

University of Alberta

Dimensions of Biculturalism.

The Development of the Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale

by

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Abstract

Four studies (focus groups, exploratory and confirmatory analysis, and follow-up interviews) were designed to investigate people's experiences of biculturalism, particularly as they related to ethnic identity, identity conflict and integration, and hybridity, and to develop a new instrument that would better tap at the concept of biculturalism. Previous literature conducted by Benet-Martinez (2002, 2005) identified two relevant axes for bicultural identity: conflict-harmony and distance-overlap, while Yip (2005), Phinney (1991) and Noels (2004) emphasized the role of context for biculturals. We identified five interrelated dimensions, which provide a better understanding of the experiences of biculturalism. These dimensions are conflict (a perceived discord between the two cultures), monocultural orientation (the desire to be part of only one of the two cultures), flexibility (the alternation of behaviours and attitudes depending on the context), compatibility (perceived congruence between the two cultures) and hybridity (the blend of the two cultures to create one). A new instrument, the Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale, was developed based on the literature review and the anecdotal evidence provided by the participants. The instrument showed validity and reliability. The implications and future directions are discussed in light of the findings.

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Introduction

In recent decades, identity has been studied extensively in many fields of research: psychology, sociology, philosophy and applied linguistics are just a few examples. The methods engaged in this scholarly pursuit are various, ranging from questionnaire surveys to discourse analysis, from experimental to ethnographic methods. The breath of scholarship illustrates that the intricate topic of identity is vital to the understanding of ourselves as individuals in relationship with others. In today's fast-paced world people internalize more than one culture for various reasons, and thus biculturalism and multiculturalism have become important topics to be addressed by identity researchers. The purpose of the proposed studies is to consider the experiences of bicultural people from diverse backgrounds and to suggest a dimensional model of biculturality. We will argue that, at a psychological level bicultural ethnic identity is a dynamic complex system, which encompasses aspects that vary depending on the individuals and on the context in which their bicultural ethnic identity takes shape. We will attempt to understand the structure and dynamics of bicultural identity and how biculturals deal with their multiple ethnicities.

In the following sections, we will present previous research, which attempts to articulate what it means to be bicultural, as well as how bicultural identity is formed from a developmental point of view. In order to understand the various aspects of what came to be understood as bicultural identity and how it is constructed, we will present an overview of the key issues discussed in psychology in the past few decades regarding social identity, and ethnic identity as a subcategory of social identity. We will also briefly

describe current research on acculturation, bicultural identity and the various outcomes that the internalization of a second culture into the self might have on the individual (i.e., hybridity, switching between identities, contextual influences, and various studies relating bicultural identity with psychological well-being). This review will situate the proposed studies within the current literature, as well as indicate where these new studies could possibly offer a more comprehensive outlook on bicultural identity. The objective of this research study is to investigate people's experience of biculturalism, particularly as it relates to ethnic identity, identity conflict, integration and hybridity. We hope that this project will thus contribute to a better understanding of how people with different ethnic backgrounds internalize various cultures and how this relates to their sense of self.

Defining Ethnic Identity

We will start by presenting theories and definitions of social identity, and particularly ethnic identity. In this section, we will also introduce various models of social identity and some of the characteristics of ethnic identity.

Tajfel's (1974) seminal work in social identity theory marked the foundation of what would become a very influential perspective in social psychology. Tajfel suggests that ethnic identity is considered to be a segment of one's overall social identity, which stems from one's ethnic group membership: "That part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership (p.255)". Ethnic identity is one of the multiple social identities that a person may or may not have, depending on whether the particular group a person belongs to makes ethnicity a relevant

marker or not. The sense of belonging to a group emerges as being related to the individual's self-image in a bidimensional way – cognitively (knowledge of the belonging to a group) and affectively (the emotional significance of this group membership).

The affective dimension of social identity is incorporated into the three-factor model put forth by Cameron (2004). He states that there is enough evidence to suggest that social identity is a multidimensional concept, not just bi-dimensional as proposed by Tajfel, and through confirmatory factor analysis studies, he proceeds to test the tripartite model proposed. This model suggests that social identity is comprised of cognitive centrality (the time spent thinking about the group membership and the subjective importance of the group to the self), in-group affect (the positive nature of the feelings associated with being a member in the group) and in-group ties (the perception of belonging and being similar with other members of the group). The concept of the centrality of ethnic identity appears also in the work of other researchers, such as Yip and her colleagues who define it as “the extent to which adolescents choose to build their identity around race/ethnicity” (Yip et al, 2002, p. 1568).

Cameron is not the first to propose a multi-dimensional aspect of social identity. Phinney (1990) also suggested that self-identification, a sense of belonging and pride are common to all ethnic groups. Different aspects have been identified as the key concepts of ethnic identity: a sense of commitment, shared values and attitudes toward the group, or cultural aspects of ethnic identity, such as language, knowledge of history, behaviour (for a review, see Phinney, 1990).

Phinney (1989), as well as other researchers (Marcia, 1960; Cross, 1978; Kim, 1981; Plaza, 2006, and others, for a review see Phinney, 1990) propose a developmental perspective on the acquisition of ethnic identity; the different stages proposed by Phinney (1989) are: the unexamined phase (which could be a lack of interest with ethnicity or the adoption of others' views on ethnicity), the search for ethnic identity (this is a moratorium stage) and the achieved ethnic identity (when one has a clear confident understanding of her/his ethnicity). This model of multi-stage development of ethnicity comes from an Eriksonian tradition of psychodynamic understanding of identity and its development.

Cameron's centrality and Phinney's notion of commitment are similar concepts in what social and ethnic identities are concerned. These characteristics are considered to be relatively stable over time and context. Another similar notion is the ethnic salience, as evidenced by Yip (2005). Salience seems to be a more contextual concept, meaning that people's ethnic identity comes to the forefront of their identity in particular contexts, such as an environment dominated by their heritage language or the presence of members of their ethnic group. Yip suggests that people with a higher sense of ethnic centrality will evidence higher ethnic salience across various settings. This study investigates two features of settings which are hypothesized to influence ethnic salience. These features are family and language. The conclusions of the study indicate that the participants' ethnic salience varies naturally across situations, giving more evidence to the fluid and dynamic nature of ethnic identity. As predicted by the researcher, the ethnic composition of the setting and the language spoken in that particular setting predicted ethnic salience. Furthermore, positive regard and attitudes towards oneself, as well as towards one's

ethnic group, might explain the relationship between ethnic salience and psychological well-being.

The studies discussed here propose a unilateral view on ethnic identity, talking mainly about the identification of bicultural individuals with their heritage ethnic background, while ignoring the influence that the dominant group might have on them. Clément and Noels (1992) proposed a situated approach to identity, suggesting that the context influences the ethnic identification of individuals with a dual ethnic background, such that at times they might identify with the heritage group stronger, while at other times they might identify with the mainstream group stronger. Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004), in an extensive review of the literature, brought together previous attempts at addressing the multidimensionality of identity. They emphasize that the elements of collective identity are self-categorization, evaluation, importance, attachment and sense of interdependence, social embeddedness, behavioural involvement and content and meaning, and that the outcomes of these elements are mediated by contextual factors.

The definitions of ethnic identity in the current literature are many and diverse. Helms (1994), for example, argues that individuals' present ethnic identity is the result of the blend between their ancestral group and the requirements of the culture in which they presently reside. Phinney (1991) and other researchers see ethnic identity as a "multidimensional construct, involving ethnic feelings, attitudes, knowledge, and behaviours" (p.193). Based on these definitions and models proposed in the literature, we will consider ethnic identity to be a multi-dimensional concept, which varies depending on the context, as well as the individual. The salience and centrality of ethnic

identity are important in the construction of a bicultural ethnic identity, one in which the individuals consider themselves to be part of the dominant culture, as well as the ethnic group. Acculturation literature investigates the way in which people accommodate the two different ethnicities.

Acculturation Models, Bicultural Identity and Hybridity

Nowadays, due to the mobility that characterizes our world, people are much more likely to leave their own environment and move to a different one, for a variety of reasons, such as political, economic, environmental or social reasons. The change of environments has an impact on the individual, but this influence can vary depending on numerous factors, such as the receiving dominant culture, as well as the individual's capacity to adapt to the new environment. Acculturation research investigates the way in which people accommodate the two different environments, their original one and the dominant culture in which they immerse themselves. We are particularly interested in the processes that lead individuals to become bicultural. We will take a closer look at the acculturation models proposed by Berry and LaFromboise and how these models can help us better understand the bicultural identity.

The model proposed by Berry has influenced many acculturation studies. Berry (1980, 2001, 2006) argues that there are two dimensions that emerge as significant when individuals move to an ethnic environment other than their own. These two dimensions are the maintenance of the heritage culture and identity and the relationship between the individual and the majority ethnic culture. Based on whether one is low or high in the maintenance aspect, and the relationship aspect, respectively, Berry (2001) proposed four

different strategies for acculturation. Assimilation, he argues, occurs when the individuals are not interested in maintaining their heritage identity, but seek constant interactions with the dominant culture. When individuals lose their interest in maintaining the heritage culture, but do not seek interactions with the majority culture either, another acculturation strategy, called marginalization, occurs. Separation is defined by the individuals' desire to maintain their heritage culture, while not converging with the dominant culture. Last is the integration strategy, which is defined by the desire to maintain their heritage, while seeking contact with the dominant culture.

It would seem obvious then for us to focus mostly on the integrated individuals, since they seem to be the biculturals emerging from these four acculturation strategies. Nonetheless, we must consider what really happens in the other three strategies proposed by Berry. Can people abandon everything related to their original culture when they become assimilated? Can they really not have any relationship with the host culture when they are separated? And can people really not maintain ties or characteristics of any culture as in the case of the marginalized model? Padilla (2006) and Del Pilar and Udasco (2004) argue against such concepts, considering them to be too vague and lacking scientific evidence. Nonetheless, the model proposed by Berry is still an influential one and used extensively in the psychological literature on acculturation, and thus we will attempt to address it in our discussion of biculturalism. Based on Berry's model, integrated individuals will seek to maintain their own culture and identity and also to interact and adapt to the new environment and the new ethnicity, however biculturalism could be attained by any of the other three groups, to a lesser extent. Integration can be

conceived in a variety of ways, and more recent literature has attempted to better understand it.

In a recent study, Boski (2008) proposes a five-level model of integration, suggesting that integration is not a straightforward concept as it is usually considered, and trying to bring together the various models for biculturalism. The five levels he suggests are: acculturation attitudes encompassing ideas on how one can adapt to a new environment (based on Berry's work); culture perception and evaluation is the next level, where individuals identify the differences and similarities between the two cultures and evaluate them on a personal level (based on Boski); the third level is functional specialization, meaning that the individuals compartmentalize their lives into public and private, associating each sphere with particular appropriate behaviours (based on Arendt-Toth, 2003; see also Noels and her colleagues, 2004; Yip and her colleagues, 2002, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002 – the description of compartmentalization); when the individual starts to integrate the two domains, the fourth level emerges, that being the bicultural individual, who can either be in harmony or conflicted (based on Benet-Martínez's work); and the last level is the cultural heteronomy, or the autonomy of the self, which can also be considered the achievement of a “universalist self” or Bennett's “constructed marginal individual” (Boski, 2008), or the “integrated bicultural” described by Roccas and Brewer (2002) . It seems Boski is proposing a developmental approach to integration, where the bicultural individual moves along a continuum from the integrated individual proposed by Berry to a universalist person, a kind of global citizen who does not feel they belong to one cultural group or another, but rather to all of them, an all-encompassing integrationist approach.

Another discussion of acculturation, proposed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) also provides insight into the experience of bicultural identity, as well as integration. They argue that their view on acculturation describes the transition from the culture of origin to gaining cultural competence in the dominant culture. LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) define an individual's cultural competence as possessing a strong identity, knowing and being able to ascribe to the beliefs and values of the culture, communicating in the language of the group, behaving in a socially acceptable manner, maintaining social relationships within the group and being able to deal with the institutions of that culture. While they state that one need not be entirely competent in all these aspects, the researchers argue that the more competent they are on these continua, the fewer problems they will encounter in functioning in the new environment.

LaFromboise and her colleagues do not propose a measure for bicultural competence, and for that reason, it can be understood in various ways. Chen, Benet-Martinez and Bond (2008) investigated the relationship between bicultural competence and bicultural identity, reducing the notion of competence to language ability and usage, and media exposure. We could argue here that the notion proposed by LaFromboise and her colleagues is more than that, it is the ability to function perfectly in both cultures, behaviourally and cognitively; we can even infer that this functionality does not have a negative effect affectively.

The models LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) argue for are: assimilation, acculturation, alternation, multiculturalism and fusion. Assimilation is the process of "absorption into the culture that is perceived as dominant or more desirable" (LaFromboise et al, 1993, p. 397), which will eventually lead the individual to abandon

their original culture to some extent and acquire the cultural identity of the dominant group. Similarly, the fusion model proposed by the researchers suggests that the cultures will fuse together to such extent that they will create a new culture, different from the original ones, however, the minority culture might be lost in the dominant culture. To some extent, the assimilation model proposed by LaFromboise and her colleagues resembles Berry's assimilation model, with the only difference that LaFromboise incorporates a temporal aspect of assimilation, by proposing a slow absorption of the minority group in the dominant one.

The acculturation model emphasizes that some individuals will become entirely competent in the new culture, but will also always remain a member of the original culture. The alternation model postulates that one can be competent in both cultures and can choose which to identify within various contexts, while the multicultural one states that one can keep a positive identification with the original culture, while developing relationships with other ethnic groups with which they will work towards common goals.

All the models proposed by LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) seem to lead to the formation of a bicultural identity, even though the end result will certainly be quite different, depending on the strategy adopted by each individual. Even in the case of assimilation or fusion, one can only abandon the original culture to a certain extent, while maintaining, voluntarily or involuntarily, some aspects of it. LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) argue that the fusion model is different from the assimilation model, because there is no cultural superiority between the two cultures in contact, and the emerging culture has elements from both of the original cultures. The individuals undergoing this type of adaptation to the new culture might emerge with a hybrid

identity, a blend of the heritage culture and the dominant culture. The five models described here are formulated for groups of individuals; nonetheless, one could argue that some features could apply to specific individuals also.

A hybrid identity could also be the result of the acculturation or alternation models described above, even though in these cases a blend of the two identities would be less obvious; in change, the individuals would most likely exhibit cultural frame-switching, knowing when it is appropriate to behave according to the values of the ethnic group and when to switch to behaving like a member of the majority group, a similar idea to Boski's third level, the functional specialization.

The fusion model proposed by LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) shows similarities with the asymmetrical hybrid identity proposed by Dallaire and Denis (2005) in their study of francophone youths. They present the notion of ethnic hybridity to represent the identity of the young Francophones in various regions of Canada. Francophones have a special place in the Canadian milieu, since their language has the status of one of the official languages. Dallaire and Denis (2005) emphasize that the majority of the Francophones in Canada are bilingual, and the researchers suggest that they are also bicultural. The historical struggle of the French Canadian community to maintain their identity reflects the importance of the preservation of the language in maintaining an identity. The studies presented by Dallaire suggest that the Francophones not only identify with the French community, but also with the Anglo community. Various excerpts from interviews conducted by Dallaire and her colleague present a quite unique picture: the adolescents are not confused or conflicted about their identities, they are bilingual Canadians, Francophones and Anglophones, perfectly adjusted to

functioning in any linguistic situation. However, they do not identify themselves with one or the other, but rather with a fusion, a hybrid of these two manners of being Canadian.

Dallaire and Denis (2005) argue that in the case of hybrid identities, the individuals do not identify with one or the other culture in different contexts, but with both at all times. They state that hybridity refers to the “transgression of socially constructed cultural boundaries and to the cross-border experience” (Dallaire et al, 2005, p. 147). They argue that hybridity puts forth not only the similarities between cultures, which allows them to merge, but also the differences – it is the blending of the two identities, as well as their separateness. In other words, hybridity is the integration of the two cultures in different ways and under different circumstances – there are differences and similarities between Francophones who live predominantly in French, but identify with both the Anglophone and Francophone culture, and the ones who are mostly Anglophones, but insist on maintaining their Francophone identity. Dallaire and Denis (2005) argue that the formation and preservation of the hybrid identity is something that falls beyond the socio-political context and norms, but they shape it, to a certain extent. Their use of the term asymmetrical for defining hybrid identity in Francophone youth in Canada is due to the differences in the social and political environment in various provinces of Canada. Francophones and Anglophones have a long history of co-existence and mutual influence in Canada. The question that arises then is whether the development of a hybrid identity is a temporal matter, and whether in the case of more recent immigrants this hybrid identity can be formed, as well as the whether there are underlying conditions for the development of such an identity.

The differences between the fusion model proposed by LaFromboise and her colleagues (1993) and hybrid identity suggested Dallaire and Denis (2005) are evident: while the fusion model states that the two initial cultures merge together to form a third one, the hybrid identity postulates cultural competence in both cultures, as well as a strong feeling of identification with both cultures at all times. The fusion model can also be illustrated with by the “hyphenated identities” proposed by Roccas and Brewer (2002), who describe the bicultural in this category as the representation of the “the unique cultural configurations derived from the specific experiences of enacting a particular ethnic-cultural identity within the American context” (p. 92). The hybridity concept put forth here leads us to try to understand biculturality through the notion of the kaleidoscopic self proposed by Deaux and Perkins (2001).

Deaux and Perkins (2001) argue that these multiple self-representations of the identity of an individual are connected and influence each other in any given situation. In their view, depending on the situation, a particular self-representation comes forth, but this does not imply that the other aspects of identity are silenced completely; on the contrary, even though they are not the main self-representation, they are still part of the self and have an impact on the facet that is activated in a particular context. Thus, we could argue that depending on the situation, one might feel more identified with their own ethnic group or with the host culture, but that does not mean the other ethnic identity is eradicated at that point. Although one ethnic identity might not play a significant role in a particular situation, it will always remain a part of the self and have an influence in that particular situation.

For some bicultural individuals the kaleidoscopic self would mean that, since they have competency in both cultures, they would know which identity to display and when, but their second identity, be it the heritage one or the one acquired through interaction with the dominant culture, would always be in the background influencing them. Also in the case of individuals who experience acculturation through the fusion or assimilation models, a kaleidoscopic self would imply that the ethnic identity remained in the background, even if the individuals would display an identity closer to the one of the dominant group.

Biculturalism, Switching between Identities and Three Emerging Dimensions

The notion of frame switching in bicultural individuals is developed more in depth by Hong, Chiu, Morris and Benet-Martínez (2000). Contrary to Deaux and others' view that individuals have, to some degree, agency in creating and negotiating their identities, Hong, Morris, Chiu and Benet-Martínez (2000) argue that automaticity plays a significant role in individuals' cognition and behaviour. The study, which focused on bicultural individuals who are defined as having "internalized two cultures to the extent that both cultures are alive inside of them" (Hong et al, 2000, p. 710), looked at the cultural frame switching arising from priming with different cultural icons. The participants, westernized Chinese in Hong Kong and Chinese descendents in the United States were primed with Chinese and American cultural icons and were then given an apparently unrelated task, which was to describe an ambiguous image. As predicted by the researchers, fewer participants in the American priming condition than in the Chinese priming condition generated explanations for the ambiguous image that referred to the

external social context. Hong and her colleagues (2000) conclude that priming with cultural relevant icons brings forth one ethnic identity and the individual is predisposed to making decisions based on the that identity without even being aware of it.

Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee and Morris (2002) put forward the idea that shifting between the two cultures is moderated by the perceived compatibility or opposition between the two cultural perspectives, a continuum that could be considered another dimension of biculturality. The continuum they propose from compatibility between the two cultures to opposition is termed bicultural identity integration (BII). They hypothesized that people high on BII will behave according to the prime (either depict more Chinese characteristics when primed with a Chinese cultural icon, or more American when primed with the American primes), while people low on BII will behave in a resistant manner to the primers and the studies presented supported their hypotheses. Benet-Martínez et al (2002) argue that this is evidence of the great variability within the individuals of an ethnic group and that bicultural individuals possess the necessary tools to adapt to different situations, in light of their cultural belongingness to two groups.

Another study conducted by Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) argued that BII is actually composed of two separate dimensions: perceptions of distance (perceiving the two cultures as separate and dissociated versus overlapping) and perceptions of conflict (feeling torn between the two cultural identities versus a feeling of harmony between the two cultures). An instrument was developed and tested to assess the proposed characteristics of bicultural individuals. Results showed that the distance items were positively correlated with age, years spent in China, Chinese language proficiency, separation, linguistic stress and cultural isolation, and negatively correlated with years

spent in the US, US identity, bicultural competence and openness. The conflict items positively correlated only with intercultural relation, discrimination and isolation – all indicators of stress – and neuroticism. It is thus obvious that the two dimensions attempt to tap different characteristics of the bicultural identity, however, only the distance scale correlates with most of the predictors, indicating that either the conflict scale's theoretical model might be flawed, or that the particular items of the scale are not valid indicators of the construct.

Another study conducted by Cheng, Lee and Benet-Martínez (2006) provides more support for the validity of the distance scale, while again bringing into question the validity of the conflict dimension proposed in the earlier studies. In this article, the concept of overlapping cultural identities correlated positively with the American identity, the use and proficiency in English, the generation and years spent in the US, as well as with the acculturation strategies proposed by Berry of integration and assimilation. In this study, the conflict scale was found to be unreliable (with an α value of .45), and was dropped from the analysis of results (Cheng et al, 2006), showing again support for the distance scale, but not for the conflict scale.

Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) argue that the “attitudes regarding the conceptual organization of dual cultures and feelings associated with the emotional process of navigating one's position within and between each culture” (Benet-Martínez et al, 2005, p. 1044) are two identity constructs that deserve closer attention. If individuals do not experience perceptions of conflict between the two cultures that they identify with, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) suggest that their identities could fuse. This notion of fusion between the two cultures resembles LaFromboise and her colleagues' model –

fusion –, which then referred to the melting of the two cultures to form a new one, different than the original cultures. Fusion or overlap also correlated significantly with the integration and assimilation notions proposed by Berry (Cheng et al, 2006). It is not clear how Benet-Martínez's notion of fusion resembles the acculturation models, that when the two identities are low on the dimension of conflict they have to fuse, melt and become a new identity, or whether they simply interact and influence each other to a certain extent.

The notion of conflict between the two ethnic identities has also been investigated in depth by Ward (2008). The author suggests that ethno-cultural identity conflict is a function of the cultural distance between the two ethnic groups, meaning that people who originate from a country whose language, culture and ethnic composition are significantly different from the host group will experience more conflict, at least in the first generation. Based on previous studies, Ward (2008) proposes that developmental factors, family values and dynamics, and intergroup factors are relevant predictors of identity conflict. It appears that the ethno-cultural conflict has similar features to Marcia's moratorium stage in that it is characterized by the search for identity, but also a lack of commitment, possibly based on the perceived incompatibility of the ethnic identities. Traditional and modern family values, intergenerational conflict and perceived discrimination from the out-group are also suggested to influence the ethnic identity conflict (Ward, 2008). The ethno-cultural identity conflict scale showed that individuals who are integrated (according to Berry's model) will experience less conflict, as opposed to assimilated, marginalized and separated ones. The scale also correlated significantly with measures of

depression, and social difficulty (Ward, 2008), indicating it could be a reliable indicator of well-being in bicultural individuals.

Another dimension that seems to be emerging in recent literature on bicultural identity is the notion of essentialism. Chao, Chen, Roisman and Hong (2007) argued in a study that essentialist beliefs about race (the beliefs that boundaries between races are rigid and moving between cultures is difficult) build a frame of mind that influences how bicultural individuals move between their cultures. The participants were Chinese American individuals who reported proficiency in both languages. Chao and her colleagues (2007) conducted two experiments to investigate their hypothesis; the first one was a priming experiment, which showed that higher degrees of essentialism were correlated with increased difficulty in switching between the two cultures. The second study was a structured interview, during which the investigators recorded the participants' electrodermal responses, hypothesizing that participants higher in essentialist beliefs will show threat related biological responses to questions about their bicultural identity. Chao and her colleagues (2007) suggest that essentialist beliefs about race, that is, people who are less malleable when it comes to moving between cultures, have a harder time navigating between cultures.

Another study conducted by No, Hong, Liao, Lee, Wood and Chao (2008) examined the notion of essentialist beliefs (that race reflects traits and attributes that cannot be changed) versus more social constructivist beliefs (that race is socially constructed) and found that biculturals who adhere to the latter are predisposed to perceive more similarity between Asians and Americans, and also to identify more consistently and assimilate towards the American culture, as opposed to the participants

who endorsed more essentialist beliefs. It emerges from these studies that one dimension of bicultural identity could be the stable – fluid perception that bicultural individuals might have of their ethnic identity, such that the biculturals who hold essentialist beliefs about race (and ethnicity) would be more stable in their ethnic identity, as opposed to the ones who endorse a more social constructivist approach, who could find it easier to navigate between them.

Biculturalism, a Situational Approach, and Psychological Well-being

The well-being of bicultural individuals is an underlying issue that concerns much of the research done in this field. Many researchers argue that the concept of identity actually incorporates a variety of social identities that are brought to the forefront by the situational factors, or that depending on the situation, the bicultural individual knows which identity should be displayed. In the same line of thought, Clément and Noels (1992) proposed a situated approach to identity based on the idea that individuals “seek to maintain a positive self-image” (Clément, Noels & Deneault, 2001, p.562) across situations. Clément and Noels (1992) focus on two aspects of context: the macro-social level of the relative status of the two ethnic groups and the more immediate interpersonal context. This approach is based on the idea that an individual not only has multiple self-representations, but also that his or her feelings of belonging may vary depending on the immediate situation, defined in terms of the setting where the encounter takes place, the activity in which the individual is engaged, and the focus of the interaction (Noels, Clément & Gaudet, 2004).

Noels and her colleagues (2004) found that individuals differ in their levels of identification with the minority and majority ethnic groups depending on whether the interaction takes place in public, less intimate situations, or in private, more intimate situations. They administered a questionnaire survey to international students asking them to rate the degree to which they identified with their ethnic group and with the host culture in different situations. The situations differed in intimacy, and they varied in terms of setting, the interlocutor and the activity performed. The results suggest that people tend to retain their ethnic identity in more private settings, that is with friends and family, and identify more with the host ethnic group in less intimate settings, such as school or public (Noels et al, 2004).

Psychological well-being has also been linked to the situational aspect of ethnic identity by Yip and Fuligni (2002). They propose that ethnic identity is not only a stable trait, but also a “dynamic and interactive self-concept” (Yip et al, 2002, p. 1557), for which the situational context is extremely important. They recommend a view on ethnic identity to incorporate two components – a stable one and a changing component. The latter element of one’s ethnic identity is said to vary and fluctuate in order to serve as a possible buffer to threats to self-esteem and positive self-concept. Also, Yip and Fuligni (2002) suggest that the presence of other members of their ethnic group, or family and language (Yip, 2005) might influence the degrees of ethnic identification.

A study of Anglophones in a French-English bilingual university in Canada was conducted by Damji, Clément and Noels (1996) and looked at the type of cultural identification (changing versus stable), which produced more stress, thus more psychological maladjustment. The results indicated that Anglophones who identified

exclusively with their first language group, but who had a high degree of variability in the Anglophone identity across situations experienced more stress, more depression and lower self-esteem. This study suggests that exclusive identification with the first language group is not enough to promote a positive self-image, but the situational factors also play an important role. In this particular case, the participants were experiencing living within the boundaries of a bilingual-bicultural environment, where for the first time they had to interact with Francophones and use French in their daily encounters. The strong identification with the Anglophone identity thus came to be at odds with the everyday requirements of the new environment the participants were immersed in. The low psychological well-being exhibited by the Anglophone participants was possibly determined by the perceived environmental threats to their self-identification with the first language group.

Context comes across as a relevant factor in bicultural individuals' lives, not only for their well-being, but also for the way their identities move to the forefront of their personalities. Deaux (1993) goes as far as to argue that ethnic identity tends to be stable over time, but that the variation comes with a change in context which leads to renegotiation of ethnic identity.

The questions that arise after these discussions relate to the relationship that might exist between conflict, overlap, and stability perceived by bicultural individuals and the influence that the context might have on these dimensions. Is ethnic variability or switching according to the context part of any of these concepts or is it a separate concept?

Objectives

The objective of this research project is to investigate people's experience of biculturalism, particularly as it relates to ethnic identity, identity conflict and integration, and hybridity, and to develop a new instrument that will better tap at the concept of biculturalism. The two axes proposed by Benet-Martínez will be investigated with new items, and we will also consider other dimensions, such as stable versus fluid biculturalism, based on the essentialism notion proposed by Chao and her colleagues (2007) and the situational switching of identities proposed by Yip and Noels. We will investigate whether there are any other relevant dimensions and themes for biculturalism. We will attempt to find new ways of describing the experiences of biculturalism, craft items in the voice of biculturals that will render a more comprehensive description of bicultural experiences. The project will contribute to a better understanding of how people with different ethnic backgrounds internalize different cultures and how this relates to their sense of self.

The research program will be carried out in four stages: (1) people who define themselves as bicultural (e.g. first and second generation immigrants, offsprings of mixed ethnic marriages, etc.) will be interviewed regarding their experience of ethnic identity. This micro-level data will be explored vis-à-vis the identities of bicultural individuals; (2) based on this analysis, a quantitative instrument will be developed and tested, which will allow us to examine the identity profiles of a large number of bicultural individuals from a variety of backgrounds; (3) we will carry out a confirmatory analysis of the newly developed instrument, in order to ensure its validity and reliability; (4) in the final stage

of the study, participants will be invited for a brief follow-up interview to discuss the new instrument and how well this instrument reflects their bicultural identity.

Study 1 – Focus Groups¹

Objectives

The first study of this research project consisted of focus groups with bicultural individuals from diverse backgrounds. The purpose of these focus groups was to explore whether there are other dimensions of biculturality that have not been identified in the literature review and to better understand the biculturals' understanding of the previously identified dimensions. Another objective was to help us craft scale items in such a way that the wording of the scale would be similar to the phrasing used by bicultural individuals to describe their experiences.

Participants

The participants in the first study were university students, enrolled in Introduction to Psychology classes, who received class credit for their participation in the focus group. Since the purpose of the focus group interviews was to gather as many and diverse experiences of biculturalism, the selection criteria for participants was that either they or their parents must have been born outside of Canada. A total of 36 participants took part in the 10 focus group interviews, with 2 to 6 participants per group. They were interviewed by the researcher (as moderator), as well as a research assistant who helped with video-taping and notes-taking.

¹ The data obtained from this study will be further analyzed in a separate project.

The participants' ages varied from 18 to 34, and 23 of them were female. A third of them were second generation Canadians ($N = 12$), born in Canada, and therefore Canadian citizens. Three of these participants had only one parent born outside of Canada. From the 24 participants who were not born in Canada, 14 were Canadian citizens and 10 were here on a student permit, having arrived in the country between 2003 and 2007. Since the current studies were conducted in May-June 2008, we assume that the participants who were temporary residents of Canada have been residing and studying in this country for at least two academic years, giving them ample opportunity to immerse themselves into the Canadian culture. The length of residence in Canada for the second generation participants varied between 2 and 34 years ($M = 9.88$, $SD = 8.38$). For the temporary residents (i.e., those on a student permit), the length of residence in Canada varied from 2 to 5 years ($M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.50$). The countries of origin for the participants not born in Canada were Hong Kong (7 participants), China (4 participants), Romania (3), Poland (2), the Philippines (1), Japan (1), Thailand (1), South Korea (1), United States (1), Norway (1), Croatia (1) and Saudi Arabia (1).

With respect to language, 20 of the participants declared they spoke English most frequently, 5 spoke both English and their native language with the same frequency, while the rest indicated they spoke their native languages most frequently. Eight participants indicated their native language was English; three declared that they learned both English and their heritage language as native languages, while the rest had their heritage language as a mother tongue.

With regards to cultural background, eleven indicated just one cultural background (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Canadian). The remaining participants used either

two or more cultural groups to identify themselves (Indo-Canadian, Chinese and Canadian, Chinese-Metis-Cree-Ukrainian), or phrases such as “mix cultural”, “multi ethnic racial cultural”, or “hybrid, but more Polish”. Three participants did not indicate their cultural background.

Procedure and Materials

Between 2 and 6 participants registered in each session. The researcher, who invited the participants to speak freely about their experiences of biculturalism, moderated the discussions. The participants were assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of the study. All interviews were video-taped, after consent for participation and recording was obtained from the participants. All participants gave consent and took part in the focus groups².

Participants were asked to express what it meant for them to be bicultural and how they understood this notion based on their personal experiences, as well as how each of them experienced the relationship between the two cultures, whether they kept them separate, switched between them, or brought elements from one into another (see Appendix A). The participants also completed a short background information sheet (see Appendix B), which asked for demographic information concerning gender, age, ethnicity, parents' ethnicities, languages spoken and the frequency of using each language.

² The names of the participants were changed to ensure anonymity.

Results and Discussion – Bases for the Development of the New Instrument

The participants in the focus groups were eager to share their experiences as bicultural individuals living in Canada. Some of them admitted to having thought about their ethnic identity previously, others indicated that their ethnic identity was not an issue for them, and not something that was on their minds in most situations (which will be discussed in more detail later).

Different themes emerged from the focus groups as important for bicultural identity. Apart from the ones outlined by Benet-Martínez and her colleagues – the conflict-harmony and distance-overlap axes – we identified a third one, which we hoped would bring more depth to our understanding of bicultural identity. This third dimension we identified was stability-fluidity, the choice of being part of only one cultural group, or multiple ones, as well as the ease or difficulty of moving between the cultures. These themes were discussed with the participants in order to better understand the relation between the two cultures within themselves and their perceptions of this relation. Other themes emerged from the discussion, such as the importance of age, the demands imposed by the parents on their bicultural children to adhere to the norms and values of the heritage culture, gender roles, in-group or out-group marriage and/or the passing down of the culture to their children in the future. All these themes seemed to play an important role in the biculturals' lives, however they do not speak to the relation between the two cultures, rather they are antecedents and outcomes of this relation. We will now provide some excerpts from the focus groups in order to support the claims about the three dimensions of biculturality.

Conflict has been a topic long discussed in the areas of acculturation, biculturalism and bilingualism. Conflict sometimes can be perceived as stemming from the irreconcilable differences between two cultures, other times from a lack of belonging to either or both of the cultures, or from the inability to speak either language correctly. These are just some of the antecedents of conflict that our participants spoke about. The outcomes of a perceived conflict between the two ethnic cultures could be a sense of maladjustment, social and personal loneliness, or difficulty in making friends from one or both ethnic groups.

Kate, an international student from Hong Kong, told us that for the five years she had been in Canada, she had struggled with her identity. She said:

I feel lost, very lost. People feel I'm different, I don't share interests, they think I'm an outsider and that makes me sad. I don't know, I just don't, I like traveling a lot but I don't really want be so confused as I am right now cause I just don't know where I should call home. Like, I don't feel like I have a home. I don't feel like I'm home in Canada just cause I still can recognize my own accent, but when I'm in Hong Kong, I can't say I'm home just because I could be completely lost just cause I don't live there anymore and I wish am just stuck in one place or, just, never really understand either one, so I wouldn't be as confused as right now. I just like travelling and seeing other people, like seeing other things that I don't usually see, but like I don't want to have the too deep an understandings of another culture so I won't really have confusing moments for what I believe in (Kate, Hong Kong).

The excerpt above is a clear example of the conflict that some bicultural individuals feel when dealing with the two cultures. A sense of confusion, being lost, not belonging, sadness, maladjustment, social loneliness and misunderstanding, these were all clear indicators of the conflict dimension of bicultural identity. We could also infer a desire to be part of only one culture, and to be comfortable with that culture. In contrast to her experience, some participants told us how they felt that the relationship between their two

cultures within themselves was harmonious, posing no conflicts or threats to their self-concept. For example, Katinka from Croatia said:

Well, I feel that I am to some extent [bicultural], but I don't feel like there's a cultural conflict. I feel they're complementary. So I don't feel like I'm creating some sort of dual personality by talking one way to a person at work or home. So I don't feel like it's a big problem for me. I think it sort of works hand in hand (...) I don't think I switch. I think I'm the same person now and when I go home. So I can't really identify a clear boundary, you know...this culture begins and this culture ends. Umm, I don't know (Katinka, Croatia).

This excerpt pointed out that for some people, the opposite of cultural conflict could be a sense of complementarity between their two cultures, which allowed them to feel bicultural, but not necessarily switch between the two cultures in different contexts, nor form a hybrid of the two. Rather, some people indicated that they felt the two cultures worked well together, and that they could be themselves at all times, without having to alter their behaviour in order to fit the context.

Some participants talked about the overlapping aspect of their identity. Deena, Canadian born of Indian origin, told us that even her parents were changing, modernizing, that they kept the Indian morals and traditions, language, and dress code, but that they lived a very Canadian life-style. Many participants described themselves as a mix, a blend of two or more cultures or a hybrid. Yoko from South Korea told us:

But, when I was in high school I had really hard time figuring out my identity. So I made a symbolic example of Canadians - they are a white group, white person, and Korea is black, per se, black, and then I felt like I'm a grey person. You know, white and black and grey? And I'm like, "I'm Korean, I'm Korean", I go back to Korea and I realize I'm not same as them. And I don't feel the same. And I don't feel like I belong with them, and I came to Canada and I'm like, "Oh, I'm not same here either". So I'm like, "where do I belong"? And I had a really hard time figuring out where I should belong. But I realize, umm, more and more I live in Canada, I become more and more grey. And, I guess, umm, I'm now taking advantage of having both

colours, white and black, and I realize people like me are here right now. Like grey people. Koreans, who have Canadian culture with them. So I guess I'm different from Korean, I'm different from Canadian, so I'm a whole new group, I think. (...) I tend to think of it as uh, you know computers have windows, you just download a window mode, right? But for me, it's like I am Korean window mode. And in that window mode, you use English very well. Like you change, like whatever you function. But my whole base of computer mode is Korean mode. But for my brother, he's younger, I think: he's becoming English mode. And on top of English mode, you use Korean, so his mode is English. So, I guess I tend to think of bicultural like that. So my mode is in Korean (Yoko, South Korea).

In Yoko's answer we can distinguish two of our hypothesized dimensions: when she talked about herself as being "grey", this could be understood as an overlap between the two cultures; however, her second metaphor, identifies code switching as a means of moving between her two cultures, thus we could conclude this was an indication of fluidity. In this answer, Yoko talked about a search for identity, similar to Phinney's developmental stages, a moratorium stage, when she did not know where she belonged, but realized that she was not entirely part of one group or another. This stage could be an indication not only of a search for identity, but also of a conflict stage, which was resolved in time, when she realized there were others like her, "grey people". At a later point in the interview, Yoko told us that she thought religion helped her in her struggle to find the right place for herself. Age seemed to play a role in Yoko's path to finding her place and solving the inner struggle she described.

Surprisingly, Yoko also talked about how her brother and she differed in their everyday lives – she perceived herself to be Korean, but able to "operate" both in English and Korean, while her younger brother was more English, but could function in both languages also. She indicated also that her brother was trying to fit better with his

Canadian friends more than her, while she had more Korean and Asian friends. She later spoke of the fact that her brother was younger when they moved to Canada, and grew up in Canada, speaking English and having Canadian friends. We could infer that the age of arrival in a new country could also play a role in the development of one's identity.

Khaled, an international student from Saudi Arabia, indicated he enjoyed mingling with Canadians while living here, because he was certain that once he went back to his home country, he would know how to act appropriately to that culture. However, he told us that should not stop one from experiencing new cultures and learning more about them and even about their own identity:

Like, I remember when I was taking ESL, umm, my professor (...) explained what's going to happen to [us] now. And uh, actually [it] really happened. Like he said, for example, this circle represents Saudi Arabia for you, Khaled, and this is Canada. So now you move to Canada, you miss Saudi Arabia. If you go to Saudi Arabia you're gonna miss Canada. So, here you're not Saudi or you're not Canadian, you're in the middle ... like, here. Like, you take what you like from this culture and what you like from this culture and mix them into your own, so by that, it's like you have your own distinguished culture, because like, you see, you see what they believe, and what these guys believe, and now we take and, uh, you form your own belief. And that's how I am (Khaled, Saudi Arabia).

Khaled indicated that he could make a third culture by combining the two he knew, but that he would always maintain his heritage culture. Later in the focus group, he told us he would pass his Saudi Arabian culture on to his children exactly as he received it from his parents in order to allow the children to make their own choices later in life when they were mature enough. He also spoke of the role religion played in his life and indicated that more than feeling Saudi, he felt he was a Muslim:

Cause like, that's thing right here, uh, I would love, I always like, or love, to identify myself not as a Saudi or as a, whatever, North American, but as a

Muslim. Cause like religion unites us. Like, uh, if you go to China, there's Muslims there, right? Right. If you go maybe to Romania, you have Muslims, right? India there's a majority of them, too, and Pakistan, so that's in a sense, we see each other as brothers, right? So, I could go live anywhere and, because I'm a Muslim, I'd be accepted (Khaled, Saudi Arabia).

Khaled seemed ready to experience everything that life in Canada had to offer for an international student. He spoke about how he knew he had changed, because he started to understand things differently, and he gave examples of how his perceptions of what was right or wrong have changed since he had come to Canada. Nonetheless, he was determined to live in a Muslim country, where he would raise a family similar to the one he grew up in. At another point in the interview, Khaled spoke of the benefits of experiencing other cultures:

I like, I think it's better to experience two cultures, it's amazing because, like now, you're open, you know? You see stuff. Before, like, if you have one culture, like you were living inside the box, you don't know, you don't know what's outside your culture right, cause even when you live in this small cultures and you're not experiencing anything else so, your values are from the culture, because you haven't experienced anything else, right? But if you try different things you might expect other things, uh, it's as if they install another brain in you. You have expanded your horizons. There's other choices. It's amazing (Khaled, Saudi Arabia).

The participants described above could be considered as being hybrids, mixing the two cultures together to form a third one, integrating elements from one into the other, and blending them together. And even the notion of overlap of cultures seemed to have been perceived in different ways by the participants.

Some likened their identities to Venn diagrams, having a portion smaller or bigger where the two cultures overlapped. Some indicated that their identities would be the overlapping part, while others suggested that their identities comprised both circles, and

the overlapping section. One participant stated that “every experience, place, person changes who you are”, so by living in Canada one would incorporate another identity into his or her self.

Other participants though, fell towards the other end of the continuum, indicating that their two cultures were separate and distanced, that they had the Canadian life at school and in public situations, while having a life closer to their heritage group at home – friends, language spoken at home, plans to find a spouse within their ethnic group, were all indicators of the distance perceived by these bicultural individuals between their two cultural identities. Some also talked about the incompatibility of traditions and values between their ethnic group and the Canadian mainstream society.

When asked whether they act the same at all times or whether sometimes one ethnicity took precedence over the other, most of the participants indicated that especially when they were with family members or members of their ethnic group, their ethnic identity took precedence over their Canadian identity. One participant, who came to Canada over 30 years ago, when he was just one year old, said:

And again, looking at Canada as a culture, umm, I don't think it blends as much, because you're so entrenched, especially if you live here, so it's a lot harder to switch on and off, unless you have family coming and I can totally relate. Like, if I have extended family here from Thailand and then I'll turn on the Thai switch, but other than that, never (Anuman, Thailand).

Some indicated that they were aware of this switch and actually made an effort to adapt, while others suggested that they were unaware of switching between ethnic identities, but believed that this needed to happen in order for them to behave according to the situation and context. Later in the interview, Anuman told us about how he felt he

had changed over the years, from very “typical Asian, Thai” young man, very career-oriented to a more “socialist” person, caring about the welfare of the ones around him. He indicated at that point that he did not realize then how Thai he was, but that looking back on his life, he could see the change in his behaviours.

Some, like Peter, born in Canada, of Polish origin, maintained however that he was Polish at all times, even at school or in other public situations and that it was his belief he could not act in a Canadian way, since he was raised to be Polish, went to a Polish high-school, spoke Polish at home and had mostly Polish friends.

Another participant, Sonali, born in Canada of Indian origin, indicated that she went to a Catholic high-school, and that she found it very easy to move in between her two worlds: her Caucasian Catholic friends and teachers and her Indian family and friends. She was never confused about who she was, she stated, and that it did not bother her at all that she lived almost in two different worlds. She was proud of being part of both worlds and enjoyed bringing elements from one into the other, but at the same time kept them separate and switched according to the situation.

Peter seemed to be very stable in his identity: he was Polish and tried to keep his identity Polish as much as possible. Later in the discussion however, he told us that when he went back to Poland he felt great there, but did not feel he belonged there unconditionally, and he would always prefer living in Canada. Sonali, nonetheless, seemed to be moving very easily between the two cultures, experiencing and learning from both worlds and enjoying these experiences. These are clear representations of what No and her colleagues (2008) described as the essentialist beliefs and the social constructivist view on ethnicity and race.

As evidenced by these excerpts, the notions of stability and fluidity are not rigid, rather people who identify themselves as being very stable and monocultural, sometimes realize that they are actually biculturals, even if simply by virtue of living in another country than the country of origin of their ethnic group. Others though, are aware of moving in between cultures and do it comfortably, maintaining their belonging to both cultures and sometimes trying to bring the two together.

Conclusions

From the focus groups conducted, we can infer that the bicultural identity experiences are very diverse and not straightforward. Some of the quotes above illustrate the idea that bicultural people can have conflicting experiences and understandings of their identities. For example, Yoko, quoted above, indicated that her identity was both a hybrid of the two cultures (she considered herself to be grey, and not white or black), but she also indicated that even though she could function both in English and Korean, she felt her inner self was Korean. It is important to point out that these categories do not seem to be fixed and that participants sometimes give answers that would place them in more than one category. We could even infer from these discussions that rather than talking about various categories, one should talk about various degrees to which the conflict, overlap or other dimensions are perceived by the participants. Feeling one of these dimensions stronger does not exclude the others; rather the combination of all gives a better account of the experiences of biculturalism.

Kate from Hong Kong expressed her inability to cope with the two cultures she was immersed in and her almost unattainable desire to be part of only one. Others, like

Mariana from Romania, indicated that she had been through this stage at a younger age, but that she had resolved this conflict by not trying to be part of any culture, rather accepting herself as a part of both, trying to maintain her Romanian heritage, while being functional in the Canadian society. This could indicate a sort of continuum between these two dimensions; we could also say that the experiences of the second-generation participants (as compared to the first generation), as a whole, indicated that they were better-adjusted and perceived less conflict between the two cultures.

Many of the participants who indicated that they have thought about their ethnic identity previously, spoke about the ways their perspectives had changed over the years, in an attempt to adapt to being part of two cultures. Some of them spoke of the role age played in their perceptions of the two cultures and in shaping their identity. Mariana came to Canada from Romania when she was 8, and this is how she described her experiences as a teen-ager in Canada:

When I was about 16 or so, I remember, obviously I had been here about 8 years at that time, but I went through a phase where all I wanted, was everyone to think I'm Canadian. With me, it's easier right? I'm white, I can just walk around, if I don't have much of an accent people will think I'm Canadian, and my Mom and Dad wanted to put me in folk dancing, keep me in the Romanian base and I wanted nothing to do with it. When I started school here I went by, uh, my teacher couldn't say ma- Mariana, very well, so she said is it okay if I call you Mary? Yea, go for it. Mary sounds more Canadian than Romanian so... what I'm trying to get at with all this is it is sometimes it's age dependent, your mind frame kind of changes, because through the years, where I'm at now, I'm the opposite, I don't- if anyone calls me Mary they're in trouble. I want people to know that I'm Romanian and I associate with, you know the whole idea of where I'm from and I want people to, I wish I could go and do the dancing stuff now (Mariana, Romania).

Some though, expressed how although they knew they were biculturals, in the everyday life their biculturalism did not play an important role. In some cases, these

participants did not speak their heritage language and did not have a tight connection with a group of people from that ethnicity. One participant said:

I don't think about culture when I'm here, it only gets brought up when, or I think about it on a conscious level when there's an episode of mistaken race identity, or racism, or you know, someone clumping you or whatever. Uh, if there's no stimulus, then it just never comes up, especially in Canada. It's so much easier here to just go about your daily life and it doesn't matter what color, or what culture you're from (Anuman, Thailand).

Some of the participants interviewed here claimed that their bicultural identity was not something that worried them most of the times; this raises the question of whether and to what extent is the research connected to people's everyday life experiences. As we described, some participants struggled with their identity, others enjoyed it and felt special as being part of two cultural groups – these are issues that have previously been investigated to some extent in the literature. Nonetheless, it is important to note here that there are some biculturals who find their ethnic identity to be just one of their various self-representations, and they do not perceive it as central to their overall identity. Being involved in a discussion on bicultural identity gave participants sufficient time for these issues to become salient. Even though initially some participants declared that their ethnic identity was not central to their overall identity, as the discussions progressed these biculturals participated and gave valuable accounts of their experiences. Therefore, although initially they did not perceive their ethnic identity to be of importance, the discussion made it more salient and eventually these participants contributed to the focus groups in a meaningful way. The suggestion we propose here is that through the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods, we can supplement each method in order to provide a stronger and clearer voice for the bicultural individuals.

Through the focus groups, we identified the dimensions hypothesized by Benet-Martínez; participants talked about conflict and harmony, as well as perceived distance and overlap between cultures. Of course, the nuances of these dimensions varied across the participants – conflict could be understood as a stage of confusion, or a developmental stage, while perceived harmony could be a mediator in attaining a kind of hybrid identity. Some biculturals talked about the incompatibility of their two cultures, exhibiting traits of essentialism. Others reported switching and adapting their behaviours to the context, with varying degrees of easiness in moving between their two ethnic groups. We considered the focus groups described here provided a rich mass of data and gave us sufficient information about bicultural experiences in order to develop a scale that assessed biculturality. Statistical analysis would provide further insight into this issue.

Study 2 – Scale Development

Hypotheses and Proposed Analyses

Based on the literature review presented previously and the focus groups conducted, we maintained that there were three major dimensions to bicultural identity in first and second generation immigrants. In order to measure these three dimensions, we created a pen and paper instrument.

The researcher and an assistant developed a pool of items and from these items 40 were selected to be included in the scale. The eight items used by Benet-Martínez and her colleagues developed to assess the bicultural integration index were added, so that a total of 48 items were included in the questionnaire. There were 15 items on the conflict-harmony dimension, 20 on the distance-overlap and 13 on the stability-fluidity.

The validity and reliability of the new instrument was examined by assessing the factorial validity of the items included in the questionnaire, determining the subscales' reliability, and then evaluating the convergent and discriminant validity, as well as the concurrent validity of the scale.

Factorial validity

A factor analysis was conducted for the items included on the new instrument. We hypothesized that the three dimensions (conflict-harmony, distance-overlap and stability-fluidity) would load as separate factors. Any items that cross-loaded or did not load on the three dimensions were excluded from the subsequent analyses.

Reliability

The items selected through factor analysis were tested for reliability. The Cronbach alpha coefficient of consistency determined which items were reliable to be included in the final instrument.

Convergent and discriminant validity

Once reliability of the scale was established, we would examine the convergent, discriminant and concurrent validity of the new instrument, by correlating the new instrument with established scales that had previously been validated.

Convergent validity is the degree to which our new instrument is related to other instruments with which it is supposed to be related, while discriminant (or divergent) validity is indicated by low or zero correlations between our instrument and other scales with which it should not be related (Palys, 1997).

If the new instrument has convergent validity, we predict that the conflict-harmony axis will evidence positive correlations with the ethno-cultural identity conflict scale developed by Ward. The distance-overlap axis will be compared with the results obtained from the Circle diagrams adapted from Aron and his colleagues. The stability-fluidity axis will correlate positively with the variability index obtained from the situated ethnic identity scale (Noels et al, 1996).

For calculating this index, we will employ the same method used by Damji, Clément and Noels (1996) in their study of Anglophone students' identity variability in a Francophone environment. The authors calculated two variability scores for each participant, assessing identification with each ethnic group, which were used to indicate

“the situational identification, given the mean identity score for a language group”

(Damji et al, 1996, p. 497). The algebraic representation of the variability index is:

Variability = $\Sigma (x - \bar{x}) / (n - 1)$, where x is the identity score for each situation, \bar{x} is the mean identity score for each participant and n is the number of situations. We predict that the variability index will be correlated with the fluidity dimension of the new instrument, and thus validating it from a convergence point of view.

Discriminant validity is indicated by low or no correlations between the concepts under investigation and other concepts, which in theory should not be related. In order to assess the discriminant validity of our scale, we will perform correlations between the three dimensions of the new instrument and the scales used for assessing convergent validity. For example, if the conflict dimension does not correlate to the results of the Venn diagrams or the situational ethnic identity index, we can infer the discriminant validity of the conflict concept. If the correlations between the distance items and the SEIS index or the ethno-cultural identity conflict scale are close to zero or even negative, we can say that the distance scale in the new instrument shows discriminant validity. The same applies to the correlations between stability and the Circle diagrams and the ethno-cultural identity conflict scale.

Concurrent validity

Concurrent validity involves correlating the responses on the newly developed scale to other scales, which have previously been established, at the same time. Palys (1997) states the importance of temporal closeness in assessing concurrent validity. Since all these scales are included in the questionnaire, which will be completed in one session,

we can proceed to investigate the correlations between the scales in order to examine the concurrent validity, thus assessing constructs that should be theoretically linked.

The concurrent validity of the conflict-harmony axis will be investigated by looking at the correlations between these concepts and the self-esteem scale. Conflict has been previously linked to a lesser degree of psychological well-being, and thus should correlate negatively with self-esteem, while harmony should correlate positively.

To test the concurrent validity of the distance-overlap scale, we will correlate it with the synchronic and diachronic items included in the questionnaire and with the scores obtained by the participants on the Vancouver Acculturation Index. The synchronic score should correlate higher with a higher score on overlapping cultural identities, while the diachronic score should correlate higher with the distance score on our scale. We predict that people who lean towards the overlap end of the continuum will exhibit stronger identification with both groups as evidenced by VAI.

Stability should be positively correlated with the dialectical self scale, as well as with a high essentialism score. A higher essentialism score will indicate that the participants believe that ethnicity is a stable trait, and thus should correlate with our concept of stability. Also, a higher score on the DSS should be correlated with a more stable concept of identity.

Conclusion

The objective of this study is to develop a reliable and valid instrument to measure bicultural identity. The hypotheses we propose are:

H1: The items developed will be indicators of three dimensions (conflict-harmony, distance-overlap and stability-fluidity) and will load as separate factors.

H2: Convergent validity: - conflict-harmony axis – significant correlations with the ethno-cultural identity conflict scale (Ward); distance-overlap axis – significant correlations with the Circle diagrams (based on Aron et al.); stability-fluidity axis - correlate significantly with the variability index obtained from the situated ethnic identity scale (Noels et al.).

H3: Discriminant validity: -conflict dimension – no correlations with the Circle diagrams or the situational ethnic identity index; distance dimension – no correlation with the SEIS index or the ethno-cultural identity conflict scale; stability dimension – no correlation with the Circle diagrams and the ethno-cultural identity conflict scale.

H4: Concurrent validity: conflict dimension – correlations with self-esteem; distance dimension – correlations with the synchronic and diachronic items, VAI and generational status; stability dimension – correlations with the dialectical self scale and the essentialist scale.

Participants

The participants (N=354) were university students enrolled in Introduction to Psychology classes at University of Alberta in the fall term 2008. They were selected based on a prescreening mass test, which asked them, among other questions, whether they or their parents were born outside of Canada. After these data were collected, further investigations were done in order to ensure that the participants were bicultural individuals. All international students were removed from the sample (N=22), because

this group was too small to be included as a separate group in the analysis. Participants (N=30) who indicated that they were born in the United States, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, England, Scotland or Ireland and who declared that they do not perceive themselves to be bicultural because of the similarity of their ethnic group with the Canadian group were also removed from the sample (e.g., one participant's parents were both South African, however he did not identify at all with the culture, did not speak the language – Afrikaans - and did not believe his heritage was South African). Two other participants were dropped from the sample: they were born outside of Canada, but one of their parents was born in Canada.

The final sample consisted of 300 participants. Their ages varied between 17 and 47 (M=18.83, SD=2.52, 13 participants did not indicate their age). The gender distribution was consistent with a typical first-year Psychology class, 37.7% being male and 62.3% female. When asked about their country of birth, 182 participants (60.7%) declared they were born in Canada, while the rest 118 (39.3%) were born outside of Canada. Among these, almost 12% came from China and Chinese territories (6.3% China, 4.3% Hong Kong, and 1.3% Taiwan), being the largest minority group represented in our sample. It was followed by India, with 3.7% of the participants being born there. Other countries of birth included Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Russia and others. The length of residence in Canada varied from 2 to 20 years (M=10.20, SD=5.00). Ninety percent of the participants were Canadian citizens at the time of the survey, while the rest were permanent residents (one participant indicated that she was a dual citizen).

The questions that followed regarded the participants' parents. When asked about the country of birth of their mother, 92% indicated that their mothers were born outside of Canada (2 participants did not answer this question), and their countries of birth were also very diverse: China and Chinese territories accounted for 24.1%, followed by India (11.9%), Vietnam (8.3%) and others. These questions were also asked regarding the fathers of the participants and the results are similar: 94% were born outside of Canada (2 participants did not answer this question): about 25% were born in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, 12.3% in India, 7.9% in Vietnam and so on.

Participants were also asked questions regarding their native language and language use in their daily lives. Twenty eight percent indicated that English was their first language, 31.3% said their first language was different than English, while the rest (40.1%) indicated that they learned both English and another language as their mother tongues. For the frequency of use, almost 67% indicated they mostly spoke English, 5.2% used their native language more, and 27.8% used both languages just as often (9 participants did not answer this question). The participants who indicated that English was not their mother tongue, started to learn English between the ages of 1 and 33 ($M=6.24$, $SD=3.59$).

Procedure and Materials

Participants completed the web-based questionnaires in computer labs at the university during the fall term 2008, under the supervision of either the researcher or a research assistant. They were given a hard copy of the debriefing form if they wished to contact the researcher for questions about the study.

Apart from background information (see Appendix B), participants were asked to complete the new instrument developed on the basis of the focus groups (Appendix C), as well as the following established scales, in order to test the validity and reliability of the new instrument. Cronbach alpha index of internal consistency is reported for each scale.

Bicultural Identity Integration scale – Benet-Martínez and her colleagues (2005, 2006) – eight items were included, four addressing the conflict – harmony continuum (e.g., “I am conflicted between the Canadian and my ethnic group’s way of doing things”; $\alpha = .46$) and four addressing the distance – overlap axis (e.g., “I feel I am part of a combined culture” – reversed; $\alpha = .77$). The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Essentialism scale – Chao, Chen, Roisman, Hong (2007) – five items were included, addressing essentialist beliefs about ethnicity (e.g., “Ethnicity is to a great extent biologically determined”; $\alpha = .47$). The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Ethno-cultural Identity Conflict scale – Ward, Stuart & Kus (in press) – twenty items assessed the sense of conflict (“I find it hard to maintain my cultural values in everyday life” or “I sometimes do not know where I belong”; $\alpha = .92$). The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Vancouver Acculturation Index – Ryder, Alden, Paulhus (2001) - twenty items assessed acculturation (“I often behave in ways that are typically Canadian”; $\alpha = .87$; and “I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions”; $\alpha = .88$). The participants were

asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Situated Ethnic Identity Scale – Noels and her colleagues – sixteen items were included to assess the participants’ feeling as being part of their ethnic group and the Canadian group in 4 situation – public, school, friends and family ($\alpha = .93$). The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 7 on both scales, 1 being “I feel very much like my ethnic group” and “I feel very much like the Canadian group” and 7 being “I do not feel at all like my ethnic group” and “I do not feel at all like the Canadian group”.

Synchronic and Diachronic Identity – Simon and Ruhs (2008) – two items addressed these two concepts (“I feel I belong to both the Canadians and the people of my ethnic group” and “Sometimes I feel more as a member of my ethnic group and sometimes more Canadian – depends on the situation”), each rated on a scale from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Heritage Language Self-Assessment and Anxiety – self-assessment of proficiency in the heritage language was indicated by the participants on 4 items (“I read / write / speak / understand my heritage language...”; $\alpha = .88$) using a scale from 1 to 7, 1 being “Not at all” and 7 being “Native-like”. Anxiety was assessed using 7 items on a scale from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree” ($\alpha = .89$).

English Self-Assessment and Anxiety - self-assessment of proficiency in English was indicated by the participants on 4 items (“I read / write / speak / understand English...”; $\alpha = .94$) using a scale from 1 to 7, 1 being “Not at all” and 7 being “Native-

like”. Anxiety was assessed using 7 items on a scale from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree” ($\alpha = .86$).

The Dialectical Self Scale - Spencer-Rodgers and her colleagues (2007) – contradiction was assessed on 13 items (“When I hear two sides of an argument I often agree with both”; $\alpha = .62$), cognitive change on 11 items (“I believe that my personality will stay the same all of my life” – reversed; $\alpha = .71$) and behavioural change on 8 items (“I often change the way I am, depending on who I am with”; $\alpha = .57$). The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Circle diagrams – Aron, Aron and Smollan (1992) used a pictorial measure to test the inclusion of other in the self. Based on their diagrams, we developed another pictorial measure to assess the degree of distance and overlap between the heritage identity and the Canadian identity (see Appendix D).

Self-esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) – ten items on this scale tapped participants’ self-esteem (“On the whole I am satisfied with myself”, “At times, I think I am not good at all”- reversed; $\alpha = .89$). The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Results and Discussion

Exploratory factor analyses

To determine the best items for each of the dimensions hypothesized, we conducted exploratory principal axis factor analyses, with oblique rotation. An initial analysis yielded a solution with nine factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00. According to

Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), the initial solution will yield a number of factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 somewhere between the number of items divided by 3 and the number of items divided by 5. The items we incorporated in this questionnaire were 40, thus an initial nine-factor solution is a predictable result, which however needs examination in order to assess the final solution. This initial solution, after rotation, accounted for a little over 65% of the total variance.

Inspection of the screeplot (Cattell, 1966) indicated that even though there were nine factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00, only the first three factors had an obviously different slope, which suggested that a more parsimonious solution could account for the variance in the data. Gorsuch (1983) points out that one or two extra factors would not harm the final solution.

Four additional factor analyses, including 4-, 5- and 6-factor solutions, were conducted and each solution was evaluated on the basis of the variance in the data accounted for, its parsimony and interpretability. The results indicated that the variance explained in these solutions would not force us to accept or reject one over the other, because the differences in variance accounted for by each solution as compared to another one were small. An examination of the initial variance explained after rotation suggested that the difference between a nine-factor solution and a six-factor solution would account for 10% of the variance. The six-factor solution was discarded because only two items loaded on the last factor, which is too few to yield a well-determined interpretation or provide a stable index of that dimension (Gorsuch, 1983). We proceeded to investigate the interpretability of the 3-, 4- and 5-factor solutions. The five-factor model was determined to be the most appropriate because of the combination of items

that loaded on each factor reflected theoretically meaningful and conceptually distinct constructs, while still accounting for a sizeable amount of variance in the data (52.48%).

We proceeded to repeat the factor analysis in order to eliminate the items that cross-loaded or did not load on any of the five factors. The items that did not prove to be contributing to the solution (i.e., those with loadings $< |.30|$, or those with cross-loadings on more than one factor) were eliminated (Gorsuch, 1983). The analysis was then repeated to ensure that the solution is removed. Each of the final items loaded on one factor, yielding five subscales with between three and six factors (see Table 1).

The factor correlation matrix (see Table 2) showed that some of the factor correlations were moderately high (ranging from $|.56|$ to $|.13|$). A close examination of the content of items of these factors showed that, despite their intercorrelations, the five factors reflected conceptually distinct aspects of biculturalism.

The five factors accounted for 52.48% of the variance. The examination of the factor pattern matrix indicated that the analysis yielded three factors similar to those predicted and two additional factors. The first factor loaded on six items and due to the content of the items was named *monocultural orientation*. The items reflected ideas about choosing one culture over the other, being loyal to one cultural group and being uncomfortable in situations that involved both the participants' ethnic group and the Canadian group (Items 1-6 in Table 1).

The next factor loaded on five items and was called the *flexibility* factor because the items reflected the participants' beliefs about the variability and flexibility of their identity depending on the situation and people involved (Items 7, 10, 11 in Table 1); it also hinted to the idea that depending on the context, they behaved either according to the

norms of their ethnic culture or the norms of the Canadian culture, but the two were kept separate and distinct (Items 8 and 9 in Table 1).

Three items loaded on the next factor, which was called the *compatibility* factor, because the items reflected the belief that the two cultures are compatible and complementary in the eyes of the participants (Items 12-15 in Table 1).

The fourth factor was named the *conflict* factor because the items that loaded here conveyed a sense of being uncomfortable and finding it stressful and difficult to be part of two ethnic groups. Two items on this factor needed to be reversed for the purposes of further analysis, since they referred to the ease and comfortableness of belonging to two cultural groups (Items 16-20 in Table 1).

The last factor was comprised of 5 items, which all reflected the idea of mixing and overlapping between the two cultures and thus it was termed the *hybridity* factor. These items were indicators that the participants who scored higher on them perceived their two cultures as integrated, mixed or overlapped (Items 21, 22, 23 in Table 1), they thought that others saw them as part of two cultural groups (Item 24 in Table 1) and they were happy to be part of this mixed cultural group (Item 25 in Table 1).

Reliability

Cronbach alpha indices of internal consistency were acceptable for all the five subscales, with values ranging from .65 to .86 (see Table 3). The five subscales were also examined to determine the normality of the data. The kurtosis and skewness values for the final subscales indicated a normal distribution of the responses.

Intercorrelations between the mean scores of the subscales

Intercorrelations between the mean scores of the subscales were computed in order to better understand the relations between these subscales. The only two subscales that did not correlate significantly were Flexibility and Hybridity, meaning that switching between the two cultures was an independent index, which could not predict the degree to which one could form a hybrid identity of the two cultures (see Table 3).

Conflict correlated significantly with all the other subscales, but in different directions; the correlations with Monocultural orientation and Flexibility were positive, while the relations with Compatibility and Hybridity were negative. Thus, people who perceive a conflict between the two ethnicities tend to be more inclined to have a monocultural orientation and to switch between these two cultures, while keeping them separate.

Monocultural orientation correlated strongly and positively with Conflict, less with Flexibility and negatively with both Compatibility and Hybridity. This suggested that people who were more inclined to support the monocultural orientation experienced conflict because of their belonging to the two groups or perceived their two cultural affiliations to be in conflict with one another. We could argue here that Monocultural orientation was an indicator of the distance perceived between the two cultures that one might belong to.

Flexibility correlated positively with Conflict and negatively with Compatibility. Even though these correlations were quite low, they are worth investigating: the participants who were flexible about which cultural norms to use in what context, perceived this to be uncomfortable and difficult, and they did not think the two cultures

were compatible. The positive relationship with Conflict might indicate that perceived conflict between the two cultures could lead the bicultural individuals to keeping them separate and acting according to the situation, by switching between the two cultures. As shown by the relationships between Flexibility and the other scales included, it appeared that biculturals who were more inclined to be flexible between their two cultures, and to alternate depending on the contextual cues, also tended to keep the two cultures separately. This might occur because of a perceived incompatibility between the two cultures, but also because they believed cultures were fixed and stable. Also, since Flexibility was also positively correlated to Monocultural orientation we could infer that these bicultural individuals would prefer to be part of only one culture; because of their heritage they found themselves to be part of two cultural groups, but continued to act according to one at a given time, without integrating elements from one into another, and rather keeping them separate.

Hybridity and Compatibility both correlated negatively and significantly with Conflict, as well as Monoculture. The compatibility subscale supported the idea that some biculturals could perceive the two cultures they belonged to as different and separate, but felt they complemented each other. Based on the correlations with the other subscales, we could infer that perceived compatibility between the two cultures was an indication of comfort as a bicultural individual, since it showed negative relations to all the conflict scales included in the questionnaire.

The last subscale identified in our scale was Hybridity. Items included in this subscale reflected an integration of the two cultures, mixing and overlapping, as well as a sense of contentment with this situation. This subscale had a negative relation with

Conflict and Monoculture, indicating that biculturals who perceived their identity as a hybrid were less inclined to be conflicted between the two or to wish they were part of only one cultural group. The positive relation with Compatibility could indicate that perceived compatibility between the two ethnic identities might lead one to eventually mix and blend the two together to form a hybrid. The question that arose was whether these two identities were intertwined, maintaining elements from both cultures, or whether these elements were all blended together to form a third culture.

Regression analyses

To assess the *convergent validity* of the five subscales, correlational and standard regression analyses were performed in which the five subscale scores served as predictors of the criterion variables (see Tables 4 and 5). The ethno-cultural identity conflict, the circle diagrams, and the SEIS variability index were hypothesized to be the indicators for convergent validity on the new subscales developed.

An inspection of the regressions suggested that Conflict was the best predictor for the ethno-cultural identity conflict scale (Ward, 2008). The circle diagrams (based on Aron, Aron and Smullen, 1992) were predicted by all factors, except Conflict; the values of the t-tests indicated that this item had a negative relation with both Monocultural orientation and Flexibility, but it was best predicted by Hybridity, and also well predicted by Compatibility. Only Flexibility predicted the situated ethnic variability index (Damji, Clément & Noels, 1996), while the SEIS Canadian variability index was not predicted by any of the five subscales. Based on the regression analyses on these scales, we can infer

that although more analyses are required for a better understanding of the five subscales, our hypotheses for the convergent validity of the new scales were supported.

We proceeded to examine the *concurrent validity* of the subscales by conducting a series of correlations and regression analyses (see Table 5). At the bivariate level, Conflict and Monocultural orientation correlated negatively with Self-Esteem, while Hybridity correlated positively. At the multivariate level, Conflict predicted a lower self-esteem. Low self-esteem has been previously linked to perceived conflict between the two cultures (Ward, 2008), and our investigations supported this idea: the more conflict a bicultural individual perceived between the two cultures he/she was part of, the lower their self-esteem was. The strong relationship found between Hybridity and self-esteem implied that a hybrid relation between two cultures in a bicultural individual contributed to his/her overall well-being.

We investigated the predictability of the generational status by the five subscales. In our hypotheses, we expected that the distance factor would be predicted by the generational status of the participants. At the bivariate level, Monoculture, Flexibility and Conflict related positively to generational status, while Compatibility and Hybridity showed a negative relation. We found that the only subscale that predicted generation for the entire sample at the multivariate level was Monoculture, indicating that the first generation participants are more prone to be monocultural in their orientation than the second generation.

The last criterion investigated was the essentialism scale. Correlational analysis indicated that essentialism was positively related to Flexibility. Results of the correlational and regression analyses indicated that the only subscale that predicted

essentialism was Flexibility, such that greater flexibility was indicative of a greater sense that differences between cultures represent core essence differences. It is worth discussing here that this positive relation between Flexibility and Essentialism is counterintuitive; our predictions were that the more stable one was in their identity, the more essentialist beliefs he/she would display. However, if we considered that identities were constructed according to the social context, one could display the identity required in a given situation readily and switch it when the context demanded. The flexible individual would thus be stable in his/her beliefs, but these beliefs would change according to the context, displaying elements from each culture when they were appropriate.

It is worth noting here that the synchronic and diachronic items also showed significant predictions at the multivariate level. We hypothesized that synchronicity would be predicted by the overlapping items, while diachronicity would be best predicted by distance. Our regression analyses indicated that both of these items were significantly predicted by Hybridity, however, Compatibility predicted also the synchronic item, while Flexibility predicted the diachronic one. This indicates that although the participants perceived themselves to be biculturals, some saw the relationship between their identities as compatible and synchronic, while others were flexible and diachronic, switching between cultures and keeping them separate.

*Additional Considerations: Language and Acculturation**Language*

We investigated the relation between the five subscales and the language variables included in the questionnaire – self-evaluation of English and the heritage language and anxiety in communicating in these two languages. Previous research, as well as testimony from the Focus Groups, indicates that language plays an important role in the development or maintenance of bicultural identity, and we wanted to investigate how it relates to the scale we have developed.

Self-evaluation of English had a significant negative correlation with both Conflict and Monoculture, and a positive correlation with Compatibility and Hybridity, indicating that the better their perceived English skills, the less conflict the participants perceived between their two cultures and the less they desired to be part of only one culture. The low non-significant correlation with Flexibility indicates that for the biculturals who switch between the two identities while keeping them separate, perceived competence in English played no role. Perceived competence in one's ability to communicate with the mainstream group could aid in integrating faster and easier into this group, finding the aspects of the two cultures that were compatible and eventually developing a hybrid identity. Heritage language self-evaluation was only correlated with Flexibility (see Table 6), indicating that in order to be able to switch between the two cultures when it was required by the situation, the bicultural individual needed to have perceived competence in their heritage language; the heritage language could play an important role in allowing them to be part of the heritage group, when the situation required.

When asked about their levels of anxiety in using English and their heritage language, participants indicated that high anxiety in both languages had a strong positive relation to Conflict. The ability to communicate has been related to perceived comfort in using the language and desire to communicate with members of the group. When the biculturals lacked confidence in their skills in either their heritage language or English, they also perceived a conflict between the two cultures. This could be an indicator that confidence in using both languages allows biculturals to understand the differences and similarities between their two cultural groups. The other subscales all correlated with anxiety in communicating in English as follows: Conflict, Monocultural orientation and Flexibility showed a positive correlation, while Compatibility and Hybridity were negatively correlated to anxiety in English, indicating that confidence in English allowed participants to integrate their heritage identities with the Canadian identities.

Acculturation

The Vancouver Acculturation Index was filled in together with the other scales in order to assess the relation between the new scale and acculturation. Two indices were computed based on the participants' responses – the Canadian VAI and the Heritage VAI, measuring the degree to which the participants were acculturated to the mainstream Canadian society and to their own ethnic group. Correlation analyses with the five subscales suggested that the Canadian VAI was strongly and negatively correlated to Conflict, Monocultural orientation and Flexibility and positively correlated with the other two subscales. The Heritage VAI had a similar pattern of correlations, except it did not show any relation to the Flexibility subscale (see Table 6).

We split the sample by generation in order to better understand if generation would have an effect on the results of these analyses and found that the pattern of correlations for the second-generation participants stayed the same. The first generation showed some differences: the Canadian VAI showed a positive correlation only with Hybridity ($r = .40$, $p < .001$) and a negative strong correlation with Conflict ($r = -.34$, $p < .001$) and Monoculture ($r = -.32$, $p < .001$); the Heritage VAI only correlated with Compatibility ($r = .30$, $p = .001$).

Conclusions

An examination of the correlation patterns between the five subscales and the language and acculturation scales included in the questionnaire indicated that Conflict, Monoculture and Flexibility tend to have a negative relation to variables that indicate well-being, such as confidence in English and social connections and adaptation to the Canadian culture, as well as integration in the heritage group. Conversely, Hybridity and Compatibility had a positive relation with these variables, indicating that biculturals who perceive their two cultures as compatible or who form a hybrid of the two cultures tend to be more adapted to the Canadian society, while also maintaining ties to their heritage group.

Continuum of biculturality?

We hypothesized that the factors unveiled through statistical analyses will be independent of each other. The correlations between the subscales were hypothesized to be low or non-existent. The results of our analyses led us to uncover connections between the five subscales, and thus between the underlying concepts.

Conflict, Monoculture and Flexibility seemed to be connected in the same direction, while Compatibility and Hybridity went together at most times. Investigation of the statistical results, as well as the items on each subscale, showed clearly that these were distinct concepts, nonetheless, they appeared to be interconnected.

It was thus clear that the five subscales were not independent of each other; rather they had strong and significant relations with each other. A closer examination of these relations might even indicate that the five subscales were part of a continuum, Conflict being one extreme of the continuum and Hybridity being the other. Because of the conflict perceived between the two cultures, bicultural individuals might initially resort to adopting a monocultural orientation. However, since they are part of two cultural groups, whether they want to be or not, they might move on to experience flexibility between the two cultures, altering their behaviour and conceptions depending on the context. This might evolve into a perceived compatibility between the two cultures (particularly for the second generation biculturals), which might eventually determine one to become a hybrid and incorporate elements from both cultures into their lives simultaneously.

Evidence for this model could be found in the correlations between the five subscales and other scales we have included in the questionnaire and discussed above, such as acculturation, language, self-esteem, the dialectical self scales or the conflict scales. All these concepts pointed towards a continuum of the five variables, since the strongest correlations were with Hybridity and Conflict, but in opposite directions. These proposed ideas should be investigated in order to assess if, based on the scale developed, we could compute an index of biculturality.

Study 3 – Confirmatory Analysis

Objectives

In the previous two studies, the Focus Groups and the Scale Development, we attempted to better understand the experiences of bicultural individuals. We proceeded by giving a voice to the understanding of what it meant to be part of two cultures and based on these discussions, we developed a new instrument. This instrument reflected five interrelated subscales, which we then tested for validity and reliability.

The objective of the present study is to investigate the underlying models of biculturalism for the first and second generation participants in order to better understand the relations between the five subscales and the validity of this instrument across generations.

Participants

The respondents (N=804) were university students enrolled in Introduction to Psychology classes at University of Alberta in the winter term 2009. They took part in mass testing online questionnaire organized by the Department of Psychology. All respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire if they or their parents were born outside of Canada. After these data were collected, further investigations were done in order to ensure that the respondents were bicultural Canadians. All international students were removed from the sample (N=50), for consistency with our previous study and because this group was too small to be included as a separate group. Participants (N=21)

who were born in Canada and whose parents were also born in Canada, but who nonetheless completed the questionnaire were also removed from the analysis.

Participants (N=27) who would have fit the criteria but did not complete the questionnaire were dropped from the analysis. Participants (N=124) who indicated that they were born in Canada, but their parents were born in the United States, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Germany, the Netherlands, England, Scotland or Ireland and/or who declared that they do not perceive themselves to be bicultural because of the similarity of their ethnic group with the Canadian group were also removed from the sample.

The screening yielded a sample of 582 participants. Their ages varied between 17 and 38 (M=19.04, SD=1.85, 11 participants did not indicate their age). The gender distribution was consistent with a typical first-year Psychology class, 36.1% being male and 61.7% female (13 participants did not answer this question). When asked about their country of birth, 365 participants (62.7%) declared they were born in Canada, while the rest 217 (37.3%) were born outside of Canada. From the first generation participants, 210 answered the question regarding the number of years they have been in Canada (M=11.06, SD=5.06). With regards to the ethnic distribution of this sample, participants were asked to choose from a number of options and their responses yielded the following: the largest sample represented (49.1%) considered themselves to be East Asian, 19.2% said they were South Asian, 9.5% European, 5.2% declared they were Middle Eastern, 5.2% Euro North American, 5% African, and 1.5% Hispanic (one participant did not answer this question and the other 28 filled in the “other” category). With regards to their

legal status in Canada, 93.3% indicated they were Canadian citizens, while 6.7% were permanent residents.

The participants were all enrolled in Introductory Psychology classes and the majority (50%) were in their first year in university. A little over 34% were in their second year, 8.9% in the third year, and 6.4% were fourth year or later. A little over 42% of participants had English as a first language, 30.1% declared they spoke another language as their mother tongue, while the rest of the participants (25.9%) stated that they grew up speaking both English and another language (nine participants did not provide an answer to this question). With regards to their mothers' countries of birth, almost 92% were born outside of Canada, 7.7% were born in Canada (2 participants did not answer this question). The fathers' countries of birth had a similar pattern – 94.2% were born outside of Canada, 5.5% in Canada (2 participants did not answer this question).

Procedure and Materials

Participants completed the web-based questionnaires outside of the university during the winter term 2009. Our materials were part of a larger questionnaire that the students in Introduction to Psychology classes have the option of filling out for class credit. Apart from background information, participants were asked to complete the following scales:

Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale – the new scale developed consisting of 38 items, which tapped the five previously identified factors. In the testing of the new scale, we included some more items that tapped the concepts of compatibility and flexibility described in the previous study. These new items were developed in an attempt to better

capture the nuances of these two subscales. The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Cultural Distance – (based on Babiker, Cox and Miller, 1980; a similar index was used by Ward and Kennedy [1993] with good reliability) this scale measured the perceived distance between the Canadian society and their ethnic group on the following dimensions: religion, language, climate, food, clothes, leisure activities, family life, values, gender relations, political systems, standard of living and education ($\alpha = .88$). The participants were asked to rate the similarity between the two cultures on these dimensions, 1 being “Extremely similar” to 6 being “Extremely different”.

Self-esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) – ten items on this scale tapped participants’ self-esteem (“On the whole I am satisfied with myself”, “At times, I think I am not good at all”- reversed; $\alpha = .89$). The participants were asked to rate each item from 1 to 6, 1 being “Strongly disagree” and 6 being “Strongly agree”.

Results and Discussion

Exploratory factor analysis

In order to have a reasonably brief instrument, it was decided to select four items to represent each subscale. These items were chosen by conducting an exploratory factor analysis with all 38 items. The items on the five subscales loaded as expected, with high loadings for most of the items and very few cross loadings³. We selected the four items

³ The items that cross loaded were: “I feel uncomfortable when in a situation that involves both my ethnic group and the Canadian culture” (monoculture and conflict), “Most of my friends see me as belonging to both the Canadian culture and my ethnic group”

that loaded highest on each of the five factors⁴ and did not cross-load to be used in the confirmatory factor analysis (see Appendix E for the final version of the scale). The items on the final scale represented the five factors previously identified.

Reliability

The items selected for each of the five subscales were tested for reliability. The results of the reliability analysis showed that the five subscales were reliable (with a Cronbach alpha between .85 and .91) and thus we could proceed with the analysis (see Table 7)

Confirmatory factor analysis⁵

First generation

Confirmatory factor analysis using EQS 6.1 was performed for the first generation subsample. The hypothesized model consisted of five factors, each having four variables loading on them, with the error terms uncorrelated. We also hypothesized that the factors were correlated with each other. One factor loading parameter within each set of indicator

(compatibility and hybridity), “I feel happy to be part of two cultural groups” (compatibility and hybridity). One item did not load on any factor: “My Canadian identity is incompatible with my ethnic identity”.

4 The highest loading was .88 and the lowest was .41 for the items selected.

5 In Study 2 we performed a correlational analysis by splitting the sample by generation, in order to determine whether generational status would moderate the pattern of relations between the subscales. The results showed that there was only one difference between the groups on this analysis. For the second generation, the correlation between Compatibility and Flexibility was significantly negative ($r = -.29, p < .01$), whereas for the first generation this relationship proved to be non-significant ($r = -.03, p = .75$). In other words, the second generation biculturals in our sample indicated that the more compatible they found their two cultural groups to be, the less inclined they were to switch between them, while keeping them completely separate, whereas for the first generation these two concepts were unrelated.

variables per factor was fixed at 1.00 (Bryne, 2006). This first five-factor model yielded a respectable fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 350.31$, $p = .000$, $df = 160$, $CFI = 0.91$, $RMSEA = 0.08$). The relation between two factors proved to be quite high in the standardized solution ($r = .74$), and thus we proceeded to investigate a second model consisting of four factors, where the items for Monocultural orientation and Conflict would load on one factor. This model produced a poorer fit ($\chi^2 = 437.90$, $p = .000$, $df = 161$, $CFI = 0.87$, $RMSEA = 0.09$). The difference of these two models was examined, and based on the critical value for χ^2 of the difference in the two models ($\chi^2 = 6.64$ with 1 degree of freedom, $p = .05$), the five factor solution was deemed the optimal solution for the first generation participants.

Modification indexes for the initial five-factor solution were examined. The multivariate Wald test for dropping parameters indicated that the goodness of fit might be improved by removing the correlation between factors 2 and 3 (i.e., Flexibility and Compatibility). This was the third model tested. An inspection of the multivariate Lagrange test suggested that for improving the fit of the model some variables could load on more than one factor. Various subsequent models were tested to assess the improvement in fit of the model incorporating these changes. A better fit could be obtained when we allowed five indicators to load each on two factors⁶, while also relaxing the correlation between factors 2 and 3 ($\chi^2 = 274.65$, $p = .000$, $df = 156$, $CFI =$

⁶ “My ethnic identity varies depending on who I am with” – monoculture and flexibility; “I often find myself switching between cultures in different situations” – flexibility and conflict; “Although they are different, the two cultural groups that I identify with go well together” – compatibility and hybridity; “If I were to describe the relationship between the two cultures that I belong to, I’d depict them as integrated” – compatibility and hybridity; “Most of my friends see me as belonging to both my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture” – compatibility and hybridity.

0.94, RMSEA = 0.06); this should not come at the cost of parsimony. Because the third model showed a good fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 350.61$, $p = .000$, $df = 161$, CFI = 0.91, RMSEA = 0.08) and was the most parsimonious solution, it was selected as the best model to fit the data, with the correlation between the factors 2 and 3, that is, Flexibility and Compatibility, relaxed (see Figure 1).

We thus obtained a final five-factor model, where each factor consisted of four items and where the factors were intercorrelated, except for Flexibility and Compatibility. This result was consistent with previous analysis, where we observed a weak relation between these two factors for the first generation participants (see Study 2). Even though a better fit to the model was obtained by allowing various items to load on more than one factor, we chose against this option, because it came at the cost of interpretability and parsimony. The relations between the factors were already evidence that these concepts were related, and it is thus clear that some items could load on more than one factor. However, we concluded that the final model was a good fit to the data and was the most parsimonious solution.

Second generation

We conducted the CFA using the data collected from the second-generation participants. We hypothesized again that the factors were intercorrelated with each other and that four indicators loaded on each of the five factors. One parameter for each latent construct was set to 1.00. The initial model was a good fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 446.02$, $p = .000$, $df = 160$, CFI = 0.92, RMSEA = 0.08).

By examining the multivariate Wald test, we found that in order to improve the fit of the model the correlation between factor 2 (Flexibility) and factor 5 (Hybridity), and respectively factor 2 (Flexibility) and factor 3 (Compatibility), should be relaxed. We tested this second model and found that it showed a poorer fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 620.14$, $p = .000$, $df = 162$, $CFI = 0.88$, $RMSEA = 0.09$). We re-ran a third model by relaxing just the relation between factor 2 and 3 and the goodness of fit showed an improvement ($\chi^2 = 448.40$, $p = .000$, $df = 161$, $CFI = 0.92$, $RMSEA = 0.07$). We thus proceeded to the following tests using the third model, that is, a five-factor model, with the relation between factors 2 and 3 relaxed.

An inspection of the multivariate Lagrange test suggested that for improving the fit of the model six variables should be allowed to load on more than one factor⁷. This fourth model was investigated. The goodness of fit showed an improvement after these changes ($\chi^2 = 336.80$, $p = .000$, $df = 153$, $CFI = 0.95$, $RMSEA = 0.06$). By making these changes however, the parsimony of the model would be affected, and the interpretability of the obtained model and its relations between variables and factors would be more complex. For these reasons, we maintain that although the goodness of fit of the model is improved by allowing the variables to load on more than one factor, it comes at the cost of the parsimony and interpretability of the results. We selected for the final model the third model, with five factors interrelated except for factor 2 and factor 3, that is, Flexibility

7 "I feel that I must decide which of the two cultures is more central to my identity" – monoculture and flexibility; "My ethnic identity varies depending on who I am with" – flexibility and conflict; "I often find myself switching between cultures in different situations" – flexibility and conflict; "I adjust my identity depending on whether I am with people from my ethnic group or Canadians" – flexibility and conflict; "If I were to describe the relationship between the two cultures that I belong to, I'd depict them as integrated" – compatibility and hybridity; "Most of my friends see me as belonging to both my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture" – compatibility and hybridity.

and Compatibility. ($\chi^2 = 448.40$, $p = .000$, $df = 161$, $CFI = 0.92$, $RMSEA = 0.07$) (see Figure 2).

For the data obtained from second generation participants we also chose to keep as a final model the most parsimonious and interpretable solution, and this final model was very similar in structure to the model obtained from the data for the first generation participants. Even though the final models for the two generational groups turned out to be similar in structure, more tests were required in order to test whether these two models were equivalent.

The factorial structure of the instrument

In order to test the invariant factorial structure of the new scale across the two generational groups, we performed more tests using the EQS 6.1 software. These tests focused on exploring the invariance related to a single measuring instrument and two groups, that is the equivalency of the factorial measurement and the underlying latent structure across first and second generation participants (Bryne, 1994). Although the models are similar in structure based on the previous analysis, i.e. the same factorial relation needed to be relaxed in both models, their equivalency needs to be addressed through the statistical analysis of the similarities and differences among the standard solutions obtained for them.

As Bryne (1994) noted, the fact that the two final models for the first and second generation participants were similar in structure does not guarantee their equivalence. The final models for both samples were similar, in that the correlation between two factors (the same two factors in both cases) needed to be relaxed. Although allowing

variables to load on more than one factor yielded a better fit for the models, this came at the cost of parsimony and interpretability and we decided against it.

The two models tested are the ones presented in Figure 1 and 2, for the first and second generations. The first test yielded a CFI value of .92, indicating that the hypothesized constrained model represented a fairly good fit for the data ($\chi^2 = 823.40$, $p = .000$, $df = 337$). A close examination of the Lagrange multiplier test for releasing constraints indicated that only for one of the 15 factor-loading constraints the null hypothesis of intergroup equality was rejected. This factor was a conflict item (Sometimes I am confused about my ethnic identity), which for the first generation model loaded on the conflict factor with a loading of .69 (the lowest among the four items), while for the second generation model, it had a loading of .82. We can thus infer that for the first generation participants the conflict factor did not necessarily include a sense of confusion about their identity, while the second generation perceived conflict as their two cultures being at odds, but also incorporating the idea of confusion. We proceeded to re-test the invariant structure of the scale, releasing this constraint. The CFI did not show a dramatic change for this second stage ($\chi^2 = 813.20$, $p = .000$, $df = 336$, CFI = .92).

Based on these final tests we could conclude that the models obtained from the data for both generations were equivalent, with one exception. The models were both parsimonious and easily interpretable, each factor consisting of four items and most of the factors intercorrelated. We proceeded to do more analyses with the five subscales in order to better understand the underlying concepts and the relations between them.

Means analysis

To determine the differences between the generations in their bicultural orientations a 2 x 5 ANOVA was computed with the generational status as a between-subject factor and the five bicultural orientations as a within-subject factor (Orientation: Conflict vs. Monoculture vs. Flexibility vs. Compatibility vs. Hybridity). The results yielded a significant Group main effect ($F(1, 567) = 6.09, p = .014$) and a significant Orientation main effect ($F(4, 2268) = 395.83, p < .001$). The interaction effect was also significant ($F(4, 2268) = 11.49, p < .001$; see Figure 3).

We continued to investigate the significance of the difference between the two generations on the five subscales. Post-hoc Tukey tests indicated that the participants' endorsement of the five orientations varied. The first generation participants endorsed Conflict, Monoculture and Flexibility significantly more than the second generation participants, while this last group endorsed Compatibility more than the first generation. For Hybridity, there was no significant difference in endorsement between the two generations. For the first generation, as well as for the second, the scores obtained by the participants for Conflict and Monoculture were equivalent. A similar pattern was observed for both generations on Compatibility and Hybridity, that is, the scores obtained by the first generation participants on these two variables were equivalent, and the second generation's scores for these two variables were also equivalent. The differences observed were as follows: Hybridity and Compatibility were significantly more endorsed by both generations than the other 3 subscales, and Flexibility was significantly more endorsed by both generations than Monoculture and Conflict.

*Additional Considerations: Cultural Distance and Self-Esteem**Cultural distance*

Questions to test the cultural distance perceived by the bicultural participants between the Canadian culture and their heritage culture were included in the questionnaire. The cultural distance index showed a negative correlation with Self-Esteem for the whole sample ($r = -.17, p < .001$) and no correlation with years spent in Canada (i.e., for the first generation participants). Correlations with the subscales showed that Conflict ($r = .19, p < .001$), Monocultural orientation ($r = .12, p = .003$) and Flexibility ($r = .19, p < .001$) had a positive relation with Cultural Distance, while Compatibility ($r = -.28, p < .001$) was negatively related. Nonetheless, Hybridity did not correlate with this scale.

In order to investigate the cultural distance relations to the subscales in more depth, we split the sample by generations, and found that the pattern of correlations was consistent across the two generations, such that Conflict and Flexibility correlated positively with cultural distance, while Compatibility correlated negatively. There were no significant correlations between Cultural Distance and Monocultural orientation, and Hybridity, respectively (see Table 8).

Cultural Distance investigated the perceived distance between the heritage culture of the participants and the mainstream Canadian culture on various aspects, such as family relations, gender roles, food, etc. The positive correlations indicated the more the participants found that there were great differences between their heritage culture and the Canadian culture, the more conflict they perceived, the more they wanted to be part of

only one culture, and the more they kept the two cultures separate and switched between them. Conversely, when they perceived the two cultures to be less distant, they leaned towards finding them compatible and developing a hybrid. However, Monocultural Orientation and Hybridity did not show a strong relation with Cultural Distance, maybe because for the first case participants did not perceive themselves to be part of the Canadian culture, while the hybrids could have developed a third culture, one in which they incorporated elements from both, thus cultural distance being a non-issue.

Self-esteem

Self-Esteem correlated significantly with all subscales for the overall sample. The correlations between this variable and Conflict, Monocultural orientation and Flexibility were negative ($r = -.27$, $r = -.28$, respectively, $r = -.15$, with $p < .001$), but positive with Compatibility and Hybridity ($r = .27$, $r = .22$, with $p < .001$). The same pattern of correlations was maintained when the sample was split by generation (see Table 8).

Self-Esteem was a measure of well-being for the participants in our sample, and the results of the correlational analysis with the five subscales supported our previous findings (see Study 2) that the more compatible the participants find their two cultures, and the more they develop a hybrid identity, their psychological well-being would be enhanced. Conversely, the negative relations with Conflict, Monocultural Orientation and Flexibility indicated that participants characterized by these orientations tend to have a poorer overall well-being.

Considerations on the length of living in Canada

For the first generation participants, we proceeded to investigate whether the length of stay in Canada (years passed since their arrival) had a relationship with the way they described their bicultural orientation. Correlational analyses indicated that the shorter the time elapsed since their arrival in Canada, the more their orientations were inclined towards Conflict, Monoculture and Flexibility (see Table 8). Nonetheless, no relationship was found between the years spent in Canada and Compatibility or Hybridity.

We could infer from these tests that the first years in Canada were harder for the participants, since they experienced conflict, the desire to be monocultural and switching between the two cultures; however, based on these analyses we could not determine whether in time these participants would find the two cultures to be compatible or would develop a sense of hybridity.

Study 4 – Follow-up Interviews

Objectives

The purpose of the last study was to further examine the validity of the new instrument by asking a select group of respondents from Study 3 to explain their responses to the instrument in a face-to-face interview.

Participants

The participants in the fourth study were university students, enrolled in Introduction to Psychology classes, who received class credit for their participation in the follow-up interview. The criterion for selection was their extreme scores (either high or low) on one of the five subscales in Study 3 (see Table 9 for demographic information and scores). A total of 14 participants took part in the follow up interviews

Most of the participants (N=12) were female and only 2 were male. With regards to their generational status, the sample was half first generation (N=7) and half second generation (N=7). Only one participant from the latter group was still in the process of receiving the Canadian citizenship, and at the time of the interview was a permanent resident; all other participants were Canadian citizens. The countries of origin for the participants not born in Canada were former Yugoslavia (2 participants), Russia (1), Afghanistan (1), Korea (1), India (1), and the United States (1, but they declared their ethnicity to be East Indian). It is also worth noting here that out of the total sample of

participants, five identified their ethnic background as Chinese-born-Canadian (see Table 10 for demographic information and mean scores on the five subscales).

Procedure and Materials

Each session was an individual interview. The researcher, who invited the participants to speak freely about their experiences of biculturalism, moderated the discussions. The participants were assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of the study. All interviews were audio-taped, after consent for participation and recording was obtained from the participants. All participants gave consent and took part in the interviews.

Participants were first reminded that they had previously filled in items from the scale, and that at this stage we were interested in assessing the content validity of the instrument through a brief interview. They were given the necessary time to fill in the final version of the scale and asked how easy it was to understand each one of the items. They were also asked to explain how relevant each item was to their experiences and to elaborate how their numerical answers were related to their experiences.

*Results and Discussion*⁸

The participants⁹ were asked to discuss their numerical scores on each one of the items in light of their experiences as biculturals. We will proceed to present these discussions by choosing the lowest and the highest scores of the subscales and providing excerpts from the discussion with the participants (for the scores obtained by each participant on the scale and demographic information, see Table 10).

Conflict – low: there were three participants whose scores were minimal on the items that tapped into Conflict. One of them came to Canada only 3 years ago from India, and the other two were second generation Canadians of Chinese descent. Abha, from India, spoke of the harmony that she perceived between the Indian culture and the Canadian culture, but told us that she felt much more Indian than Canadian. She also emphasized that she had chosen her Indian identity as her central one. She added:

There are benefits in being in two cultures, but I think one should stick to one, but it's good to experience others. If you're in between it's harder, more confusing, but I have already decided. My identity is Hindu (Abha, India).

The other two participants who were second generation of Chinese descent both spoke of the lack of reasons for their identities to be in conflict. John emphasized several times throughout the interview: “Well, I’m Chinese-Canadian, you know, Chinese and

⁸ Because of time constraints we were unable to select participants who have scored high or low on only one of the subscales. The participants were selected from the Department of Psychology research pool. We initially chose 15 participants to participate in the interviews, but the sign-up for interviews was very slow. We expanded the pool to 170 participants, who have each scored either high or low on a subscale, however, the selection was out of our control. The proportion of participants in this stage which scored higher on Hybridity, was higher than the rest of the subscales, however, all participants provided valuable insight into their own experiences.

⁹ All names have been changed to ensure anonymity. The names used are pseudonyms.

Canadian”, meaning that it was not the relationship between two different cultures, but that it was one identity and one cultural group, that is, Chinese-Canadian.

Conflict – high: the highest score on this subscale was a little over the median point of the scale and only one participant scored it. Anne-Marie was a first generation Canadian originally from Korea, who had come to Canada when she was 10 years old. She told us that she did feel confused about her identity, and that her Canadian friends did not see her as Canadian, even though she was a citizen. She also spoke of the reason why she felt conflicted:

Sometimes I don't feel like I belong here, making friends is really hard
(Anne-Marie, Korea)

When we asked directly if she felt her two cultures were in conflict, she said: “I disagree, I don't think they're in conflict, I used to in high-school, but now I just let it go”. She seemed resigned with the situation; however, it was evident that it was an uncomfortable situation for her.

Some of the participants also indicated that they have experienced conflict when they were younger and that there were some aspects of their ethnic culture which were in contradiction with the Canadian norms. Many of the female participants spoke of the restrictions imposed by their parents and ethnic group on them because of their gender and that they had to hide from their parents in order to avoid conflict. Some of the situations that they hid from their parents were romantic relationships, social events and alcohol consumption. Nonetheless, they did not seem to perceive this as a reason for conflict, rather, many of them said that it was just the way things were and they adapted to the situation. Many also indicated that when they would be parents they would be less

strict with their children, while also passing on ethnic traditions, culture or language. One participant said:

It used to be hard [to reconcile the differences between the two cultures I belong to], now it's not anymore. Maybe it's the age, I'm more mature now and I understand why my parents are strict (Waseem, Afghanistan).

Another link that came up often in the interviews was the link between proficiency in English and perceived conflict between the two cultural groups. Waseem, who was the only permanent resident in our sample, originally from Afghanistan, told us that he used to feel conflicted, particularly before he was fluent in English. Maria, from the former Yugoslavia, also told us that even now she “sometimes felt awkward”, because of her English. It appears that language does play an important role in people's adaptation and comprehension of the new culture. But once they were capable of communicating well in English, most of them resolved the conflicts that might have been perceived between their two identities.

Monocultural orientation – low: most of the participants who scored low on Conflict, also scored low on Monoculture. The majority of the people who scored low on Monoculture, when they were asked to elaborate, spoke of the benefits of being part of more than one culture, of living in a multicultural society where one could feel free to express both their ethnic culture and their Canadian-ness. Sabina, a second generation Canadian of Chinese descent, said:

Everyone is a mix-up of different cultures (...) everything gets mixed together and in the end it makes it a lot better (Sabina, Canada, of Chinese origin).

Maria, from the former Yugoslavia, clarified her answers by saying:

If you have more cultures in you it makes you more interesting, it gives you different perspectives. If I belonged to one culture, it would get boring. It makes me feel special, I guess (Maria, former Yugoslavia).

Monoculture – high: The highest score obtained by one of the participants was a little over the median score and belonged also to Anne-Marie from Korea. Some of the things she said about her preference to be part of only one culture were:

Sometimes I favour one culture over the other (...) you have to choose one, otherwise you don't know who you are... people expect that from you. It's not possible not belong to both completely, people who are part of only one culture don't see biculturals as belonging to that culture. I am more Korean, than Canadian, not both (Anne-Marie, Korea).

If we read this answer in light of her previous statements about not having Canadian friends who saw her as Canadian and not Korean, we could infer that Anne-Marie's perception of conflict and her monocultural orientation were related to a sense of social loneliness and maladjustment to the Canadian society. She also told us that most of her friends were Korean or Asian, mainly because they were in the same situation as her.

Flexibility – low: the mean scores on this subscale were higher than on the previously discussed subscales, ranging between the minimal score (1) and almost maximal (5.75). One participant scored very low (i.e., 1) on Flexibility. She was originally from the former Yugoslavia (Croatia) and had moved to Canada with her parents when she was 6 years old, because of the war. Nikoleta told us:

I don't switch at all. I am what I am, people or situations have nothing to do with that (...) of course, with my grandparents I can't speak English, but they know living here has made me who I am (Nikoleta, Croatia).

She also said that she perceived herself to be more European than Canadian, and that when she went to Croatia she felt more comfortable there, describing the benefits of living in a more collectivistic society. But she did not perceive a change in herself, supporting the notion that she was the same anywhere and with anybody. It is worth noting again the language reference.

This reference was also present in other interviews. Some spoke of the lack of confidence in their abilities in the heritage language, which triggered a lesser participation in the community (John, Canada, of Chinese origin), and thus a sense that to some extent they did change depending on whether they were with people from their heritage group or Canadians.

Flexibility – high: two participants scored higher on the Flexibility items than any other subscales. One of these participants was Janine, born in Canada, but of Vietnamese origin. When talking about Flexibility, Janine said:

A traditional Vietnamese girl is quiet, she obeys her parents, she's only interested in school. Being Vietnamese goes along with being Catholic. So with my friends, I'm more outgoing, but in public, I'm more Vietnamese, I have to be respectful to the elders, dress and act in a certain way (...) Even though I believe in something I can't always express it. Sometimes I can switch between cultures, but there's always a part of me that wants to fight back (Janine, Canada, of Vietnamese origin).

In our previous studies we uncovered a somewhat counterintuitive relationship between Conflict, Monoculture and Flexibility and it was a relationship that we needed to explore in the follow up interviews. What Janine told us about switching between the two cultures uncovered what she felt were pressures to conform to a group that was less permissive than the Canadian mainstream society and that while conforming to the

demands of her family and her ethnic group, she felt uncomfortable doing it. The Flexibility items on our subscale tapped the ability to recognize the switch in personality and behaviour when moving between the two groups. Other participants indicated that they were somewhat aware of this change, but only the ones who perceived it to be important in maintaining a positive relationship with the family and the community scored overall higher on this scale.

Melissa was also born in Canada, but her parents were from China and she was the other participant who scored high on this subscale. She told us that she switched between her ethnic identity and her Canadian identity, and that she acted differently when she was with her family as opposed to her Canadian friends. She emphasized that her culture taught her she had to be obedient to the elders, and that with her friends there was a “mixture of attitudes, both Chinese and Canadian”. However, later in the interview, Melissa said that she was “both [Canadian and Chinese] at all times, and there’s no need to choose”.

Taking a look at Waseem’s answers, we found another characteristic of Flexibility – the agency in moving between the two cultures, that is, the extent to which one makes a conscious decision of adapting to the environment. Waseem strongly disagreed when he was asked whether he found himself switching between the two cultures, but strongly agreed with the other items on the scale, which pointed to a sense of agency (in adapting to the people or circumstances). Only one other participant had a similar pattern of responses, and that was Abha, from India. Although only these two participants from the whole sample seemed to make this distinction, in the future, we would need to continue

investigating whether perceived agency played a role in switching and adapting to different cultural environments.

Compatibility – low: there was just one participant who scored lower than 3 (i.e., 2.25) on the Compatibility subscale. Seema was born in Canada and identified her ethnic background as Sikh Indian. She told us about her parents and the high regard they held the Sikh traditions, and how that sometimes interfered with her social life. She had had a boyfriend for 3 years at the time of the interview, but because he was Hindu and not Sikh, she had never told her family about him. She said:

I mix them [the Canadian and Indian identity], but it's hard to reconcile the differences. I could never live in India, it's not very hygienic, we had to boil the water cause you can't drink it... I was so sheltered before high school, but I had to reconcile the two (Seema, Canada, of Indian origin).

We notice here the move between talking about compatibility on a personal level and compatibility of the two cultures, in general. In Seema's case, the rules that her parents imposed influenced her to perceive the two cultures as incompatible. At a later point in the interview, she told us about a conversation she had with a Canadian friend, who had just introduced her boyfriend to the family. Seema was shocked and appalled by this, saying "I could never bring him home, my parents would kill me, because he's not Sikh". On the more general level, she talked about the differences between life in Canada versus India, and described how distinctive they were.

Other participants also talked about the perceived difference between compatibility of the two cultures on a personal level and on the societal level. Janine (born in Canada, of Vietnamese origin) talked about the Vietnamese community in Edmonton and her personal experiences:

The Vietnamese community in Edmonton is very integrated, they participate at festivals, they do all these things, there's a Vietnamese Catholic church, but for myself they are not compatible... Like, for example, I don't think my parents should know everything about me, but I want them to know (Janine, Canada, of Vietnamese origin).

Janine identified a difference in compatibility of the Vietnamese community with the Canadian culture and the compatibility of her Vietnamese identity with her Canadian identity, and showed that even if one was compatible, it did not mean that the other one was also.

Compatibility – high: about half of the participants scored 5 or higher on the Compatibility items. The participants that scored the highest on this scale were Sabina and John, who both identified as Chinese born Canadian. Sabina said about the compatibility of her two identities:

It gives you great opportunities, any culture goes well with another. In today's age, everyone is mixing together, it doesn't matter the age, race... especially, here in Canada (Sabina, Canada, of Chinese origin).

In Sabina's words we can see more than the appreciation for being part of these two cultures, the belief that we are now in a time where ethnicity, race, age are no longer of importance in defining groups.

John also talked about the advantages of living in a multicultural country, and he emphasized his Chinese-Canadian identity, indicating that they were not two separate identities, rather a blend of the two. After pondering the Compatibility items for a while, John said that he believed the reason why he found them compatible was the support network, the large Chinese Canadian community in Canada.

Nikoleta, from Croatia, obtained the second highest score. She said that although there were differences between the two cultures, she thought they were compatible. One of the differences that she talked about was in the education children received from their parents – her friends were always allowed to go out, but their parents never allowed them to drink or smoke, while she said about her parents that “they never told me not to drink or smoke, but I couldn’t go out whenever I wanted”. Even though she perceived these differences, Nikoleta talked about her European identity being different, but at the same time compatible with her Canadian identity.

These examples show the diversity of understandings of the Compatibility items for the people who scored high – a multicultural society, a large support network and compatibility of the discrepancies between two cultures.

Hybridity – low: the lowest score on the Hybridity subscale was 3, and the participant who scored it was Abha, from India. It is maybe worth noting here that Abha had only been living in Canada for 3 years at the time of the interview, although she was a Canadian citizen. As mentioned earlier, Abha had indicated that her Hindu identity was central to herself, although she perceived it to pair nicely with her Canadian identity.

Nonetheless, although her scores were the lowest in our sample, Abha said:

It [my identity] is a hybrid, a mix, my ideas were very different there, but things kind of change, you get other points of view (Abha, India).

It is interesting to note here the juggling in Abha’s discourse between identity and religion. She indicated that she was Hindu and said “I do believe in the Hindu religion more than the Canadian one”, while later on when talking about hybridity she added “I wouldn’t mind going to a church”. This juggling between religion and ethnicity came up

in various other interviews. Janine indicated that being Vietnamese was the same as being Catholic, Waseem talked about the importance of passing down his Ismaili Muslim heritage to his children and about people from his religion being less strict than the people who belonged to Sunni Islam, which allowed him to better integrate into the Canadian society.

Yeah, like I already found a girl I like, my family doesn't know about her yet, But she is also Afghani, she was born here though. We're waiting to finish school before we tell our parents. You know, she knows both worlds, like, the traditions, she grew up with them, too. But she lived here all her life (...) Ismaili Muslims... we're more Westernized, but we think about the values of the Muslim religion, where as Sunni Muslims, they would be more strict than us (Waseem, Afghanistan).

Hybridity – high: nine of the 14 participants scored 5 or higher on the Hybridity subscale, and among them were the 5 participants who identified themselves as CBC's (Canadian-born Chinese). Sabina had the highest score.

Make it your own. Canada is such a multicultural society, I have Indian friends, I learn their dances, watch their movies... it's not just your DNA, it's your personality, what you learn from people you're around (Sabina, Canada, of Chinese origin).

Here again, Sabina talked about living in a multicultural society and crossing the boundaries of ethnicity. She perceived herself not only as a hybrid of the Canadian and Chinese cultures, but as a hybrid of all the cultures she was in contact with.

Another participant who scored high on the Hybridity items was Valentina, from Russia, who had moved to Canada 6 years ago. Although she talked extensively about the differences between the Russian culture and the Canadian culture, and her appreciation for both, when she was asked about her answers on the Hybridity items, she said:

I don't feel like I really fit in, in Canada or in Russia, I'm a little bit of both... it doesn't bother me at all (Valentina, Russia).

She also mentioned that because of her accent, her friends would always see her as "the Russian" and she coined this as the "Canadian fetishism with accents". She talked extensively about her determination to change her parents' views on the role of the women and other political issues, while at the same time representing her home country in front of her Canadian friends. It is interesting to note that she did not feel her hybridity to be a very positive trait as evidenced by the quote, but rather accepted it and engaged in her every day life as part of these two worlds.

Other participants talked about being a hybrid, taking the best of both worlds, having a social network of people similar to them, trying to influence their parents to allow them to change and incorporate the Canadian life-style into their homes and the importance of passing down their ethnic culture, language and religion to their children. Some indicated that even if they would not marry somebody from their own ethnic background, they would ask for their parents' help in raising the children to know about their background.

Conclusions

The follow-up interviews provided insight into the lives and experiences of bicultural individuals. These interviews also supported our scale and tested its content validity. The participants talked freely about their experiences, and themes previously found in the focus groups emerged again: some talked about the developmental aspect of ethnic identity and how their perception of the two cultures changed over time, as well as

the factors that played a role in this change; others mentioned the demands placed on them by their parents to conform or maintain their heritage identity; others talked about the influence language and religion had in maintaining a tight relationship with the ethnic group; and others mentioned the gender roles that they had to adhere to because of the demands of their heritage culture. These themes were also present in the focus groups interviews and reflect experiences of biculturalism, however they did not directly address the relation between the two cultures of one bicultural individual.

More importantly, however, the follow-up interviews provided the support for our newly developed scale. Even if a certain subscale did not fit the profile of some biculturals, they could relate to the items and respond as to why these items were not relevant to them. Support for the relations between the five subscales was evidenced not only by the scores provided by the participants on the questionnaire, but also in their discussion of these items. We thus conclude that the newly developed biculturalism integration orientation scale is an instrument that can aid in our understanding of bicultural individuals and bicultural identity.

General Conclusions and Future Directions

The objective of this research project was to investigate people's experiences of biculturalism, particularly as they related to ethnic identity, conflict and integration, and hybridity, and to develop a new instrument that would better tap the concept of biculturalism. From a theoretical perspective, we identified five interrelated dimensions, which provide a better understanding of the experiences of biculturalism. These dimensions are conflict (a perceived discord between the two cultures), monocultural orientation (the desire to be part of only one of the two cultures), flexibility (the alternation of behaviours and attitudes depending on the context), compatibility (perceived congruence between the two cultures) and hybridity (the blend of the two cultures to create one). A new instrument, the Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale, was developed based on the literature review and the anecdotal evidence provided by the participants. The instrument showed validity and reliability.

Theoretical Considerations

Ethnic identity, and particularly, bicultural ethnic identity has been the focus of much discussion in the recent literature in various fields. How do people deal with belonging to two different ethnic groups? What are the conditions that predict whether a bicultural individual will behave according to the demands of one cultural group at a given time? What are the consequences for biculturals' psychological well-being? We have come a long way since Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) described the people who belonged to two cultures as marginalized, and not belonging to either, while always

remaining on the outskirts of both. Traces of these ideas can still be found in the literature on biculturals (see Berry, 1980), but more recently researchers have tried to focus on the balancing of two different cultural systems and the possible outcomes biculturalism can have on people.

Noels (1992, 2004), Phinney (1990, 1991), Hong (2000, 2007), Benet-Martínez (2002, 2005), Ward (2001, submitted) and their colleagues, and many other researchers, have tried to identify ways in which we can assess the relations between two cultures within one individual. As evidenced by their research, conflict is one of the perceptions that bicultural individuals might have about their ethnic identities: perceived conflictual demands placed by each ethnic group and/or identity, a sense of being lost, of not knowing which norms to adhere to, social loneliness and maladjustment, feeling caught in between two worlds are just some of the ideas incorporated in previous scales that attempted to assess conflict. At the other end of the conflict continuum is harmony (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002), indicating a feeling of not being trapped between two cultures, but rather experiencing them in an agreeable way.

One other axis previously identified as relevant for bicultural individuals was the distance-overlap axis (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). Distance aimed at explaining some biculturals' preference to keep the two cultures separate, and to identify themselves as members of one group residing within another group. The concept of overlap has been more predominant in the literature, with slight differences (apart from Benet-Martínez, others have attempted to elaborate this notion – Dallaire and Dennis, 2005; Phinney, 1990; Roccas and Brewer, 2002; Plaza, 2006, and many others). The core idea in this line

of research is that some biculturals identify themselves with both cultures at the same time, or with a blend of the two cultures.

Context was also deemed to be an important factor in the lives and experiences of bicultural people (see Phinney, 1990, 1991; Noels et al, 1992, 2001; Yip, 2002, 2005; Ashmore et al, 2004). Research indicated that some participants switch between their two identities depending on contextual cues, such that in more private settings they will identify themselves more closely with their ethnic culture, while in more public settings they will act more along the lines of the dominant group, i.e., their other ethnic identity. Research (Noels et al, 2004) has indicated that this variability in ethnic identity does not pose a threat to their psychological well-being, rather that it is performed with ease.

It is not only the context that influences biculturals to behave or not according to the demands of one or more cultural groups; essentialist beliefs could also influence the biculturals' reaction to their environments. The switching between the two cultural groups has previously been linked to either an essentialist view on race (and ethnicity) or to a more social constructivist understanding of these notions. Research on beliefs about the biological determination of race brought the concept of essentialism to the forefront of psychological research, with studies being conducted by Hong and her colleagues (2007), No and her colleagues (2008), and others. Essentialism about race has infiltrated ethnic identity literature, and the possibility has arisen that people who perceive ethnicity to be stable and biologically determined may exhibit different patterns of understanding biculturalism than people who consider ethnicity and race to be socially constructed (No et al, 2008).

Methodological Considerations

Much of the research in the field of psychology of bicultural individuals is either experimental or survey research. The reliability and significance of these results might then come at the cost of the complexity of the issue for the everyday lives and experiences of biculturals. For this reason, we initiated our research by providing participants the opportunity to talk freely in a group discussion about their experiences as biculturals. We carried on our research by developing a new instrument that aimed at incorporating previous literature, while at the same time, taking into account the real-life stories from the participants in the focus groups. This scale was tested with two different samples of biculturals, some of whom were further invited to provide feedback in an interview setting. This last stage aimed at mirroring the initial stage: does the scale we have developed address the pertinent issues of bicultural identity?

The research studies described above are an attempt at understanding bicultural identity, approaching it from multiple methodological angles. Triangulation is the incorporation of various methodologies in one research study, with the aim of uncovering the topic at hand through multiple techniques and validating the findings of one technique through the use of another. Triangulation is an established and recommended method employed in the social sciences (Saville-Troike, 2003; Noels & Giles, in press; Dewaele, in press, and others).

Contributions of the Present Study

In the first stage, the focus groups, we identified three important and relevant dimensions to biculturalism: conflict and overlap, as well as a new dimension, which we determined to be stability – fluidity. There were some differences in the ways participants described their perceptions of conflict or overlap between the two cultures that they belonged to, as compared to the concepts put forth by Benet-Martínez. Yet, the third dimension shed more light on the dynamics of bicultural identity. Participants spoke of switching their behaviours depending on the context, but this was not always associated with feelings of being lost, rather at points, the participants talked about the ease and fluidity of moving in between two cultures. As expected, the context, that is, the people involved in the interaction and the language used in the interaction, played an important role in the switch between two ethnic identities.

The purpose of the following stage was to develop questionnaire items and test them in an exploratory analysis. We identified five factors relevant for bicultural identity: perceived conflict between the two cultures, the desire to be part of only one culture, flexibility or fluidity in moving between the two cultures, perceived compatibility, and the hybrid identity. Statistical analyses showed that these subscales were interrelated, with the first three bearing a more negative connotation, in the sense that they related to measures of lesser well-being. It is worth noting here the positive relation between the flexibility subscale and essentialism, which pointed out that for some biculturals, the two ethnic identities were kept separate, while they navigated between them, possibly due to a perception that they are fixed, maybe even biologically determined, and that they cannot

be changed or altered by mixing them. Compatibility and hybridity showed indications that participants who endorsed these orientations were better adjusted to both their ethnic group and the host culture.

We proceeded to investigate the confirmatory models separately for the two generations. The results indicated that the models for first and second generation were analogous, with one difference, that is, the second generation perceived more confusion as part of their endorsement of the conflict subscale. Overall, though, more participants endorsed the hybridity and compatibility subscales. People cannot live in constant conflict and struggle with their identities, and these results indicate that it is possible to reconcile the differences and conflicts between the two cultures and find a way to achieve compatibility and blendedness. The first generation participants endorsed conflict, monocultural orientation and flexibility significantly more than the second generation participants; this could be an indication that over time, even the biculturals who perceive their two ethnic identities in conflict or incompatible, could develop a way to alter the effects of this perception. The five concepts proved again to be related to each other, with the only exception being the relation between flexibility and compatibility. It is possible then to assume that if indeed the five factors are part of a continuum, a leap of faith is necessary in moving from keeping the two cultures separated and switching between them, and finding them compatible and thus possibly being able to switch with more ease. The other explanation is offered by the study conducted by No and her colleagues (2008) on the lay theory of race: the people who endorsed a more social constructivist approach to race were more inclined to navigate easily between the two cultures, as opposed to the ones who endorsed an essentialist set of beliefs.

The follow-up interviews were an attempt at giving participants a voice again, while also being a means to assess the validity of the scale, based on their experiences. We found support for the inter-connectivity between the subscales in the participants' answers. Even when the scores reflected that they endorsed one orientation significantly more than the others, their discourse revealed connections between the five concepts. In some cases, these relations had a developmental aspect, that is, participants spoke about how previously in their lives they might have felt conflicted, but how this feeling had modified over time. It is worth noting here that some of the biculturals, who scored highest on compatibility and hybridity, indicated and maintained that they are not part of two separate groups, but rather one hyphenated group. Some even surpassed this level, and declared themselves to be above a clear-cut culture and more like a citizen of the world. This provides evidence for some of the levels proposed by Boski (2008) and other researchers previously discussed.

The four studies presented here offer a clear indication that the bicultural individuals have a wide range of experiences due to their belonging to two cultural groups. These experiences can be grouped by five distinct concepts, which are nonetheless connected to each other. The different methodologies employed show that these five concepts resonate with the biculturals, who live as part of two cultures.

Future Directions

This research project aimed at better understanding the bicultural individuals and the ways in which bicultural identity emerges in their lives. Building on previous literature, we designed and carried out four studies, which led to the conclusion that

bicultural identity in first and second generation individuals can be understood as falling along a possible continuum of biculturality, comprised of five inter-related dimensions.

Based on analyses carried out in the research project presented here, we can assume that hybridity and compatibility will be associated with better social adjustment and psychological well-being, as compared to the other three dimensions – conflict, monocultural preference and flexibility. Evidence for this was given by the relation these five dimensions had with self-esteem. This relation should be further investigated. Research studies should be designed, addressing the relation between the newly developed scale and measures of well-being, such as life satisfaction, social adaptation and social loneliness, depression and others. Future studies could also assess which of the five concepts is a better indicator of psychological well-being and which brings more struggles than benefits in the lives of bicultural individuals. Once the orientation that is more related to psychological maladjustment is identified, help and support could be provided to those biculturals, in an attempt to facilitate the achievement of a psychological balance.

Future studies should also investigate the proposed idea that people who endorse a more essentialist belief system tend to favour flexibility, while people who endorse a social constructivist approach to identity would favour compatibility. Previous research claimed that one of these systems should not be considered better than the other (No et al, 2008); however, in this case, compatibility proved to be related to the variables connected to social adjustment and self-esteem, more than flexibility. Therefore, if the belief system is the mediating factor in choosing to endorse flexibility over compatibility, this would

provide evidence that endorsing a social constructivist approach to race (and ethnicity) has benefits on the individual's psychological well being.

The results of the studies presented here should be interpreted in light of the characteristics of the participants: they were all university students, probably with a similar socio-economic status. As with most of the research in the field of bicultural identity, these results should be confirmed with a general population sample of recent and less recent immigrants, from various socio-economic backgrounds.

A longitudinal study should look at changes over time in biculturals' endorsement of the five orientations and the underlying variables that might determine these changes. We could then assess the possibility of a developmental continuum of the scale, with participants moving from a more conflictual perception of the two cultural groups towards compatibility and even hybridity. In this case, the study should be conducted separately by generation, since differences might be observed in their developmental process.

The scale should be validated in other contexts. Some of the participants in the present study (Study 1 and Study 4) talked about the benefits of multiculturalism in Canada and the differences they perceived existed between Canada and the United States from this point of view. The mainstream perception, as evidenced by the participants' discussions in the focus groups and interviews, is that Canada is a multicultural nation, embracing diversity and encouraging biculturals to maintain ties to both cultural groups, while the United States was described as the melting pot, in which people are encouraged to abandon their ethnic background in order to assimilate better into the American society. Much of the research that was the basis for the present research study originates

from the United States. The Bicultural Integration Index advanced by Benet-Martínez (2002, 2005) and the notions of race essentialism (Hong et al, 2007; No et al, 2008) were developed and validated in the United States. The present research study shows evidence that some of these notions (e.g., conflict, overlap) have different nuances in the Canadian context, mainly because of the public discourse on multiculturalism. Since both these countries, as well as many Western European countries, have long been immigrant receiving nations, the scale should be validated in these other contexts, using both diverse samples of biculturals, and also specific samples, depending on the country/region. A valuable insight could be gained into how differences in policy regarding immigration influence the bicultural individuals. Also, conducting these studies with specific cultural groups (such as the Latin Americans in the US, North Africans in France, or East Indians in the United Kingdom) could reveal trends for those particular communities, and possibly the influence of a larger bicultural community on individuals.

A further study should also attempt to tear apart the different connotations that people give to hybrid identity. So far, in the qualitative part of our research, we recognized the bicultural who identifies with both cultures to the same extent and mixes them together on his/her own terms, the hyphenated bicultural, who belongs to an established community (such as the Chinese-Canadians) and the universal bicultural, who perceives him/herself to be a global citizen, above race and ethnicity. The relations between these types seem to be positive, but a separate study with the participants who score high on hybridity could shed more light into how this relation between cultures is formed and what can be done to help biculturals who want to achieve a hybrid identity. Since these participants seem to be the most content and well-adjusted to both cultures,

special consideration should be given to whether this is the most desired outcome for the bicultural individual. Hybrid identity could also be investigated to assess the possibility of forming a hybrid identity between one's ethnic group and an over-arching group, such as European, American or Asian, or even global citizen.

This research project could also prove to have implications for the understanding of biculturalism as a social issue. Preliminary results from this project show that biculturals who perceive their identities to be hybrids or compatible are better adjusted socially and psychologically. Since biculturalism is rapidly changing the social composition of the world today (due to migration, inter-ethnic marriages and so on), we need to devote ourselves to understanding the underlying processes and possible outcomes of biculturalism, as well as what is it that bicultural individuals need in order to achieve a balance between their two cultures. The research studies presented here aim at providing more insight into the experiences of biculturalism, which can have implications for immigration policies.

Conclusion

The present research suggests that there are multiple facets to the experience of biculturalism. It extends previous research both theoretically, and methodologically. From a theoretical point of view, this project expanded on the notions of conflict, overlap and hybridity, and identified five inter-connected concepts pertinent to biculturals. Methodologically, it employed the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods to better understand the meaning of these concepts. It suggests that future studies should expand to other contexts and age groups, and explore the antecedents (such as, ethnic

group, host culture, essentialist versus constructivist beliefs) and outcomes (psychological well-being, social adjustment) of the five concepts identified.

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Table 1. Factor pattern loadings, communalities, eigenvalues and percentage of total variance explained by each factor

Items	Factors					η^2
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. I feel it is easier to belong just to one culture.	.78	-.07	-.05	-.08	.03	.67
2. If I were born again, I'd choose to be part of only one cultural group.	.77	-.13	-.01	.06	-.12	.63
3. I feel one has to make a decision of choosing a particular culture over the other.	.76	.12	-.02	-.06	.05	.66
4. I feel one should be loyal to only one cultural group.	.63	-.01	.07	.03	-.10	.41
5. I feel that I must decide which of my two cultures is more central to my identity.	.46	.23	.02	-.19	-.04	.47
6. I feel uncomfortable when in a situation which involves both my ethnic group and the Canadian culture.	.31	.11	-.13	-.10	.09	.21
7. My ethnic identity varies depending on whom I am with.	-.03	.68	.07	-.25	-.14	.54
8. I often find myself switching	.12	.56	-.14	-.22	.12	.54

between cultures in different situations.						
9. I can easily choose to behave according to one culture over the other if I need to.	-0.04	.55	-0.02	.07	.00	.30
10. I either feel as a member of my ethnic group, or as a Canadian, but seldom both at the same time.	.21	.38	-0.03	-0.06	-.24	.35
11. I identify more with my ethnic culture when I am with people from my ethnic background.	.02	.34	.00	.15	.09	.15
12. I feel my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture complement each other.	.05	-.01	.99	-.09	.00	.90
13. My ethnic culture is compatible with the Canadian culture.	.05	.00	.76	.04	.02	.59
14. My ethnic identity complements my Canadian identity.	-.13	.05	.55	.10	.19	.57
15. There is a conflict within myself between the two cultures I belong to.	.05	.06	-0.03	-.73	.08	.57
16. Sometimes I am confused about my ethnic identity.	-.01	.09	.04	-.72	.00	.52

17. I feel it is hard to belong to two cultural groups.	.16	-.07	-.07	-.67	.01	.63
18. I feel there is no difficulty in belonging to two cultural groups.	-.05	.12	.10	.60	.12	.52
19. I am comfortable with my bicultural ethnic identity.	-.17	.16	.06	.53	.16	.55
20. I have difficulty reconciling the differences between my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture.	.12	.14	-.15	-.45	.02	.40
21. I feel my identity is a hybrid of two cultures.	-.08	-.04	.01	-.08	.84	.73
22. I feel my identity is a mix of two cultures.	-.10	.08	.03	-.08	.84	.79
23. If I were to describe the relationship between the two cultures within myself, I'd depict them as integrated.	-.03	-.05	.15	-.05	.72	.60
24. Most of my friends see me as belonging to both my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture.	.04	.01	.01	.23	.44	.29
25. I feel happy to be part of two cultural groups.	-.13	.10	.14	.28	.38	.51

Eigenvalue	7.73	2.17	1.35	1.12	.73
% of variance accounted for by the factor	30.95	8.68	5.41	4.50	2.94

Note: Suggested names for factors: 1 – Monoculture; 2 – Flexibility; 3 – Compatibility; 4 – Conflict; 5 – Hybridity.

Table 2. Factor correlation matrix

	Subscales				
	1	2	3	4	5
Monoculture	1.00				
Flexibility	.23	1.00			
Compatibility	-.38	-.13	1.00		
Conflict	-.56	-.14	.37	1.00	
Hybridity	-.45	.15	.32	.39	1.00

Table 3. Subscales means, standard deviations, intercorrelations, and Cronbach alpha indices of internal consistency (on diagonal)

	M	SD	Subscales					
			1	2	3	4	5	
Conflict	2.18	.99	(.86)					
Monoculture	2.33	1.06	.63*	(.83)				
Flexibility	3.43	.95	.30*	.38*	(.65)			
Compatibility	4.36	1.11	-.42*	-.40*	-.21*	(.83)		
Hybridity	4.72	.95	-.45*	-.49*	-.08	.46*	(.84)	

* Significant at .01 level.

Table 4. Results for the regression analyses of the predicting variables –monoculture, flexibility, compatibility, conflict and hybridity (independent variables) and ethno-cultural identity conflict, circle diagrams and the SEIS ethnic and Canadian variability index (dependent variables) for the participants

Independent Variables	Equation		Coefficients				
	R ²	F	Beta	t	r	pr	sr
Ethno-cultural identity conflict	.64	108.26*					
Monoculture			.02	.34	.53	.02	.01
Flexibility			.07	1.96	.31	.11	.07
Compatibility			-.02	-.49	-.35	-.03	-.02
Conflict			.77	16.61*	.80	.70	.57
Hybridity			.03	.60	-.34	.03	.02
Circle diagrams	.39	38.83*					
Monoculture			-.26	-4.11*	-.50	-.23	-.19
Flexibility			-.16	-3.02*	-.29	-.18	-.14
Compatibility			.15	2.82*	.41	.16	.13
Conflict			.09	1.46	-.35	.08	.07
Hybridity			.36	6.31*	.53	.35	.29
SEIS ethnic variability index	.03	2.98*					
Monoculture			-.10	-1.21	-.07	-.07	-.07
Flexibility			.18	2.89*	.13	.17	.17
Compatibility			-.11	-1.67	-.04	-.10	-.10

Conflict			-.11	-1.49	-.09	-.09	-.09
Hybridity			.04	.61	.07	.04	.03
SEIS Canadian	.01	1.56					
variability index							
Monoculture			.16	1.95	.12	.11	.11
Flexibility			.08	1.22	.11	.07	.07
Compatibility			-.01	-.20	-.04	-.01	-.01
Conflict			-.11	-1.37	.01	-.08	-.08
Hybridity			.03	.39	-.02	.02	.02

*Significance at the 0.05 level.

Table 5. Results for the regression analyses of the predicting variables –monoculture, flexibility, compatibility, conflict and hybridity (independent variables) and self-esteem, generation and essentialism (dependent variables) for the participants

Independent Variables	Equation		Coefficients				
	R ²	F	Beta	t	r	pr	sr
Self-esteem	.05	3.98*					
Monoculture			.02	.30	-.14	.02	.02
Flexibility			.05	.76	-.02	.04	.04
Compatibility			-.02	-.32	.10	-.02	-.02
Conflict			-.25	-3.24*	-.24	-.19	-.18
Hybridity			.07	.98	.16	.06	.06
Generation	.09	6.63*					
Monoculture			.25	3.22*	.29	.18	.18
Flexibility			.09	1.42	.19	.08	.08
Compatibility			-.13	-1.93	-.21	-.11	-.11
Conflict			-.06	-.83	.16	-.05	-.05
Hybridity			.02	.33	-.14	.02	.02
Essentialism	.02	2.25*					
Monoculture			.03	.36	.06	.02	.02
Flexibility			.19	3.06*	.18	.18	.17
Compatibility			.04	.67	.01	.04	.04
Conflict			-.04	-.55	.01	-.03	-.03
Hybridity			.00	.01	.01	.00	.00

*Significance at the 0.05 level.

Table 6. Correlations between the five subscales and the language and acculturation variables.

Variables	Conflict	Monoculture	Flexibility	Compatibility	Hybridity
	r	r	r	r	r
English self evaluation	-.25*	-.29*	-.08	.26*	.29*
HL self evaluation	.02	.07	.20*	-.03	.00
English anxiety	.37*	.38*	.20*	-.20*	-.29*
HL anxiety	.20*	.10	.04	.06	.00
Canadian VAI	-.29*	-.30*	-.12*	.27*	.44*
Heritage group VAI	-.18*	-.17*	.08	.30*	.29*

*Significance at the 0.05 level.

Table 7. Reliability Cronbach alpha indices, and means and standard deviations for the five subscales, by generation

	First generation			Second generation	
	α	M	SD	M	SD
Conflict	.86	2.43	1.14	2.11	1.10
Monoculture	.85	2.58	1.23	2.16	1.18
Flexibility	.86	3.43	1.30	3.11	1.23
Compatibility	.90	4.06	1.08	4.33	1.10
Hybridity	.83	4.18	1.12	4.35	1.08

Table 8. Correlation between the five subscales and cultural distance, self-esteem and years spent in Canada by generation

	First generation			Second generation	
	Cultural distance	Self-esteem	Years in Canada	Cultural distance	Self-esteem
Conflict	.18*	-.28*	-.20*	.18*	-.27*
Monoculture	.13	-.21*	-.21*	.09	-.33*
Flexibility	.20*	-.19*	-.18*	.16*	-.13*
Compatibility	-.21*	.26*	-.02	-.30*	.29*
Hybridity	-.03	.23*	.09	-.07	.22*

* Significant at .05 lever (2-tailed).

Table 9. Demographic information and mean scores on the five subscales – Study 3

Name (alias)	Gender	Generation	Ethnic background	Conflict	Mono	Flex	Comp	Hyb
Sabina	F	2	CBC	1	1.25	3.25	5.25	4.75
Maria	F	1	Serbo- Croatian	1.75	1.25	4	3.75	5.75
Valentina	F	1	Russian	2	1	4.5	5.5	5.75
Janine	F	2	Vietnamese	5	5	2	4	4
Seema	F	2	Sikh Indian	2.75	1	1.5	1.75	5
Fatima	F	1	East Indian	1.25	1	1.5	5.25	3
Waseem	M	1	Afghani	2.75	3.5	5	5.25	3.75
John	M	2	CBC	2	1	2.25	5.5	6
Amy	F	2	CBC	2.25	2	2.25	5	4
Nadia	F	2	CBC	2.75	1	1.5	5	5
Melissa	F	2	CBC	2.25	3.25	5	5	5
Nikoleta	F	1	Croatian	1.25	1.25	1	5	4.5
Anne- Marie	F	1	Korean	4	5.25	1.5	4.5	5.5
Abha	F	1	Hindu	1.5	4.25	4.75	5.25	5.5

Table 10. Demographic information and mean scores on the five subscales – Study 4

Name (alias)	Gender	Generation	Ethnic background	Conflict	Mono	Flex	Comp	Hyb
Sabina	F	2	CBC	1	1	3	6	6
Maria	F	1	Serbo- Croatian	2.25	1.5	4.5	3.25	5.25
Valentina	F	1	Russian	2	1.5	3.75	5	5.5
Janine	F	2	Vietnamese	3	2.25	5.75	3.75	3.25
Seema	F	2	Sikh Indian	2	1.25	1.25	2.25	5.75
Fatima	F	1	East Indian	1.75	1	1.75	4	4.75
Waseem	M	1	Afghani	2	2.25	4.5	4	4.75
John	M	2	CBC	1	1	2.75	6	5
Amy	F	2	CBC	2.25	2	2.5	5	5
Nadia	F	2	CBC	2.25	1.25	3.5	5	5
Melissa	F	2	CBC	1.5	2.25	5.75	5.25	5.25
Nikoleta	F	1	Croatian	1.5	1	1	5.75	5
Anne- Marie	F	1	Korean	3.25	3.75	2	3.25	3.5
Abha	F	1	Hindu	1	2	3.5	5.25	3

Figure 1. EQS model for the first generation participants

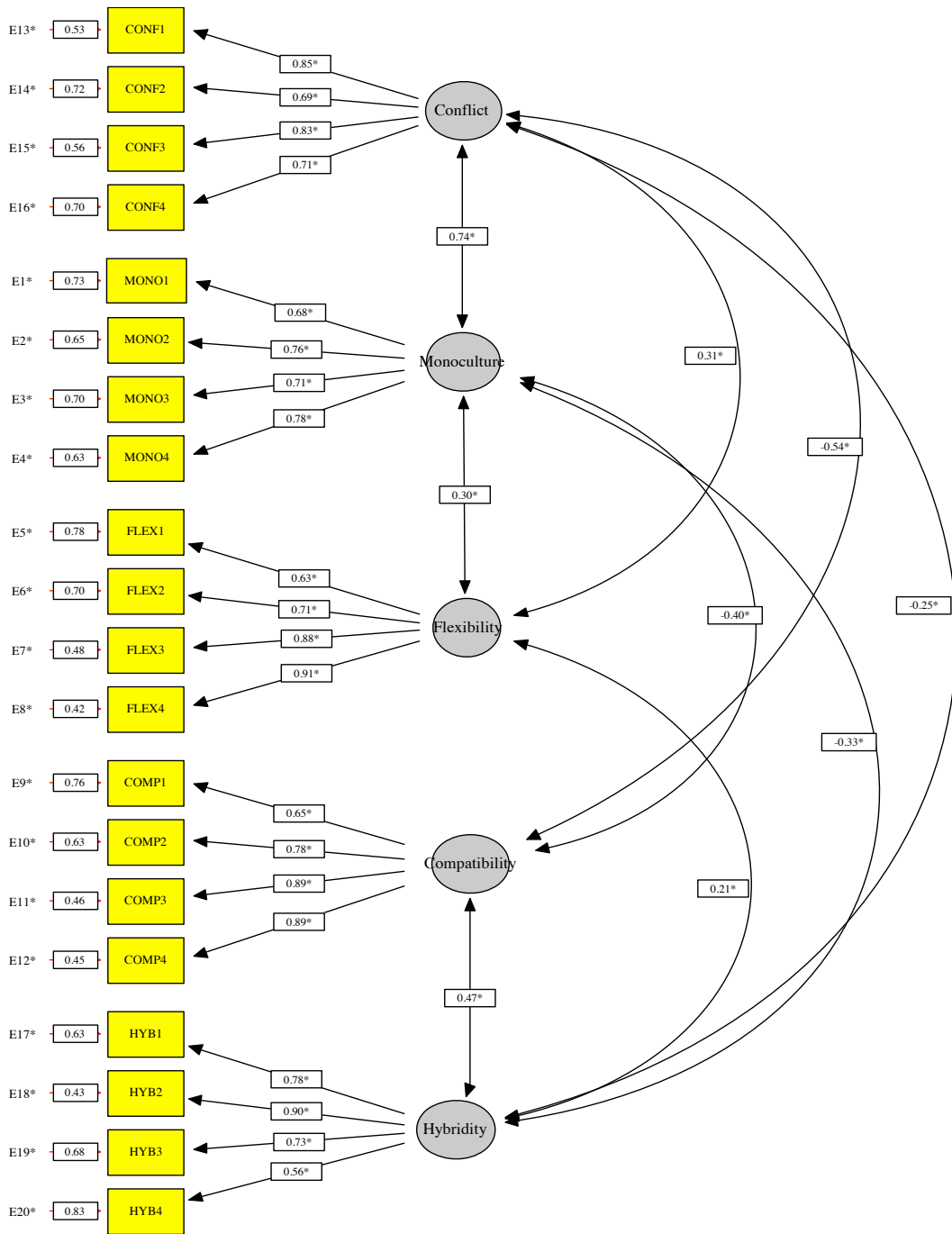


Figure 2. EQS model for the second generation participants

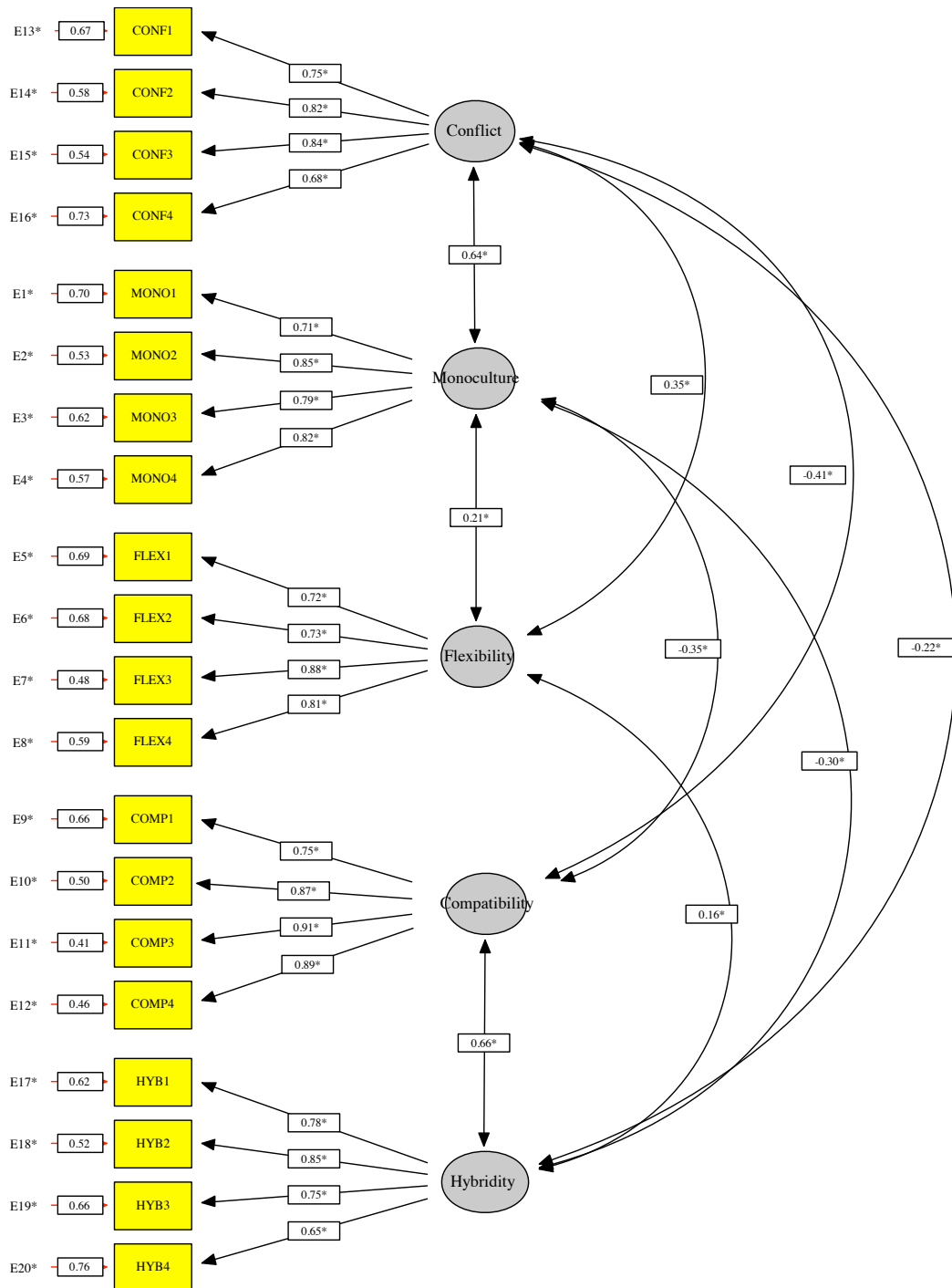
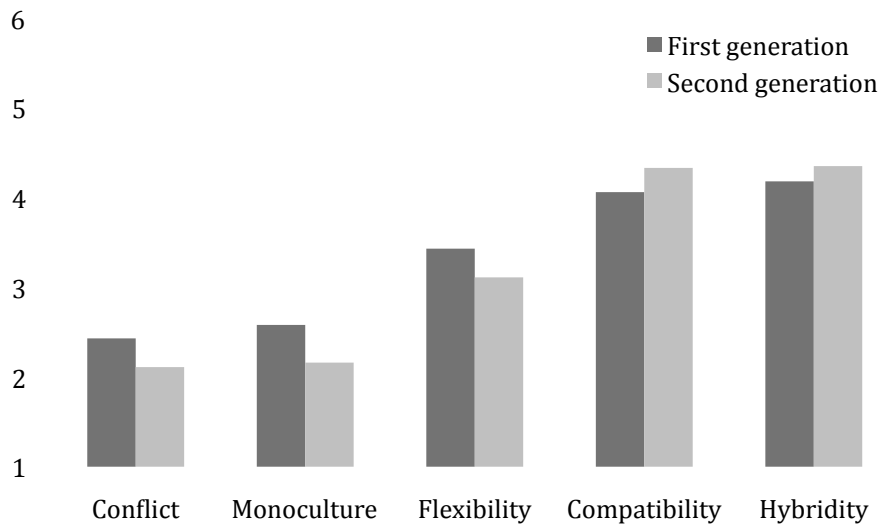


Figure 3. Means on the five subscales by generation



Appendix A

Questions for focus groups

- You have indicated that you grew up knowing and being part of more than one cultural group. In order to get to know each other better, let's go around the table and introduce ourselves with our first names, or how you would like to be called. Maybe you could also describe your cultural background and tell us a few things about yourself (e.g., your major, year in university, your parents' background...).
- What is culture for you?
- What are the elements that differentiate two cultures, in general? (props: food, language, race, traditions, community...)
- Specifically, what are the elements that differentiate the two cultures for you?
- Is it necessary to speak your heritage language?
- What does it mean for you to be bicultural or multicultural? Would you say that, by your definition, you are a bicultural person?
- Think back and try to remember when was the first time you realized you were part of two cultures. Would you like to share that with us? How did that change your way of thinking about ethnic identity?
- How would you describe your closest friends' cultural background? Do you usually have friends from this cultural group?
- Think back in your life. Did your friends consider you bicultural? How did your bicultural identity influence your friendships?
- What is the relationship between the two cultures within your personality? (props: one stronger, same strength, alternate...)
- Did you ever have to switch between the two cultures? Please describe an instance.
- Would you say that you intertwine elements from one culture into the other?
- Describe an instance when one culture takes precedence over the other one?
- Can you say that your identity is a hybrid of the two ethnic cultures?
- Do you have moments when you feel that you don't know whether you are one or the other? Have you resolved this issue? How?
- Do you think one can choose their ethnic identity? Please elaborate.

- Was there ever a time when you wished you were mono-cultural (wished you belonged to only one ethnic group)? Would you like to tell us that story? How do you feel about it now? What would be the advantages and disadvantages of being bicultural?

In case of a quieter group, these are some questions to get the discussion going.

- People have tried to describe the relationship between their two cultures visually. Some use circles that overlap (Venn diagrams), others have drawn a face that is half and half, some others imagines it like an onion, each layer representing a different part of their identity, while others said the Yin and Yang symbol would best describe them. If you were to try to represent your ethnic identity visually, what would you draw? Please elaborate.
- Recently CBC aired a show entitled “mixed blessings” which was a look at the experience of people of mixed ethnicity in Canada. One of the issues raised concerned “The Question”, which is often asked regarding a person’s ethnic origin. Lawrence Hill, who was interviewed in this documentary stated: "I suppose the reason many of us mixed-race people find The Question offensive is not just that it makes assumptions, which are often false, about our identity, but because it attempts to hang our identity on one factor: our race." Others are asked “The Question” because of their accent or other characteristics that make them stand out. Have you ever been asked “The Question”? How did that make you feel?
- Is there anything else you would like to add or clarify for us?

Thank you very much for you participation. Before you leave, we would like to ask you to fill in this background information sheet.

Here is a debriefing form, which will explain in more detail what this study is about and how you can contact us, in case you wish to.

Appendix B

Background Information

What is your age? _____ years What gender are you? (circle one) male female

Were you born in Canada? (Circle one) Yes No

If no, in which country were you born? _____

What year did you arrive in Canada? _____

What is your status in Canada?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. _____ Canadian Citizen | 2. _____ Permanent Resident |
| 3. _____ Student Authorization | 4. _____ Other. Please explain: _____ |

Was your mother born in Canada? (Circle one) Yes No

If no, in which country was she born? _____

Your mother's ethnicity is: _____

Was your father born in Canada? (circle one) Yes No

If no, in which country was he born? _____

Your father's ethnicity is: _____

What is your native language/s (first language/s learned)?

1. _____ English
2. _____ Other. Please specify _____

What language do you speak most frequently?

1. _____ English
2. _____ Other. Please specify _____

How would you describe your cultural background? (If you feel you belong to multiple ethnic groups, please indicate all of them) _____

Appendix C

Questionnaire items for Study 2

Conflict – harmony

1. There is a conflict within myself between the two cultures I belong to. (c)
2. My ethnic culture is compatible with the Canadian culture. (h)
3. I feel my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture complement each other. (h)
4. Sometimes I am confused about my ethnic identity. (c)
5. I am comfortable with my bicultural ethnic identity. (h)
6. I am more comfortable with one culture than the other. (c)
7. I have difficulty reconciling the differences between my heritage culture and the Canadian culture. (c)
8. I feel happy to be part of two cultural groups. (h)
9. I feel it is hard to belong to two ethnic groups. (c)
10. I feel there is no difficulty in belonging to two cultural groups. (h)
11. I do not feel trapped between the culture of my ethnic group and Canadian culture. (BM h)
12. I am conflicted between the Canadian and my ethnic groups' way of doing things. (BM c)
13. I feel caught between the culture of my ethnic group and the Canadian culture. (BM c)
14. I feel I can maintain a harmonious relationship between my two cultural groups within myself. (h)
15. I take the best of both worlds. (h)

Distance - overlap

16. I feel isolated when I am immersed in an environment dominated by my heritage culture. (d)
17. I feel isolated in Canada because of my ethnic identity. (d)
18. I get self-conscious about my heritage culture in certain settings. (d)

19. Most of my friends see me as belonging to both my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture. (o)
20. My values are a combination of two cultures. (o)
21. I feel my identity is a mix of my two cultures. (o)
22. I feel my heritage ethnic identity and my Canadian identity overlap. (o)
23. If I were to describe the relationship between the two cultures within myself, I'd depict them as integrated. (o)
24. I feel my identity is a hybrid of two cultures. (o)
25. I feel uncomfortable when in a situation which involves both my ethnic group and the Canadian culture. (d)
26. I am simply a member of my ethnic group who lives in Canada. (BM d)
27. I keep my ethnic and Canadian cultures separate. (BM d)
28. I feel like a hyphenated Canadian (e.g., Chinese-Canadian, Italian-Canadian). (BM o)
29. I feel part of a combined culture. (BM o)
30. I feel it is appropriate to bring elements from my ethnic group into my Canadian life. (o)
31. I either feel as a member of my ethnic group, or as a Canadian, but seldom both at the same time. (d)
32. My feelings of Canadian identity are separate from my feelings of my ethnic identity. (d)
33. My ethnic identity complements my Canadian identity. (o)
34. My ethnic self is quite different from my Canadian self. (d)
35. My ethnic identity is very distinct from my Canadian identity. (d)

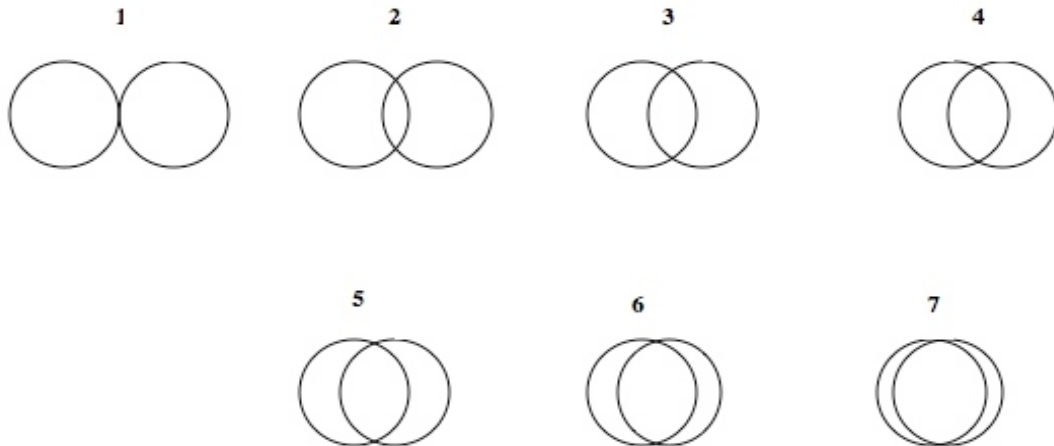
Stable - fluid

36. I feel that I must decide which of my two cultures is more central to my identity. (s)
37. My cultural identity varies depending on whom I am with. (f)
38. I don't need to make a choice between my two cultures. (f)
39. I pick the values from both my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture that suit me best. (f)

40. I identify more with my ethnic culture when I am with people from my ethnic background. (f)
41. It's hard to juggle my two cultures. (s)
42. I feel it is easier to belong just to one culture. (s)
43. I feel one has to make a decision of choosing a particular culture over the other. (s)
44. I often find myself switching between cultures in different situations. (f)
45. I can easily choose to behave according to one culture over the other if I need to. (f)
46. I feel like someone moving between two cultures. (BM c)
47. If I were born again, I'd choose to be part of only one cultural group. (s)
48. I feel one should be loyal to only one cultural group. (s)

Appendix D
Circle Diagrams

Below you will see seven images. They represent the relationship between your heritage identity and the Canadian identity within yourself. Please select the image that best represents this relationship.



Appendix E

The final scale – Bicultural Identity Orientation Scale (BIOS)

Monocultural orientation:

1. If I were born again, I'd choose to be part of only one cultural group.
2. I feel one has to make a decision of choosing a particular culture over the other.
3. I feel one should be loyal to only one cultural group.
4. I feel that I must decide which of my two cultures is more central to my identity.

Flexibility:

5. My ethnic identity varies depending on whom I am with.
6. I often find myself switching between cultures in different situations.
7. I adjust my identity depending on whether I am with people from my ethnic group or Canadians.
8. I adapt my ethnic identity according to the circumstances.

Compatibility:

9. My ethnic culture is compatible with the Canadian culture.
10. Although they are different, the two cultural groups I identify with go well together.
11. My ethnic identity pairs nicely with my Canadian identity.
12. My ethnic and Canadian identities are in harmony.

Conflict:

13. There is a conflict within myself between the two cultures I belong to.
14. Sometimes I am confused about my ethnic identity.
15. I feel it is hard to belong to two cultural groups.
16. I have difficulty reconciling the differences between my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture.

Hybridity:

17. I feel my identity is a hybrid of two cultures.
18. I feel my identity is a mix of two cultures.
19. If I were to describe the relationship between the two cultures within myself, I'd depict them as integrated.

Most of my friends see me as belonging to both my ethnic culture and the Canadian culture.