be differentiated from marginalization as a style that does not involve an element of "acculturative" stress. This attitude accompanies individuals who "opt-out" from having any traditional cultural ties with associated practices and beliefs while not falling prey to an "acute crisis" characterized by stress. This deculturated attitude has been endorsed by those who express a desire to maintain no ties with traditional cultural identities in exchange for the ever-changing world of commerce, science, and technology. With moderate to high positive correlations with assimilation ($r = .364$; $r = .505$) and marginalization ($r = .324$; $r = .267$), and negative correlations with separation ($r = -.481$)

and integration ($r = -.441$), deculturation shows signs of representing an independent attitude or a subculture within mainstream Canadian Identity (Tonks 1990, 1998).

The final acculturative attitude is *Assimilation*, an option that occurs when the first question is answered “no” and the second one is answered “yes.” Assimilation refers to the classic “melting-pot” outcome of acculturation whereby groups and individuals forego the maintenance of their traditional ethno-cultural heritages and take on the cultural ways of the host society. This traditionally was the official Canadian policy prior to the 1971 introduction of the Policy on Multiculturalism, and it continues to be the official policy of the United States, although many Americans do maintain their cultural traditions.

Acculturation, Adaptation and Acculturative Stress

As suggested above, “acculturative” stress is an important variable that has been researched along with the acculturative attitude styles (Berry 1997; Berry et al. 1987). Acculturative Stress has been characterized as one form of stress that is due to challenges in the process of acculturation. It has been observed as:

a particular set of stress behaviours . . . lowered mental health status (especially anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion (Berry et al. 1992, 284).

Elsewhere Berry has said that integration almost universally demonstrates a “substantial relationship with *positive adaptation*” (1997, 24, italics added) . . . and . . . “integration seems to be the most effective strategy if we take long-term health and well-being as indicators” (Schmitz cited in Berry 1997, 25). It appears that adjustment or adaptation has been seen as the opposite of acculturative stress existing on a continuum as possible outcomes of acculturative experiences.

Others, such as Phinney, Chavira, and Williamson (1992) have reported that integration was positively correlated with self-esteem in all groups (Hispanics, Blacks and Asians), while assimilation correlated negatively with self-esteem in all groups except for whites.

In contrast, marginalization consistently is found to be least successful in positive adaptation (Berry 1997; Sam & Berry 1996). The marginalized person or community is shut off or cut out of both traditions, having few or no connections for the development of positive social support and recognition. Berry points out that marginalization:

is difficult to define precisely, possibly because it is accompanied by a good deal of collective and individual confusion and anxiety. It is characterized by striking out against the larger society and by feelings of alienation, loss of identity, and what has been termed *acculturative stress* (1989, 4, original emphasis).

Beyond acculturative attitudes, *acculturative stress* has been related to: nature of the larger society, phases of acculturation, reasons for culture contact, and characteristics of the acculturating group and individual (Berry et al. 1992). The nature of larger society (e.g., multicultural vs. assimilationist) has been demonstrated to have an impact on the acculturation of individuals and groups, where culturally plural societies (vs. monistic ones) provide more support for social and cultural groups as well as greater tolerance (multicultural ideology), which tend to foster integration and less stress.

Equally important as the context or setting of culture contact is the reason for cultural change and contact. There are numerous reasons why people come into continuous first-hand contact with people from other cultural traditions, and acculturative stress has also been studied extensively for many different groups. Berry et al. (1992) have suggested that voluntariness of contact is important for groups who are either sedentary or migrant. They indicated that nomadic peoples who are forced into acculturation and settlement are most strongly affected.

Voluntariness of Contact and Acculturative Stress

Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok (1987) point out that *voluntary* people (immigrants, sojourners and ethnic groups) are less likely to be stressed than *involuntary* peoples (natives and refugees). Their summary of research studies has provided the following data. Immigrant Koreans in Toronto had a mean stress score of 3.08 (out of 20) while Vietnamese refugees in Kingston reported a mean stress score of 5.61. In contrast, a

group of Malaysian sojourners in Kingston reported a mean stress score of 6.08 while a mean stress score of 3.42 was reported by Chinese students at Queens University.

Berry and his colleagues have stress ratings from various Native Peoples, including three different groups of Cree ranging from 6.43 & 6.81 to 7.03. Studies with three Ojibway groups range from 3.94 to 5.07, and 6.00, while two groups of Carrier ranged from 5.20 to 5.71, and two groups of Tsimshian from 4.07 to 5.08. These average ratings tend to be higher than those for other groups, however, the authors offer no explanation for why these results came about. They also report mean stress scores for various "Ethnic Groups," including Anglo-Celtics in Westport Ontario (at 1.79), a mixed group from Sioux Lookout (2.95), and a mixed group of students from Queens University (3.03).

Other group characteristics, such as gender, age, education, status, social support, institutions have been examined. Berry et al. (1992) state that "relatively older persons" and women tend to experience higher levels of stress. They also point out that higher levels of education and social status have also been associated with lower levels of stress; however, people who are entering Canadian society at a level lower than what they had in their home country will be more adversely affected (Berry 1997). It has further been pointed out that "social support" or having "supportive relationship with both cultures" and "links to one's heritage are associated with lower stress." (Berry 1997, 25). Finally, Berry points out that stress varies with the phase of acculturation where the early and later periods tend to be accompanied with more stress than the middle periods.

Tonks (1990) examined acculturative stress among a mixed sample of Indo-Canadians who reported a mean stress score of 3.28. This sample comprised of Sikhs, Hindus, Figians and Ismailis whose mean scores ranged from 4.33 to 2.38 also showed no overall gender differences for stress. However, the mean stress scores for a matched group of secondary school students were 3.90 for girls and 3.69 for boys. This pattern is consistent with other studies where girls and women often have expressed more stress (Berry et al. 1992). Tonks found other gender differences in acculturation where males

preferred separation ($p=.000$), Deculturation ($p=.003$) and Marginalization ($p=.008$) and females preferred integration ($p=.002$).

The Process of Identity Formation

Along with examining acculturative attitudes toward culture for youth it is also useful to examine the personal styles of experiencing identity issues.

Identity Statuses

Following Erik Erikson (1964), James Marcia (1966, 1980, 1993) has established and developed a paradigm of Ego-Identity Statuses which are characteristic “styles” or strategies for experiencing the normative adolescent quest for identity. Marcia (1980) considers these “dynamic structures” to be differentiated by two principal concerns. First, he asks “Is there, or has there been, an active search of identity options?” Secondly, he asks: “Is there presently a sense of commitment (fidelity) to one or another identity?” Based upon an understanding of how a person answers these questions, she or he may be judged as reflecting the style of Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium or Achievement (see Figure 2). Typically, the domains of occupation, religion, politics, sex roles and sexual intimacy are used to assess Ego-Identity Status. However, other domains such as spouse, parent, and the priority of family versus career have also been developed (Marcia and Archer 1993b; Archer and Waterman 1993a; 1993b).

As seen in Figure 2, these four statuses are distinguished from one another in terms of the presence or absence of exploration (crisis) and commitment (fidelity) of identity. Diffusion is essentially characterized by a lack of both search and commitment of identity values, goals, and ideologies.

Is there, or has there been, exploration of identity alternatives?

		Yes	No
<i>Is there presently a sense of commitment to one or another identity?</i>	Yes	Achievement	Foreclosure
	No	Moratorium	Diffusion

Fig. 2. Marcia's Scheme of Ego-Identity Statuses (Marcia 1993, 11)

Marcia (1988) outlines four sub-types of diffusion, ranging from “disturbed” to “carefree” (playboyish), to “developmental,” and “culturally adaptive.” This latter group appears to have adopted this “neutral” approach to identity because of external socio-cultural pressures such as high unemployment. Marcia (1988) points out that many of this type of diffusion will become identity achieved in a supportive environment. In contrast, the “disturbed” or classical type often appears as a loner, or even a little “schizoid” and may be plagued with tension, anxiety and stress. However, somewhat like the culturally adaptive diffusions, the “carefree” type tends to have strong interpersonal skills, but simply goes through life accepting identity without much reflection or commitment. Finally, the Developmental Diffusions (which are quite rare) appear to be “giving themselves a significant chance to think and to explore alternatives” (Marcia 1988, 8) but are differentiated from Moratoriums because they are not *actively* searching. This final group also tends to display existential rather than instrumental valuing, and high dialectical reasoning.

Foreclosure is characterized by a sense of commitment without any real searching or questioning of identity alternatives. Usually accepting parental values and identities, Foreclosures may demonstrate an inflexible self-righteousness, and often display “black vs. white” thinking that may be considered to be dogmatic. According to Waterman (1988) Foreclosures tend to demonstrate:

. . . authoritarianism, difficulties in problem solving under stress, conventional moral reasoning, and stereotypic/pseudo-intimate relationships, but they also show, on average, other behaviours deemed quite favourable, e.g., low anxiety, good relationships with their parental family, satisfaction with their education, and opposition to drug use (191–192).

The third identity style is Moratorium, which is characterized by being in a mode of searching identity alternatives without the presence of commitment. Moratorium individuals tend to experience higher anxiety and a greater autonomy, and are often quite knowledgeable of several identity alternatives, but cannot or do not want to decide which one to commit to (Waterman 1988). Marcia (1993) has further outlined the nature of Moratoriums as having higher self-esteem and cognitive performance including the use of formal operational thinking. They also tend to be lower in authoritarianism and manifest an internal locus of control.

Finally, Achievement is characterized by the (past) presence of search and exploration with a relatively firm commitment to a set of values or an ideology. Marcia (1993) points out that Achievement individuals are typically the highest in self-esteem, have better study skills and higher grade point averages than the other statuses. Individuals adopting this style also tend to be high in autonomy, manifesting an internal locus of control, and show higher levels of ego development.

Study One: Quantitative Analysis of Acculturation and Identity

Methods

Participants

The 146 participants in this study were primarily undergraduate students at a suburban university. The participants' ages range from 17 to 33 with a mean of 21.37 years and a standard deviation of 3.07. There were 113 women and 29 men (4 did not declare) in the sample whose mean years of living in Canada were 16.97 with a standard deviation of 7.42 years. Their participation was made possible through an undergraduate "subject pool" for introductory and second year psychology courses. The students received either 2 or 4 percentage marks toward their final grades by participating in part or all of this project.

Measures

This study makes use of the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey (CAAS), the Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status-2 (EOMEIS-II) and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM).

Canadian acculturative attitude survey (CAAS)

Tonks (1990) made use of a measure of acculturative attitudes that was derived from one like those outlined in Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki (1989). The present version was created based upon the questionnaire for Indo-Canadians that was used by Tonks. The modified survey contains 100 items that can be broken down into groups of 20 questions representing each of the five alternative attitudes. These 20 questions also fall into separate content domains (such as friendship or values) so that each of the five attitude types assess similar content. Consequently, each item in this survey is a statement representing one of the five acculturative attitudes styles and one of the 20 domains. The participants are asked to indicate their agreement with these items by responding on a five point likert scale. Scoring of the survey is done through a summation of the corresponding 20 items providing a value for each of the five sub-scales which will fall between 20 and 100.

The items for the present scale were generated with the goal of maintaining the attitude orientation and content domain of each question while new statements were developed to provide ethnically generic wordings for all questions. These questions then were checked for face validity by three trained judges who classified them into each of the five categories. The statements that were worded by Tonks in the negative form to avoid acquiescence response bias were also worded in the negative form in the present survey. The ordering of the 100 statements in the present survey was, however, changed from the order used by Tonks (1990).

Additional scoring was done to categorize participants into one of the five Acculturative Attitude Styles. Using a modification of the method used to categorize participants into identity statuses based upon similar quantitative scores, participants were

placed into these styles. Participants who scored one standard deviation above the mean for the scale were considered “typical” of the acculturative style in a manner similar to the definition of identity statuses. However many participants did not exceed this cut-off criterion, and hence could not be easily classified into acculturative types. As well, those who scored higher than one standard deviation on more than one sub-scale also were not easily considered as belonging to that one type. In these borderline cases, participants were placed in the style that was furthest beyond the criterion when more than one sub-scale cut-off was exceeded. For those who did not exceed any criteria, they were placed into the type whose sub-scale score was closest to the cut-off. When two scales were equally beyond or short of the criterion, the “lower” of the two styles was chosen. The order and cut-offs for these styles was set as: Marginalization (56), Deculturation (65), separation (65), assimilation (65), and integration (88), from lowest to highest. Based upon earlier research with these styles, they were placed into this order, with the styles of separation, assimilation, and Deculturation being arbitrarily ordered.

Extended objective measure of ego-identity status-2 (EOMEIS-II)

The Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status in its second version was developed by Bennion and Adams (1986). This provides a questionnaire means to measure ego-identity status in the paradigm set out by Marcia (1966). This measure has advantages over the ego-Identity Status Interview (ISI) (Marcia & Archer 1993a) insofar as it is much quicker and easier to administer and score than the lengthy interview. The ISI requires prolonged training both to administer and to score, which adds considerably to the time and effort needed for completing a study. Inter-rater reliability checks on the scoring of the interview further extend the time and effort required to assess any given individual. The EOMEIS-II can expand the sample size because of its ease of administration and scoring. This measure also provides the possibility of obtaining a continuous quantitative score for each of the identity statuses or a qualitative classification of individuals into one or another category (explained below) as the ISI is largely limited in doing. However, the EOMEIS-II does fall prey to inaccuracies of categorization in scoring where the interview could provide a means for probing an ambiguous area.

Adams, Bennion, and Huh (1987) have reported on the construct, convergent and predictive validity of the EOMEIS. It is evident from their report that the interview may be able to provide a better classification than the EOMEIS through more in-depth questioning. One area where this is clear, is in the difficulty for the EOMEIS to distinguish between Moratorium and diffusion. This is demonstrated in the fact that a factor analysis by Bennion and Adams (1986) resulted in only three, not four factors for the EOMEIS, with diffusion and Moratorium loading on the same factor. As Adams, Bennion, and Huh (1987) report, this may be “due to the fact that few pure diffusion status types are observed among healthy adolescent populations” (p. 19). In many other studies on the validity of the EOMEIS reported by Adams et al. (1987), it appears that the EOMEIS shows moderate to strong agreement with Marcia’s interview. For example, Adams and Montemayor (1987) found this agreement to range from 73% to 80% for the four statuses, while Adams, Ryan, Hoffman, Dobson and Neilsen (1985) found the agreements to range from 70% to 100%.

The EOMEIS-II makes use of the same four classificatory categories as does the Marcia (1966 1980) interview. Crossing these four categories are two domains: ideological and interpersonal. The “ideology domain” is comprised of sub-scales for occupation, religion, politics, and philosophy. Each of these four sub-scales has two questions for each of the four categories: Achievement, Moratorium, Diffusion, and Foreclosure. The “interpersonal domain” is comprised of the friendship, dating, sex roles and recreation sub-scales, each of which also have two questions for each of the four identity status categories. These finer distinctions are not being used in the present study though.

The scoring of the EOMEIS-II involves summing the ratings from eight items for each of the domain-by-status cells. This provides an independent score for each of the four ideology status categories and each of the four interpersonal status categories. Because participants respond to each item by marking a likert score from 1 to 6, the scores for each of the eight domain-status categories will fall between 8 and 48 (having eight items each). The two domains (interpersonal and ideological) for each of the four

statuses can also be combined to achieve a single score for each of the statuses. These scores fall between 16 and 96. These combined scores are used in the present study.

It is also possible to categorize an individual into one or another of the identity statuses by making use of standard criteria. These criteria are based upon means and standard deviations of numerous previous samples. The suggested cut-off points are one standard deviation above the mean for each of the four scales. Persons meeting these criteria on just one status scale are classified as “pure” types. Those who exceed the cut-off on two of the scales are deemed to be “transitional” types and are placed into the (developmentally) lower of the two statuses. The developmental sequence follows Marcia’s (1966) original scheme, with Diffusion being lowest, then Foreclosure, Moratorium, and finally Achievement.

According to the scale authors, protocols are to be discarded if they demonstrate a score above the cut-off for both Achievement and Diffusion (Adams et al. 1987). They are also to be discarded if the protocol reveals scores above the cut-off for three or more statuses sub-scales. This is because it is believed that the people who completed these protocols are not being very discriminate with their responses. Finally, persons who do not exceed the cut-off on any of the scales are classified as “Low-Profile” Moratorium. The cut-off points that Adams et al. (1987) report for each of the four scales are: Achievement 73, Moratorium 63, Foreclosure 53, and Diffusion 53.

In the present study, however, these “non-pure” types were re-scored by selecting the scale that is furthest above the cut-off mark of one standard deviation above the mean. Also, as with the scoring of the CAAS (described above) participants who did not exceed any of the sub-scale cut-off marks were scored as the status that was closest to the one standard deviation cut-off mark. Where two scores were equal, the developmentally lower scale was chosen.

Multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM)

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) is a self-report questionnaire that is a revised version of one created by Jean Phinney (1989) to assess Ethnic Identity

Development for people from various “ethnic” groups. This measure is comprised of 20 items which are statements representing various aspects of ethnic identity. These aspects include: Ethnic Identity Achievement (EIA) measuring the *degree* of ethnic identity achievement, Affirmation and Belonging (A&B), and Ethnic Behaviours (EB), and Other Group Orientation (OGO). Together these provide a total score of “Ethnic identity” (EI) (Phinney 1992).

The Ethnic Identity Achievement (EIA) score is determined by seven items, the score for Affirmation and Belonging (AB) is composed from five items. While the score for Ethnic Behaviour (EB) is comprised of the responses to two items, Other Group Orientation (OGO) is determined by six items. These four scores on each of the subscales (EIA, AB, EB, & OGO) are a mean score with a value ranging from 1 to 4. These values are obtained by adding item scores, each arising from a four point likert scale and calculating a mean from these totals.

Tonks (1990) reported good reliability and validity for the scores he derived from the earlier Phinney Ethnic Identity Measure (PEIM), and Phinney (1996 1992) reports good reliability statistics for the much revised MEIM. Based upon two samples of a total of about 500 people, Phinney also reports that this measure has demonstrated its ability to provide a sound assessment of Ethnic Identity Achievement. It is a measure that enables researchers to readily explore ethnic identity issues in groups of people who are of heterogeneous or unknown ethnicity.

Procedures

All of the participants from the first study were asked to complete the participant information sheet/consent form. Following a brief introduction to the study most of the participants were then asked to complete the Canadian Identity Questionnaire (study three) and they were then interviewed with the revised-Identity Status Interview (study two). The questionnaire booklets for this first study were then given to the participants to take home and complete on their own time. When they returned their completed questionnaires, they were given a credit slip for 4% towards their final grade in one of the lower-division undergraduate psychology courses. Once about 50 participants had

completed the questionnaires and the interview, additional participants were sought to acquire enough participants to carry out factor analysis on the questionnaire sub-scale scores. These additional participants who did not complete the interview were given the Canadian Identity Questionnaire along with the questionnaire booklets for this first study, both to complete at home on their own time. When these participants returned their completed questionnaires they were given credit slips for 2% towards their final grade in lower-division undergraduate psychology courses. To ensure the correct matching of protocols from the three studies, and to enable the participants access to their own responses, the Participant Information Sheet explicitly asks the participants to retain the portion of it upon which their Participant Number is printed.

The booklets for Study One contained these questionnaires in the following order: first the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey, then the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, followed by the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-II. Following the completion of the questionnaires, participants were asked if they had any questions about the project. Those who showed some interest in the study were informed of the three main goals of the project by the principal researcher who explained the styles typically adopted by participants. He also revealed his own personal cultural background and his experiences of having lived in Quebec that stimulated his interest in this project.

Results

Scale Properties and Mean Scores

In constructing the acculturation questionnaire for this study it was deemed important to examine the scale properties. Having some understanding of the nature of the scales one can more appropriately interpret the scores provided by the participants. In general the scales means show that there is a general preference for integration and achievement. Taken alone these results can be misleading. To better understand these variables an analysis of the reliability and interrelations was made.

In examining the scale properties of these measures various analyses of reliability and validity were considered. For this study there were two forms of reliability considered.

Table 1: Summary of Means and Standard Deviations for Variables from the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status, the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey, and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure.

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Integration	81.14	8.18
Assimilation	56.10	6.59
Separation	59.87	6.27
Deculturation	57.34	6.98
Marginalization	47.58	7.07
Ethnic Identity Achievement	2.658	.522
Achievement	65.79	9.53
Moratorium	52.89	9.35
Foreclosure	31.61	11.97
Diffusion	48.59	9.80

Reliability: Cronbach's Alpha

The first form of reliability, Cronbach's Alpha, involves the analysis of item-whole correlations. SPSS for windows 7.0 was used here, and in all subsequent analyses (SPSS 1995). As seen in Table 2, the computations of Cronbach's Alpha for each of the measures compare favourably to the ones used in Tonks (1990). Presently, the current sample using these sub-scales has produced reliability estimates that are all higher than those estimates from the earlier Tonks (1990) study. In comparison to the alphas that were reported by Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki (1989), the present Canadian

Acculturative Attitude Survey sub-scales also appears to be reasonably reliable. In the four studies cited by these authors, alphas exhibit the following ranges: integration, .70-.78; assimilation, .73-.87; separation, .71-.90; and Marginalization, .67-.87. Deculturation was not used in these earlier studies, but the present scale shows improvement over the Tonks (1990) scale. This may be due to the fact that the revised survey provides a more reliable measure of these attitudes, or that the present sample of participants answered the questions in a more reliable fashion.

Table 2: Scale Reliabilities (Cronbach's Alpha) for Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status, Canadian Acculturative Attitude Scales and Ethnic Identity Achievement

Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	Alpha from Tonks (1990)
Integration	.8044	.7039
Assimilation	.6745	.6168
Separation	.5679	.4903
Deculturation	.6419	.5034
Marginalization	.6843	.4031
Ethnic Identity Achievement /Development	.8111	.7617
Achievement	.8151	.7922
Moratorium	.7691	.7573
Foreclosure	.9137	.9034
Diffusion	.7425	.7329

While a further, more detailed analysis, of particular items for scale building can be made, it is presently beyond the scope of this study. However, it is an important concern for the development of future studies.

Inter-scale Correlations

The inter-scale correlations amongst the sub-scales of the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey provides an indication of the internal consistency of the survey and its

sub-scales. Insofar as separation and assimilation are polar opposites the correlation between scores on these sub-scales can provide some information about the reliability of these sub-scales. Likewise, marginalization and integration are considered to be opposing attitudes, and insofar as they each are measured here, the correlation between these two scales also provides some information about the consistency of these sub-scale to measure acculturative attitudes. In Figure 3 are the correlations from the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey (CAAS) while Figure 4 presents those for the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-II). The present analysis of these inter-scale correlations (along with EIA) provided results that were consistent with those of Tonks (1990).

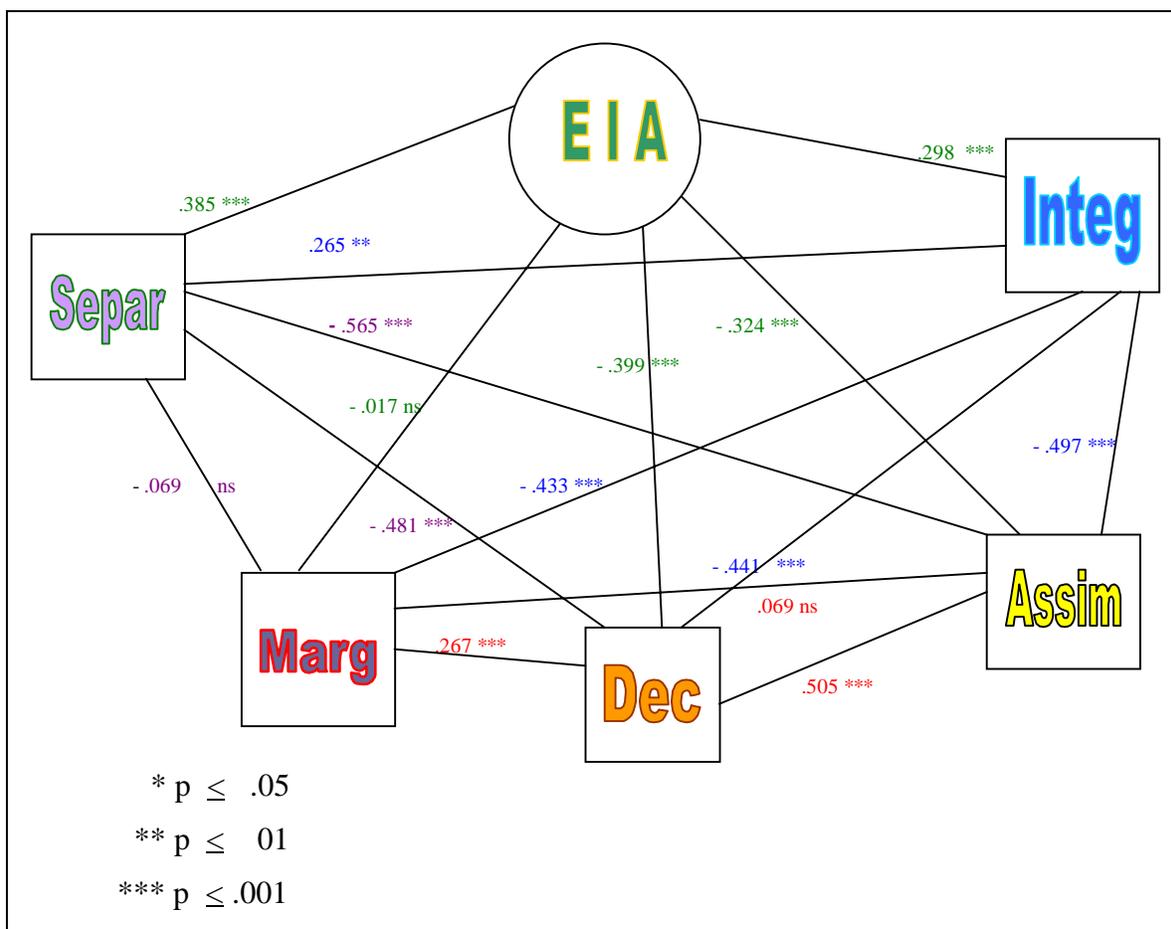


Fig. 3. Inter-scale Correlations for the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey and Ethnic Identity Achievement

The scales have a pattern that was consistent with the expectations based upon the basic rationale of the relationships among the concepts, and the results of earlier studies. Beginning with integration, it has shown a strong negative correlation with assimilation ($r = -.497, p=.000$), Marginalization ($r = -.433, p=.000$), Deculturation ($r = -.441, p=.000$), and a positive correlation with separation ($r = .265, p=.01$). In comparison to Tonks (1990), these results generally match those of this earlier study where all are larger and in the same direction in the present study except for those with separation and with marginalization. With separation, the correlation became positive and much larger, changing from ($r = -.119$) to ($r = .265$). As for marginalization the correlation was slightly smaller, but of a near identical magnitude ($r = -.439$).

Secondly, assimilation exhibited a large negative correlation with separation ($r = -.565, p=.000$), and a large positive correlation with Deculturation ($r = .505, p=.000$). Based upon these correlations, assimilation and marginalization appear to be unrelated. Tonks (1990) reported similar results where his correlations were smaller but of the same direction as the present sample.

Finally, deculturation is seen to have a large negative correlation with both separation ($r = -.481, p=.000$) and integration ($r = -.441, p=.000$), as well as a positive correlation with marginalization ($r = .267, p=.001$) and a strong positive correlation with assimilation. Insofar as these correlations are consistent with the theoretical expectations of the conceptual inter-relations among the scales, as with the Tonks (1990) study, they suggest that there is good reliability here with the measurement of these sub-scales. In comparison to the four studies reviewed by Berry et al. (1989), it appears that the present measures fit with the tremendous variation of inter-scale correlations found across the sample populations of Franco-, Portuguese-, Korean- and Hungarian-Canadians.

As with the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey, the inter-scale correlations for the Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status sub-scales is also of interest. This information also provides some indication of the reliability of measurement of opposing statuses, for example Diffusion and Achievement. Looking at Figure 4, a rather different profile from the one found by Tonks (1990) can be observed regarding the inter-

scale correlations of the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-II) sub-scales and the measure of Ethnic Identity Achievement. In the present study, Achievement has correlated negatively with Moratorium ($r = -.552, p=.000$), Diffusion ($r = -.459, p=.000$) as well as with Foreclosure ($r = -.062, n.s.$). Moratorium, in turn, has correlated highly positively with Diffusion ($r = .440, p=.001$) and weakly positively with Foreclosure ($r = .176, n.s.$). Diffusion and Foreclosure have shown a weak positive correlation ($r = .199, p=.05$).

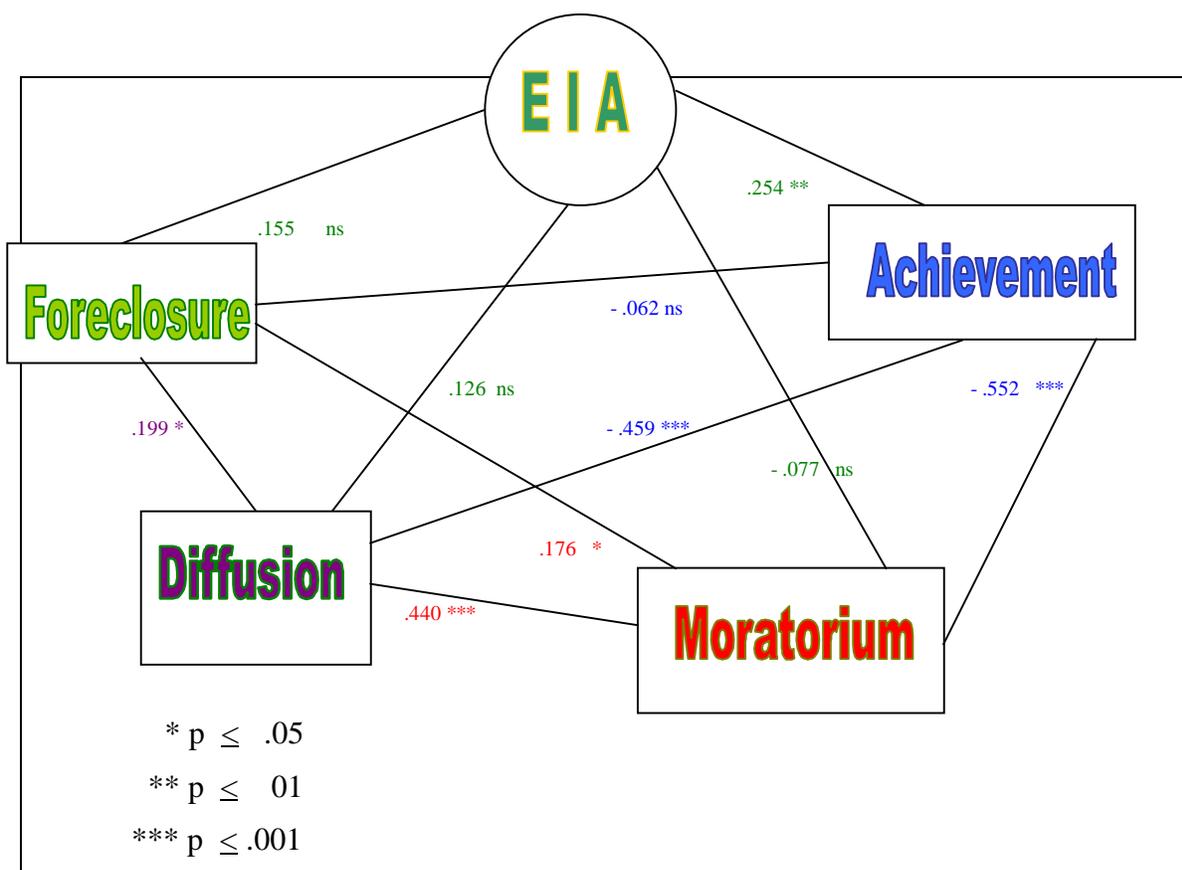


Fig. 4. Inter-scale Correlations Among Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-II Scales and Ethnic Identity Achievement

In comparison with the earlier study, these correlations are all different. The correlation between Achievement and Moratorium changed the most from being unrelated ($r = .058$) in the Tonks (1990) study to highly negatively correlated in the present study. In contrast, the correlation between Diffusion and Foreclosure dropped from ($r = .360$) in the Tonks study, as also was the case for the correlation between Diffusion and Moratorium ($r = .507$). Likewise, the correlation between Moratorium and Foreclosure ($r = .292$) also was smaller in the present study. All of the directions of these inter-scale correlations were the same, but the magnitudes have changed. While the sub-scales are identical to the ones used by Tonks (1990) the present sample of participants (on the whole) appear to more clearly distinguish between Moratorium and Achievement and also show a greater independence of Foreclosure from Diffusion and Moratorium. Finally, they also show only slightly less agreement between Moratorium and Diffusion.

Adams, Bennion, and Huh (1987) have reported that the scales of Moratorium and Diffusion had been more highly correlated in their study than is theoretically expected. Here a similar profile is found such that Moratorium and Diffusion show a reasonably high correlation ($r = .440$, $p = .001$). These scales would ideally be more independent, it appears that the lack of commitment that is common to both of these styles comes through, where the differences in exploration do not. All other correlations make good sense in the context of the theoretical model, where each identity status is either negatively correlated or not correlated at all with the other statuses.

Common Factor Analysis

The general pattern of variables examined above can be seen in the following factor analyses. While specific relationships can be examined and understood through correlational analysis, a more holistic understanding of the relationships among these variables can be found in factor analysis.

SPSS for Windows 8.0 (1998) was used, as with all subsequent analyses. Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis was presently used because of its ability to provide a better estimate of the population parameters (Gorsuch 1983), as opposed to the method of principal components which is better at accounting for the observed variance within the

sample. A varimax rotation was also performed here to maximize the variance on each factor, providing a neater and more simple estimate of the population than a non-rotated solution would offer (Gorsuch 1983).

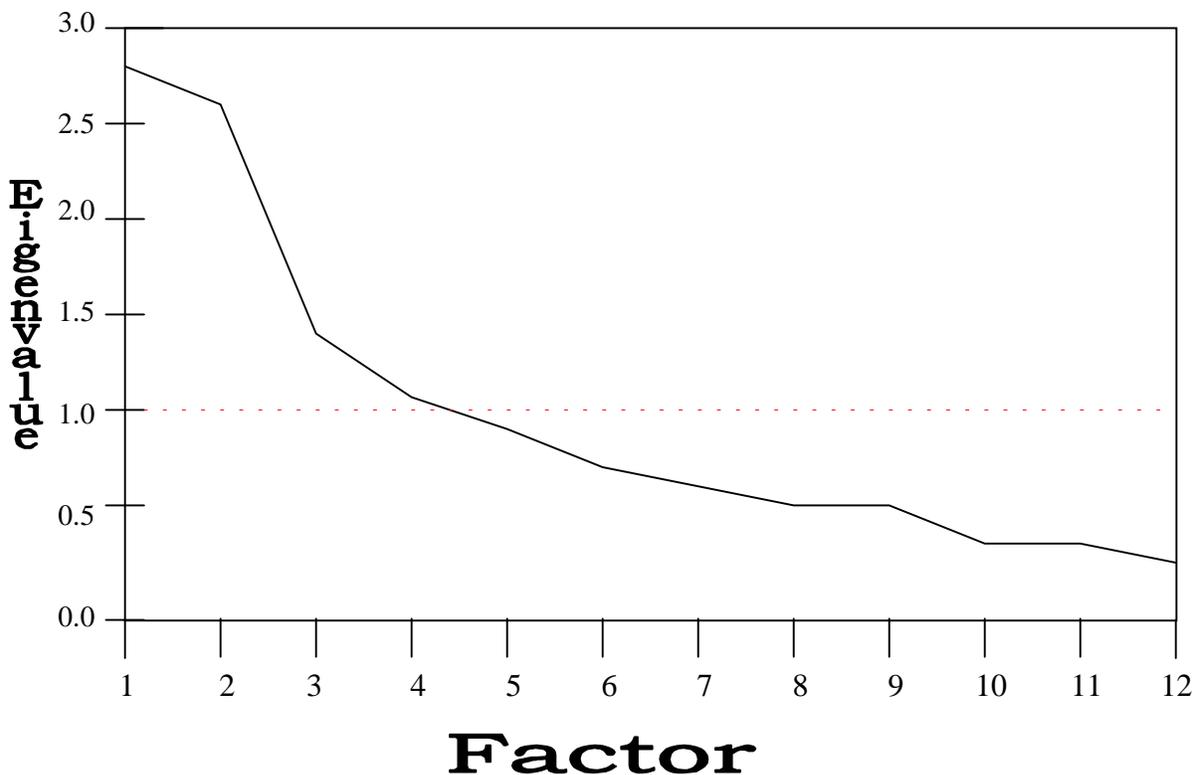


Fig. 5. Factor Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for the Twelve Possible Factors

Numerous methods for choosing factors are accepted, where the root ≥ 1 and scree test are most commonplace (Gorsuch 1983; Loehlin 1987). In examining the number of roots (original eigenvalues) greater than one for the present data set, there are four ranging from 1.13997 to 2.75414. Alternatively, the factor scree plot (Figure 5) suggests that four or six factors would be appropriate since the additional factors do not account for much more variance.

A six-factor solution would account for 57% of the total variance. However, this solution would have provided two factors with only one or two variables loaded on them. As Gorsuch reports: “the major use of factor analysis is to find a limited number of factors that will account for the maximum amount of information” and having two factors with only three variables on them would not lead to a maximizing of information. Against this

consideration, a four-factor solution was settled upon, one that accounted for 49.4 % of the total variance.

The factors appear to account for Ethnic Identity, Identity Development, Cultural Contact, and Early Foreclosure. The first factor clearly picks up most of the variance with five loadings greater than .4 and an eigenvalue of 2.28964. Here, assimilation dominates, with separation coming close to antithesis of assimilation. Deculturation stands close to assimilation and EIA and integration fall back from separation. This factor thus appears to account for “Ethnic Identity” (vs. “no Ethnicity”). About half of the EIA variance was picked up here on this factor.

The second factor is close in weight to the first, with an eigenvalue of 2.15965, and is dominated by Moratorium, with Achievement standing in opposition. Falling close behind Moratorium is Diffusion, and falling behind Achievement is Length of Residence and Age and then EIA. From this split between commitment and Age (vs. no commitment), this factor appears to be characteristic of ego-identity development, however, acculturation, marked by Length of Residence may also be playing an important role here.

Table 3: Maximum Likelihood Rotated Factor Matrix of Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status and Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey Sub-scales with Ethnic Identity Achievement, Age, and Length of Residence.

Variable	Factor	1 <i>Ethnic Identity</i>	2 <i>Identity Development</i>	3 <i>Cultural Contact</i>	4 <i>Early Foreclosure</i>
Assimilation		-.75996	.10623	.11044	.21201
Separation		.74317	-.12758	.13484	.18447
Deculturation		-.61100	.04078	.31376	-.09512
Ethnic Identity Achievement		.50419	.22158	-.06156	.25768
Moratorium		.06126	-.73126	.06262	.04247
Achievement		.06182	.72507	-.17452	.09161
Diffusion		-.00614	-.55858	.45746	.11297
Length of Residence		-.18150	.46582	.01616	-.18082
Age		.08685	.45256	.21765	-.30316
Marginalization		-.03946	-.13126	.71320	.01206
Integration		.47172	-.04248	-.59685	-.12623
Foreclosure		.10072	-.14047	.10014	.60327
<i>Eigenvalue</i> (% of variance)		2.28964 (19.08)	2.15965 (17.99)	.88033 (7.33)	.60224 (5.01)

The third factor is dominated by marginalization, where integration comes close to fulfilling the dialectic. Diffusion and deculturation follow behind marginalization, and Age follows these two. In contrast, Achievement is loaded narrowly on the side of integration. The idea of cultural contact suggests that one can vary here between contact with neither culture (marginalization), or with both (integration).

Finally, the fourth factor is dominated by Foreclosure. Ethnic Identity Achievement and assimilation weakly follow Foreclosure here on the fourth factor with most other variables being largely unrelated to this factor. Age, followed by Length of Residence and Integration, stands in weak opposition to Foreclosure.

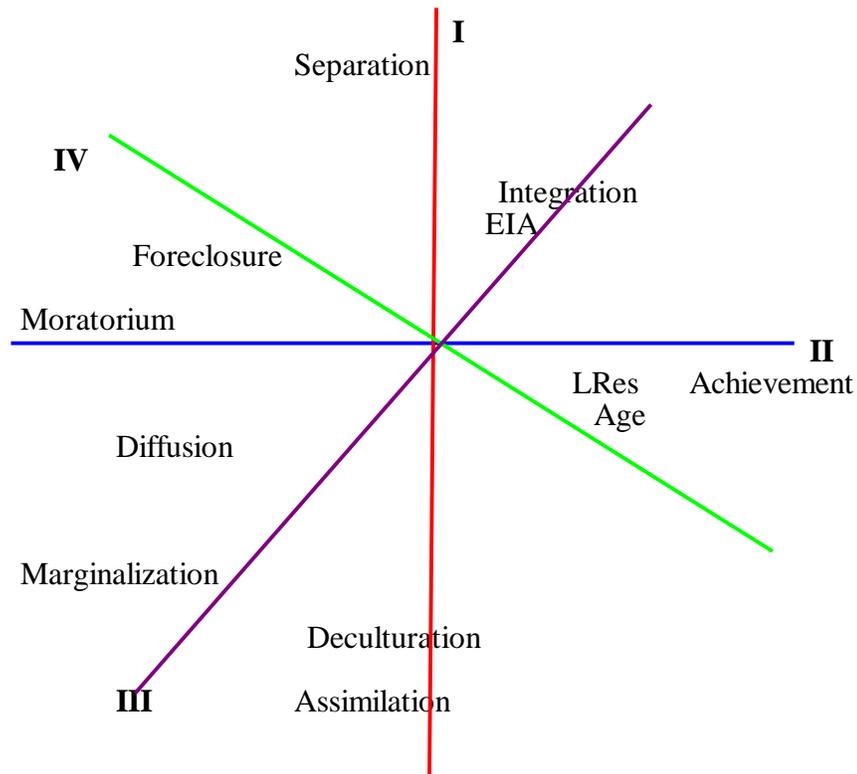


Fig. 6. Plot of Rotated Factor Loadings

The fact that ethnic identity stands on its own, clustered independently from ego-identity development, suggests that ethnic identity is an independent domain. These are two strong factors each with reasonably large eigenvalues in the orthogonal varimax rotation.

Cultural contact as a factor that stands independently from ethnic identity is characterized by a split between the cluster of marginalization, diffusion, deculturation in contrast to integration. One might suggest that this identifies the extremes of cultural contact where marginalization and deculturation are acculturative attitudes that are held by people who have (or desire) contact with no cultures, whereas those who opt for integration have (or desire) contact with two (or more) cultures. The fact that diffusion also loads with marginalization suggests that this third factor is indicative of both a lack of cultural identity as well a strong ego-identity in general. Age, but not Length of

Residence, also appears here where it loads lightly on the side of marginalization and diffusion.

Foreclosure appears to be more common amongst the youth than amongst the older participants. With time people tend to show some exploration, but this appears to be developmentally driven rather than acculturatively.

In the Tonks (1990) study a second factor analysis was done to examine Length of Residence in place of Age, because they both could not be included due to the high correlation ($r = .542, p = .000$) between them. In the present study by comparison, these two demographic variables were not as highly correlated ($r = .352, p = .000$), so it was not a concern that they would form a doublet. In raising another interesting question, these two variables do enable one to consider the relative roles of development and acculturation in the formation of ethnic and national identities. This issue is discussed in further detail below in asking the following question.

Qualitative Analysis of Acculturation and Identity

Study Two: Distribution of Styles and Types

Methods

Participants

The 59 participants in this study were taken as a sub-sample of the participants from Study One. These participants received the questionnaire package from Study Three (CIQ) first and then carried out the revised-Identity Status Interview (r-ISI). Following the completion of the interview, these participants were given the questionnaire booklet for Study Two to complete on their own time. Of these participants, 2 were removed from the sample because they were over the cut off for age (33), and 4 others were not included in all of the analyses because they did not complete all of the corresponding questionnaires from Study One. There were 42 women and 11 men with a mean age of 21.42 years (ranging from 17 to 33) and a mean length of residence in Canada of 17.68 years.

Measures

Revised-identity status interview (r-ISI)

Following the format of the Identity Status Interview (Marcia 1980, Marcia & Archer 1993) the revised-Identity Status Interview (r-ISI) has been developed for the present use. The r-ISI is virtually identical with Marcia's ISI, with the addition of a domain for culture and ethnicity. Pilot interviews have been carried out and have shown this to be a meaningful addition to Marcia's interview that has previously not included ethnicity as a domain. With the semi-structured format this additional domain provides the possibility of uncovering of information that pertains to acculturative attitudes in addition to ethnic identity development.

Examining Ego Identity Statuses and Acculturative Attitude Styles, this interview probes the sense of *belonging* and *intimacy* that participants experience. By asking about *activities* and *relationships* that pertain to their *feelings* of being ethnic and/or Canadian this interview potentially explores and assesses the symbolic and behavioural (expressive) aspects of ethnicity. The principal researcher and one of 7 secondary judges made ratings for each of the Identity domains in addition to an overall rating of Ego-Identity Status and the Acculturative Attitude Style for each of the participants. While it is possible (and usual) that participants are scored as mixed or transition types, the present study restricted scorings to a single type in order to simplify and limit the collection of categories used.

Audio tape recordings of these interviews were scored by two trained judges to establish the reliability of ratings about the Identity Statuses of the participants. The judges varied in agreement where the principal researcher had an over-all agreement of about 69% with all 7 auxiliary (second) judges. There also was 85% agreement with the top two auxiliary judges and 46.7% with the bottom two auxiliary judges.

Procedures

As outlined above, each of the participants first completed the Participant Information sheet/Consent form and the Canadian Identity Questionnaire prior to the commencement of this interview. To begin the interview, each participant was greeted with the opening

comments and requested to have their comments recorded on an audio tape. They each were then individually guided through the interview by a trained interviewer. The r-ISI proceeded through the various domains in the standard order with the cultural domain coming last. All participants were asked about their occupational/educational identity and their ethnic identity. They were given a choice between religion and politics as well as between gender roles and sexual intimacy. Following the completion of the interview, participants were asked if they had any questions about the study. For those who did, the interviewer explained the main goals of the study and shared his experiences of having gone through the interview and pondered these questions about identity and ethnicity. As with the first study, participants were encouraged to keep their participants numbers in order that they could find out what their profiles were at some later date. Some participants asked if they could have a copy of the audio-tape recording of their interview because they had “discovered” aspects about themselves. Following the complete of the data analysis the se tapes were given to those participants who asked for them.

Results

In examining the relationship between acculturative style and Ego-Identity Status for the domain of ethnicity a cross-tabulation was done between ratings of Identity Status Interview Acculturation Style (ISIA) and Identity Status Interview Ethnicity domain (ISIE), as reported in Table 4.

Table 4: Observed and *Expected* Cell Frequencies for Ratings from Identity Status Interview Acculturation Styles (ISIA) vs. Identity Status Interview Ethnicity domain (ISIE).

ISIE ISIA	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement	Total
Marginalization	1 .1	0 .4	0 .3	0 .3	1 1
Deculturation	2 .4	4 2.9	1 1.9	0 1.9	7 7
Separation	0 .3	2 2.1	3 1.3	0 1.3	5 5
Assimilation	0 .9	10 7.0	5 4.6	2 4.6	17 17
Integration	0 1.4	7 10.7	6 7.0	13 7.0	26 26
Total	3 3	23 23	15 15	15 15	56 56

Table 5: Chi-Square and Significance Statistics for ratings from Identity Status Interview Acculturation Styles (ISIA) vs. Identity Status Interview Ethnicity domain (ISIE).

	Value	df	2-tailed significance
Pearson Chi-Square	42.815	12	.000***

These highly significant results (see Table 5) indicate that the observed pattern of counts is different from the expected pattern of cell counts. To begin, the only person scored as marginalization also was scored as diffusion for the domain of ethnicity. Further that most of the Deculturated types were rated as Foreclosure, while two were rated as diffusions. All of the separation types were rated as either Foreclosure (40%) or Moratorium (60%). Interestingly, most of the assimilation types were rated as Foreclosure (59%) and then as Moratorium (29%) with only two as Achievement (12%).

Finally, the integration types were mostly scored as Achievement (50%) and then either as Moratorium (27%) or Foreclosure (23%).

These results indicate that not only is ethnicity an independent domain of ego-identity, but also it is a domain where the participants often take a style different from their overall style. For example, several participants were scored as an overall moratorium but they varied from Achievement to Foreclosure in the domain of ethnicity. In addition, this is a domain of identity where the participants adopt different acculturative attitude styles in a systematic fashion. Insofar as the validity of the r-ISI goes, the pattern observed here generally fits with the theoretical models and the expectations that were laid out in the hypotheses of Study One. Specifically, the large number in the Assimilation/Foreclosure and Integration/Achievement cells make good sense where it appears that many participants have foreclosed to an assimilated “Canadian” identity while many others have achieved an integrated bi-cultural identity. Further analysis of the Identity and Group variables for these participants will reveal whether or not this interpretation appears to be the case.

Study Three: The Meaning of Being Canadian

Methods

Participants

Essentially the same people completed this third study as completed Study One. While about two-thirds of these participants received these two questionnaires together to complete at home one third of the participants completed this study prior to completing the interview (study two) and later took home the questionnaire package for Study One. Attached to the Canadian Identity Questionnaire was a collection of background and demographic questions. A few participants did not complete these questions, leaving a total of 139 for the overall content analysis. Subsequent analysis of Ego Identity Status and Acculturative Attitude Styles used participants from Study Two. Of these there were 11 males and 42 females with a mean age of 21.4 years, ranging in age from 17 to 33.

Measures

Canadian Identity Questionnaire (CIQ)

The *Canadian Identity Questionnaire* has been adapted from the one used by Tonks and Bhatt (1991) in their pilot study. This questionnaire is comprised of two questions and accompanying explanatory instructions. The questions are:

- 1) *“If you think of yourself as Canadian, what does it mean to you to be Canadian? If you do not think of yourself as Canadian, please write what ever you think it would mean to others who themselves think they are Canadian”* and
- 2) *“What does your Ethnicity mean to you?”*

The protocol responses of the participants were coded by trained judges into categories derived from those used by Tonks and Bhatt (1991). As such, specific statements were first identified and then placed into one of the following categories: activities, affections/identifications, dispositional characteristics, identity crisis, nature/geography, policies, relations, symbols/objects, and “other/soap-boxing.” These categories were developed after a perusal of the original protocols followed by some discussion amongst judges about their relevance. In addition to these questions, the participants were asked a number of questions regarding demographic and background information.

Procedures

The participants initially completed the participant information sheet/consent form and were then given the Canadian Identity Questionnaire and a collection of “background questions” to complete. As mentioned above, they were then given the revised-Identity Status Interview (study two) and/or the questionnaire booklet for Study One.

Results

Central to this study are the Identities and Labels used by the participants. The variable of Identity was derived from the participants’ answers to the question: *“Do you identify*

yourself as: a) Canadian? ___ b) Ethnic? ___ c) Ethno-Canadian? ___.” By checking one of these choices they were then categorized as belonging to one of these Identities, hence the variable Identity. Secondly, from the Canadian Identity Questionnaire used in this third study, the variable of Label was derived by asking the participants to provide a label that describes the “Ethnic” group with which they felt some (more or less) feeling of belonging. The name that was given by each of the participants, prior to elaborating on the meaning of their ethnicity, was the self-identification variable “Label.” The Labels for participants from Study Three are provided in Table 6.

Table 6: Self-Chosen Labels of Ethnicity by Categories of Identity

Identity	Canadian	Ethnic	Ethnic-Canadian
L a b e l p r o v i d e d (n =)	Canadian 36 Chinese 7 Chinese-Canadian 4 Scottish 3 Indo-Canadian 3 English 2 Dutch-Canadian 2 French-Canadian 2 Hong-Kong 2 African-Indian Afro-Asian-Canadian Anglo-Canadian British-Canadian Canadian-Finnish Czech-Chilean Dutch Dutch-Christian Dutch-French-Canadian East-Indian English-Canadian Filipino-Canadian German-Canadian Irish / Scottish / - Australian / American Irish-Canadian Italian Italian-Scottish	Chinese 10 Finnish Native Indian Ceylonese Australian Norwegian - Vietnamese Japanese Indonesian-Chinese Filipino Singaporean- Chinese	Chinese-Canadian 5 Chinese 4 Japanese-Canadian 2 Canadian-Chinese 2 Canadian & Indo- Canadian Canadian-Chilean Chinese/Cambodian /Vietnamese Filipino-Canadian Greek-Canadian Hungarian Indo-Canadian Malaysian Malaysian-Chinese- Canadian Persian-Canadian Polish-Canadian Scottish-Canadian Turkish-Canadian

	Japanese-Canadian Jewish Mixed (Japanese- Czech) Portuguese-Indian Scottish-Norwegian Scottish-Swedish Sierra-Leonean Ukrainian-Russian Vietnamese WASP-Canadian		
Totals	88	19	27

Within the Identity “Canadian,” there were 36 participants who chose the label “Canadian,” they comprised Group 1 (Ethnicity ‘Canadian’). This table also makes it clear that many participants chose the identity “Canadian” but in contrast chose an “Ethnic” or “Ethnic-Canadian” (hyphenated) Label (also see Table 7). For example seven participants checked the identity “Canadian” but provided the label “Chinese” and another four participants gave the Label “Chinese-Canadian.” As with the three “Canadian” participants who chose the Label “Scottish,” these seven participants were placed into Group 2 (Ethnicity ‘Canadian-Ethnic’) along with 42 other participants who chose hyphenated-Canadian Labels. Also of interest are the 5 participants who chose mono-cultural “Ethnic” Labels (e.g., Chinese or Canadian) in spite of having chosen the Identity (and Ethnicity) of “Ethnic-Canadian” (Group 4). While it may have been possible to split these participants into a separate group, their smaller number led the researcher to keep them in the same group as the other participants who chose the Identity “Ethnic-Canadian.”

These results can be compared to the results of Bhatt (1994), who investigated and classified participants by similar labels into these same three categories. While she did not ask them to first identify themselves as Canadian, Ethnic or Ethnic-Canadian, she sorted the participants into these same groups following their self definitions.

Bhatt found 37% of participants labelling themselves as Canadian, 41% as Ethnic-Canadian 18% as Ethnic and 3% as other. In the present study, there were 63% of the participants who labelled themselves as Canadian 14% as Ethnic 19% as Ethnic-Canadian, and 4% others. However, in combining Groups 2 and 4 (those who use the hyphenated label) there are: 26% Canadian 14% Ethnic, and 57% Ethnic-Canadian, and 4% others. While these results are similar in profile to those of Bhatt (1994), they underscore the importance of providing the participants with the opportunity to label themselves, rather than simply making a check next to a forced choice alternative. The larger percentage of Ethnic-Canadians vs. Canadians in the present sample may be due to a self-selection bias. Here a number of the participants had indicated gratitude for having the opportunity to participate in this study where other opportunities for them to participate in research were not as interesting to them or relevant to their lives.

As suggested above, by crossing responses to the questions of Identity and Label, five levels of the variable “Ethnicity” were constructed. As seen in Table 7, these “Ethnicities” range from “Canadian” to “Canadian- Ethnic,” “Ethnic,” “Ethnic-Canadian,” and “Other.”

Table 7: Demarcation of “Ethnicity” from Identity and Label with Numbers

Label	Identity	Canadian	Ethnic	Ethnic-Canadian	Total
Canadian		Group 1 n=36			36
Ethnic			Group 3 n=19		19
Ethnic-Canadian		Group 2 n=52		Group 4 n=27	79
Total		88	19	27	134

Here, participants who checked the identity of Canadian were divided into two groups based upon their responses to the question of Label. Group 1 is comprised of participants who identified themselves as Canadian and also gave “Canadian” as their ethnic label. Group 2 (Canadian-Ethnic) is comprised of participants who identified themselves as “Canadian” but in response to the question of Label they gave a hyphenated (-Canadian) answer, such “Scottish-Canadian” or “Indo-Canadian.” While there were

some participants who marked the identity Canadian and used an “Ethnic” label, they were placed into Group 2 (Canadian-Ethnic). Participants from Group 3 (Ethnic) are those who identified themselves as “Ethnic” and also gave an “Ethnic” label, such as Chinese. The Group 4 (Ethnic-Canadian) participants also were consistent across these two variables where they identified themselves as “Ethnic-Canadian” and they also provided an “Ethnic-Canadian (hyphenated) label, such as “Chinese-Canadian” or “Turkish-Canadian.” There also was a fifth group, Group 5 (Others) constructed with those participants who either did not answer the Identity question, or provided no Label in the Study Three questionnaire.

The Canadian Identity Questionnaire (CIQ) protocols were scored (for both questions) using categories of responses that were modified from those used by Tonks and Bhatt (1991). As such, the categories used ranged from Activities (e.g., playing Hockey), to Affections/Identifications (e.g., I love this country), Dispositional Characteristics (e.g., peaceful), and Identity Crisis (e.g., there is no Canadian identity). Other categories were Nature & Geography (e.g., Banff), ‘Other/Soap-Boxing’ (e.g., people should not be racist), Policies (e.g., multiculturalism), Relations (e.g., we are not American), and Symbols & Objects (e.g., the maple leaf). Dispositional Characteristics, Affections/Identifications, and ‘Other/Soap-Boxing’ were new categories, replacing ‘Traits’ from the Tonks & Bhatt study.

In this study by Tonks and Bhatt (1991) the categories were generated after an initial examination of the various responses made. Likewise, in the present study these new categories were generated in a group discussion of four raters who had each examined a number of the questionnaire protocols. It became apparent that the general category of “traits” used by Tonks and Bhatt needed to be broken down into Dispositional Characteristics and Affections/Identifications. This also provides the primary researchers with the opportunity to investigate questions of the identification with Canadian and Ethnic identities through an examination of the Affection/Identification statements. Finally, the category of “Other/Soap-boxing” was constructed to account for various statements that either did not fit into the other categories used or those statements that

appear to have been expressions of discontent in the form of speaking out or “Soap-boxing.” General summary statistics for all of these categories are reported in Table 8.

Table 8: Summary Statistics for Categories from Canadian Identity Questionnaire

Categories	Sum	Mean	Stand. Dev.
Canadian Activities	173	1.16	1.92
Canadian Affection/Identification	152	1.02	1.29
Canadian Disp. Characteristics	526	3.53	2.90
Canadian Identity Crisis	108	.72	1.29
Canadian Nature/Geography	37	.25	.70
Canadian Other/Soap-Boxing	23	.15	.54
Canadian Policies	124	.83	1.31
Canadian Relations	200	1.34	2.32
Canadian Symbols/Objects	46	.31	1.01
Canadian Total	1387	9.31	5.61
Ethnic Activities	233	1.56	2.07
Ethnic Affections/Identifications	144	.97	1.61
Ethnic Disp. Characteristics	262	1.76	2.39
Ethnic Identity Crisis	61	.41	.92
Ethnic Nature/Geography	12	.081	.43
Ethnic Other/Soap-Boxing	9	.060	.33
Ethnic Policies	11	.35	.86
Ethnic Relations	52	.11	.47
Ethnic Symbols/Objects	17	.11	.47
Ethnic Total	796	5.34	4.75

A summary of the meaning of being Canadian for participants from this current study are reported in Table 9. Of these 19 most common responses 1 came from Activities 1 from Affections/Identifications, 7 from Dispositional Characteristics, 3 from Identity Crisis 1 from Nature/Geography, 3 from Policies, and 3 from Relations. In contrast to Table 8 above, these statements provide more detail than the general summary

statistics that describe all categories used in response to the question of “What is Canadian identity?”

Table 9: The 19 Most Frequent Answers to ‘What does it mean to be Canadian?’

Frequency	Statement
42 (8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (Non)-American: - Different from US: (more so than similar) in constitutional priorities, inner cities, health care, persona, political corruption, right wing evangelical maniacs, friendlier
(6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distinct from US: more humble, polite, caring, mild, socially conscious
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Freedom: (to be who or what one wants, of choice from governmental controls, career, speech, school, work, play, and beliefs)
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diverse people (mix): more diverse than we think, diversity is our uniqueness, being diverse, many different backgrounds, traditions, beliefs & types of Canadians (races), many distinct societies, many cultures shared by all, exposed to many traditions
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proud: (7 - Proud of being Canadian)
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - World: (4 - Model for the world in peace-keeping (multiculturalism, diversity, low crime traditions)
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multicultural (diverse ethnicity): country, multicultural environment
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Equal rights: against discrimination, to education, to vote, to express my feelings, non-dominance of any one race, to jobs
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tolerant: tolerance (acceptance) of different: traditions, religions and beliefs
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respectful: to animals, environment, forestry, others, different cultures, traditions, & religions
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [I’m unclear about my relationship to Canadian Identity]: Canadian Identity means not much to me, difficult to say how I fit in to Canadian identity, hard to say why I am proud to be Canadian, I feel in a state of limbo, I feel that I don’t fit in, don’t think about Canadian Identity often, don’t think Canadian is something I need to define myself, don’t think of myself as being Canadian, I find it difficult to say who I am because of diversity
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Knowing: politics, the native cultures, knowledgeable, may or may not know cultural histories, & traditions of Canada
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Living in Canada
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Medical and Social System: protects everyone (lucky to have) to have this welfare system & State, even kept by conservatives
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not a specific, unique or distinct (concrete) culture, way of being, or ethnicity
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beautiful (spectacular) country, land, mountains, sea, prairies, rivers
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fear [lament]: losing identity socially, culturally (through free-trade), that national pride will end with reform (& American media)
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influential persons: (Robertson Davies, Joni Mitchell, Oscar Peterson, Pierre Trudeau, & the guy who invented insulin)
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Others: (e.g., more caring than others)
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People: (3- people can retain their (Indo-Canadian) culture)

Revealing some common themes with the Tonks and Bhatt (1991) study, Table 10 reports the respondent's most common answers from this earlier study.

Table 10: Most common responses to “What is Canadian Identity?” from Tonks and Bhatt (1991).

Frequency	Statement
48	- Reference to United States
(8)	- Different from US
(7)	- Mosaic, not melting pot of US
29	- Freedom
26	- Ethnic (racial) diversity (mosaic)
20	- Unclear idea of Canadian identity (confused)
18	- Multiculturalism
13	- Peaceful
10	- Don't believe there is one (identity)
8	- Patriotically passive (not nationalistic)
8	- Friendly
7	- Laid-back

These two sets of data reveal that being not American remains the most distinctive feature of being Canadian. This is followed by a collection of ideas, including freedom, equality, multiculturalism and tolerance of diversity in culture. Based upon these two samples the policy of multiculturalism appears to be of some success in promoting the multicultural ideology in Canadian Identity. It remains to be seen whether or not these individuals experience racism or prejudice, but in general they express a most positive attitude toward cultural integration. Clear support for the policy is found.

Turning to the issue of ethnicity and what it means for these participants, the top 20 responses are found in Table 11. Here, the most common responses to the question of ethnicity are led by being born or having grown up in a country or culture. These and other activities have taken precedence where there were: 12 Activities, 4 Affection/Identifications, 2 Dispositional Characteristics 1 Nature/Geography, and 1

Relation types of statements in the 20 most common responses. Following being born or raised, the identification that “I am ___” was next most common, then a reference to parents, followed by feeling ___, living in a country, and speaking the language(s). Having pride, following the cultures, participating in holidays, and visiting family were a little further down the top 20 list.

As part of a larger empirical project, these responses provide more meaning and elaboration about the acculturative styles identified with each of the participants in Studies One and Two. In particular, where the Canadian Acculturative Attitude Survey (CAAS) asks the participants to compare Canadian and Ethnic ways of living, or acculturative styles, these responses provide the researcher with content to fill out the generic orientations endorsed or rejected by the participants in the process of answering the questionnaire.

Table 11: The 20 Most Frequent Answers to ‘What does your Ethnicity mean?’

Frequency	Statement
20	- Born: (9 - Born in Canada)
13	- Grew up / Raised / Brought up: (3 - Raised in Canada (Canadian culture))
11	- I am: (2 - I am Canadian)
11	- Parents: (2 - Parents born (& Raised) in Windsor, Ont.)
9	- Feel: (2 - I feel a need to acquire history [& language])
8	- Live(d, ing): (2 - Lived in Canada [for 14 years, since age 5])
8	- Speak(ing): (Speak Chinese more than English)
7	- Proud: (3 - Proud of advances from China, [Hong Kong, Canada])
5	- Following both cultures (both life-styles, Following traditions, I follow French Canadian traditions, Follow mainly European practices)
5	- Participating in holidays (Festivals, Chinese Cultural events, New Year, Jewish holidays)
4	- Visit(ing): (family (2 - in Poland), the Czech Republic, Italy many times)
4	- Must respect the land (trees, mountains, waters)
4	- Great-grand-parents immigrated from: Ireland, Scotland, Austria & USA
3	- Being able to speak both languages (i.e., mandarin)
3	- Eat “East-Indian” food, British Food, Polish Food a lot
3	- Grandparents are Scottish, German, & French
3	- Influenced by school (media, peers)
3	- Knowing about Chilean culture (music, food)
3	- Love Spanish way of life (culture & art)
3	- Support: Canada, China, Hong Kong

While the styles are interesting and of some use, this form of assessing the content of those styles enables researchers to address particular issues of positive and negative identification with Canadian and Ethnic cultures. It further can be used to identify particular issues or domains of Ethnic and Canadian identity within which members of various ethnic communities find most meaningful or more stressful.

Table 12: Responses of ‘Ethnics’ to “What does it mean to be Canadian?”

Category	What does it mean to be Canadian?
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To live in Canada (2) - I am always comparing - To be active
Affections/Identifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National pride based upon neutrality & natural resources, not cultural inheritance - I am a Native Indian - Feeling patriotic & proud of citizenship - I still think of myself as Chinese - To feel you are a part of the society & Canadian Culture - Must think of themselves as being Canadian
Dispositional Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relatively high standard of living - Relative independence from cultural imprinting - Positive assumptions of self from pioneer spirit of ancestors - Can describe Canada as a country-Multicultural country - Means lots of different things to people - Appreciating Canada - Some Canadians are very nice - To be social and political - To know Canadian history, traditions & Culture (2)
Identity Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A questioning attitude, rarely enjoy national pride - Cannot describe Canadians - Canadian Identity is vague - Don't think Canadian Identity is something I need to define myself - We natives are struggling with our identity - I feel that I don't fit in, I feel in a state of limbo - I haven't been here long enough to have a Canadian Identity - Canadian Identity does not mean much to me (because I don't know this country very much) - People (esp. teenagers) don't accept us into their culture - I need to have more Canadian friends - Can deny oneself as being Canadian since it is too vague
Nature/Geography	
Other/"Soap-Boxing"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - White people should not discriminate the new comers (they are too)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I will be Canadian next week [a joke] - I do have Canadian friends
Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Canadian only means citizenship (2)
Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not American - Lots of pride in being different from the U.S.
Symbols/Objects	

It has been of interest to carry out a follow-up to this general survey of specific responses about the meaning of these cultural styles and identities, one that involves an examination of particular cultural groups and their patterns of responses. Thus, some discussion of “Ethnicity” status will be made, however, where the responses from members of Group 3 (Ethnics) are of particular interest. Here these responses will be presented both because of the interest it has generated in the above analyses, also because this is a small group that can be easily presented as an exemplar of this type of analysis. Table 12 reports the responses of this group of participants to the question of what it means to be Canadian.

Table 13: Responses of ‘Ethnics’ (n=6) to “What does your ethnicity mean to you?”

Category	What does your ethnicity mean to you?
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Raised solely as Native Indian - Grew up on the reserve - Born in Canada (but don’t remember), raised in Australia (6-19y) - Born in Vietnam, came to Norway when 4 - Raised in Vietnamese ways & kept the language, speak Norwegian - Contribute to Norwegian system as potential labour - Lived in Chinese culture
Affections/Identifications	-Feeling Australian
Dispositional Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mixed ancestry (German, Scottish, Irish, Native & Chinese) - Mother instilled me with Native beliefs of Great spirit & creator - There is my mother country - Have Vietnamese parents - I have adopted the values, culture & traditions of Norway - Taught/influenced by Chinese literature
Identity Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As adult I often am confused about beliefs - Confused - Reserves stricken with alcohol & drug abuse, poverty

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Confused where I fit in - Never really accepted by other Natives because of “White” mother - I am not white people
Nature/Geography	- Must respect the land, trees, mountains, waters
Other/”Soap-Boxing”	
Policies	
Relations	- As a child, never questioned by non-Natives, as adult met with disbelief when I inform them of my ethnicity
Symbols/Objects	

A careful examination of a few of these participants will provide more insight into the assertion that a small set of people within this group have skewed the group mean within the general analyses provided above. It is through such idiographic analyses that erroneous conclusions about general populations may be averted.

Here there are clear differences from the general sample where a different pattern emerges. Looking at the responses of these participants to the question of the meaning of their sense of ethnicity also provides an interesting picture. Table 13 presents a summary of these people’s responses about the meaning of their sense of ethnicity. Here, the categories of Activities, Dispositional Characteristics and Ethnic Identity Crisis stand as the most common types of responses. As with the general sample, the activities of being born and raised are most common, although the identification of oneself or one’s parents with a tradition is not present, and is replaced by other sorts of descriptions of Dispositional Characteristics and various Ethnic Identity Crisis statements. Again, as with the answers to the meaning of Canadian identity, this collection of descriptions may lead one into hypothesizing that all “Ethnics” stand apart from the “Canadians” and “Ethnic-Canadians,” and have a greater sense of ethnic identity crisis. It is clear from looking at individual profiles that one participant in particular, PN115, has provided the largest number of Ethnic Identity Crisis statements (6), making it important to provide a much more detailed idiographic analysis of this participant’s Ethnic and Canadian identity. While such a detailed case analysis is beyond the present project, this will become a significant part of our ongoing research and future brown bag presentations.

The meaning of Canadian Identity and Ethnicity has been shown to be tremendously diverse among the participants. While being “not American,” a form of negative identity, was most common type of answer, the sheer diversity of answers speaks volumes. The major themes that were commonly observed among the participants were freedom, relating to the world, diversity and multiculturalism. This profile gives some indication of the meaning of Canadian identity.

The collection of answers to Ethnicity also varied considerably, but the most common of the responses pertained to being born in, and growing up or living in a country or culture. Also common among the participants were statements of identification of themselves, their parents or grandparents with a group or tradition. If considered in more detail, as in the case studies of Study Four, these descriptions of the meaning of ethnicity can provide a rich background against which the acculturative styles of Berry’s framework can be understood.

Identity and Ethnicity

Over and above these general attitudes an analysis of the variations of Acculturative Attitude Styles was made across groupings of “Identity” and “Ethnicity.” Expected and observed cell frequencies for Identity vs. Acculturative Style are seen in Table 14. Here, there appears to be an abundance of assimilation (44%) and integration (41%) for those who ascribed to “Canadian” Identity. There also is a reasonable percentage of deculturation (14%) for the “Canadians,” where all but one of the six Deculturated participants had indicated Canadian as their Identity. Similarly most of those choosing “Ethnic” Identity also were scored as having adopted separation (67%) as their Acculturative Attitude Style. Finally, of those who chose “Ethnic-Canadian” Identity, there was a large over-abundance of integration (91%) as the preferred Acculturative Attitude Style.

Table 14: Observed and *Expected* Cell Frequencies for Identity vs. Acculturative Style (ISIA).

Identity ^{ISIA}	Marginal'n	Decultur'n	Separation	Assimil'n	Integrat'n	Total
Canadian	0 <i>0</i>	5 <i>3.9</i>	0 <i>2.6</i>	15 <i>10.5</i>	14 <i>17</i>	34 <i>34</i>
Ethnic	0 <i>0</i>	1 <i>.7</i>	4 <i>.5</i>	0 <i>1.8</i>	1 <i>3</i>	6 <i>6</i>
Ethnic-Canadian	0 <i>0</i>	0 <i>1.4</i>	0 <i>.9</i>	1 <i>3.7</i>	11 <i>6</i>	12 <i>12</i>
Total	0 <i>0</i>	6 <i>6</i>	4 <i>4</i>	16 <i>16</i>	26 <i>26</i>	52 <i>52</i>

Table 15: Chi-Square and Significance Statistics for Identity vs. Acculturative Style (ISIA).

	Value	df	2-tailed significance
Pearson Chi-Square	44.291	6	.000***

As seen in Table 15, the differences of cell frequency for the Identity vs. ISIA ratings was statistically significant at the $p=.000$ level. These results make good sense where “Canadians” are split between assimilation and integration, the “Ethnics” are oriented towards separation, and the “Ethnic-Canadians” are oriented towards integration.

By looking at the Ethnicity construct (which differentiates between Canadians who use the Label Canadian, and those who use Labels in the form of a hyphenated-Canadian), this split in Canadian styles might become better understood. Table 16 reports the observed and expected cell frequencies for Ethnicity vs. Acculturative Style (ISIA). Here, Group 1 (Canadian) shows an abundance of assimilation (63%), which also represents 63% of all participants who chose assimilation as a style. This Ethnicity also has 25% of its participants having chosen deculturation, which represents 75% of all participants who were classified as deculturation. In contrast, Group 2 (Canadian-Ethnic) shows a large percentage of people adopting the integration (71%) style, with a smaller number of

adopting assimilation (24%). Similarly, Group 4 (Ethnic-Canadian) also had a large percentage of people adopting integration (91%) with only one person (8%) adopting assimilation. Group 3 (Ethnics) characteristically has a large proportion of separation (66%) with only one deculturation and one integration. There were no people classified as marginalization in any of the Ethnicities.

Table 16: Observed and Expected Cell Frequencies for Ethnicity vs. Acculturative Style (ISIA)

Ethnicity ^{ISIA}	Margin'n	Decultur'n	Separat'n	Assimil'n	Integrat'n	Total
1. Canadian	0 <i>0</i>	4 <i>1.8</i>	0 <i>1.2</i>	10 <i>4.9</i>	2 <i>8</i>	16 <i>16</i>
2. Canadian -Ethnic	0 <i>0</i>	1 <i>2</i>	0 <i>1.3</i>	4 <i>5.2</i>	12 <i>8.5</i>	17 <i>17</i>
3. Ethnic	0 <i>0</i>	1 <i>.7</i>	4 <i>.5</i>	0 <i>1.8</i>	1 <i>3</i>	6 <i>6</i>
4. Ethnic- Canadian	0 <i>0</i>	0 <i>1.3</i>	0 <i>.8</i>	1 <i>3.4</i>	10 <i>5.5</i>	11 <i>11</i>
5. Other	0 <i>0</i>	0 <i>.2</i>	0 <i>.2</i>	1 <i>.6</i>	1 <i>1</i>	2 <i>2</i>
Total	0 <i>0</i>	6 <i>6</i>	4 <i>4</i>	16 <i>16</i>	26 <i>26</i>	52 <i>52</i>

Table 17: Chi-Square and significance statistics for Ethnicity vs. Acculturative Style (ISIA)

	Value	df	2-tailed significance
Pearson Chi-Square	55.536	12	.000 ***

As seen in Table 17, this pattern of Acculturative Attitude Styles vs. Ethnicity is statistically significant at a very high level of probability ($p=.000$). These results make good sense and suggest that the measure of Identity Status Interview Acculturation (ISIA) has good construct validity. One would expect those people who both identify and label themselves as “Canadian” to accept an assimilation style in contrast to those who label themselves as “Ethnic-Canadian” who tend to accept an integration style of acculturation.

In comparing the two Ethnicities who use the hyphenated-Canadian Label (groups 2 & 4), those who identify themselves as Canadian had a greater percentage of participants choosing assimilation style in comparison to those who identified themselves as Ethnic-Canadian who did not. This too makes sense as it would be expected that those who identify themselves as Ethnic-Canadian will be more interested in maintaining a bi-cultural integrated identity that those who identify themselves as Canadian who may be less committed to their traditional cultures.

Present Project: Adjustment Among Immigrant Youth

Against the background of these pilot studies the present project has been developed. Drawing from the research traditions of Berry and Marcia this project has set out to understand identity and acculturation issues for immigrant youth using the *Immigrant Identity Interview*.

Participants

Participants have been garnered through word of mouth “snowballing” and networking as well as through an undergraduate psychology subject pool. While we are continuing to establish links with other organizations we have acquired the participation of about 50 immigrant youth from a variety of backgrounds.

Collaboration

Collaboration with several Non Governmental Organizations (Settlement Agencies) has also begun, while participants and agency input into this research project continue to be sought. Thus far early discussions and brain storming over issues of relevance to immigrant youth from various countries of origin have been made. Following the analysis of these interviews the information garnered will be shared with various organizations and individuals who are working with immigrant youth, as well as the youth and their families.

Preliminary results

Common themes

As observed by Tonks & Paranjpe (1999), a distinction between early and late immigration is showing up where the younger immigrants appear to integrate their traditional culture and “Canadian” culture, where their older siblings often are more seriously challenged in making an adjustment to life in a new society.

Communication with parents and peers also appears to be important in facilitating adjustment of life in Canada. Where cultural or economic pressures may lead to family conflicts or crises, it appears that those who talk openly and regularly with their parents are more readily and easily settled into Canadian living than are those whose families do not share and express their challenges faced in immigration. Regardless of country of origin (e.g. Hong Kong or Britain) those who do not talk with their families (or surrogates) are more likely to experience severe and prolonged somatic complaints (e.g. hair loss or ulcers).

Further Cases Studies

Cases Studies in Eriksonian method of case history making (Tonks 1999) will be made as the data analysis continues. These accounts offer a detail description of the experiences of particular youth which highlight both the range of responses to immigration as well as a sample of what situations and strategies have led to better or worse degrees of adjustment and stress.

Related Studies

We are currently initiating a companion study on *Acculturative Stress among International Students and Temporary Immigrants*.

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