

Predicting Relations between Discrimination and Identity among Chinese Canadian
Immigrants: A Lifespan Approach

by

Joelle Taos Taknint
B.A., Macalester College, 2010

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Using a multiple social identities framework, this thesis investigates the relations among ethnic identity, national identity, and discrimination in a sample of 181 Chinese immigrant families to Canada. While a large body of research has investigated the relations between ethnic identity and discrimination among *ethnic minority young adults*, relatively less is known about the role of national identity and how discrimination and identity are related among *immigrant* populations and in other developmental periods. This study used a sample of immigrant adults and their adolescent children to investigate these relations during the developmental periods of adolescence and middle adulthood. Results indicate that ethnic and national identities are generally positively associated. However, high levels of discrimination were found to dampen this positive relation, indicating that discrimination thwarts bicultural identity attainment. Unique patterns for adolescents and immigrant adult males emerged suggesting that both developmental considerations and sex differences are key in understanding the relations between social identities and discrimination among immigrant individuals. Clinical and policy implications are discussed.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables.....	vi
List of Figures	vii
Acknowledgments	viii
Dedication	ix
Study Overview	1
Social Identities	2
Overview of Different Aspects of Ethnic Identity	3
The Course of Ethnic Identity Development During Adolescence.....	4
Context of Discrimination in Canada	8
Ethnic Identity and Discrimination: The Chicken or the Egg?.....	9
Ethnic Identity and Discrimination in Adolescence.....	11
A Lifespan Approach to the Relation between Discrimination and Ethnic Identity.....	13
Ethnic Identity Change in Adulthood.....	17
Links between Ethnic Identity and Discrimination in Adulthood: Summary of Research Gaps	20
Multiple Social Identities	21
The Role of National Identity	23
Discrimination and National Identity	23
Ethnic Identity and National Identity	25
The Role of Societal Context	26
Interplay of Discrimination, National Identity, and Ethnic Identity	26
Context of the Current Sample: Standing of Chinese in Canada	29
Research Objectives and Hypotheses	30
Model 1: Predicting Change in Ethnic Identity.....	31
Model 2: The Moderating Role of Discrimination.....	33
Methods	35
Participants.....	35
Procedure	37
Measures	38
<i>Demographic Information</i>	38
<i>Perceived Discrimination</i>	38

<i>Ethnic Identity</i>	39
<i>Canadian Identity</i>	39
Results.....	40
Preliminary Analyses.....	40
<i>Ethnic Identity Affirmation</i>	40
<i>National Identity Affirmation</i>	41
<i>Discrimination</i>	42
<i>Additional Preliminary Analyses</i>	43
Correlations.....	45
Evaluation of Potential Control Variables.....	45
Intercorrelations among Main Study Variables.....	48
Main Regression Analyses.....	49
Predicting Change in Ethnic Identity.....	49
The Moderating Role of Discrimination.....	52
<i>Model 2: Time One</i>	56
<i>Model 2: Time Two</i>	57
Discussion.....	61
Rejection-Identification Hypothesis among Adults.....	62
Discrimination and Identity among Adolescents.....	65
Findings Unique to Fathers.....	67
<i>Decreases in Ethnic Identification Over Time</i>	67
<i>Rejection Disidentification</i>	68
Ethnic and National Identities in the Context of Discrimination.....	69
The Role of Gender and Age.....	72
Contributions and Limitations of this Study.....	73
Future Directions.....	77
Practice and Policy Implications.....	78
Conclusion.....	81
References.....	83
Appendix A: Demographic Information.....	95
Appendix B: Perceived Discrimination Scale.....	97
Appendix C: Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure.....	98
Appendix D: Canadian Identity Measure.....	100

List of Tables

<i>Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Observed Ranges for Main Study Variables</i>	.44
<i>Table 2. Zero Order Correlations between Main Study Variables and Demographic Variables</i>47
<i>Table 3. Zero Order Correlations among Main Study Variables (Fathers and Mothers)</i>	49
<i>Table 4. Zero Order Correlations among Main Study Variables (Adolescents)</i>49
<i>Table 5. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 1 for Adults (Regression of ethnic identity change on TI discrimination, national identity, and length of residence)</i>51
<i>Table 6. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 1 for Adolescents (Regression of ethnic identity change on TI discrimination, national identity, and birthplace)</i>52
<i>Table 7. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 2 for Fathers and Mothers (Regression of national identity on ethnic identity and discrimination)</i>54
<i>Table 8. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 2 for Adolescents (Regression of national identity on ethnic identity and discrimination)</i>55

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1.</i> Conceptual model for the moderating effect of national identity and length of residence on the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity change among parents (Model 1 for Adults).....	33
<i>Figure 2.</i> Conceptual model for the moderating effect of national identity and birthplace on the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity change among adolescents (Model 1 for adolescents).	33
<i>Figure 3.</i> Conceptual model for the concurrent associations between ethnic and national identity affirmation, as moderated by discrimination (Model 2).	34
<i>Figure 4.</i> Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Fathers at T1).....	56
<i>Figure 5.</i> Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Fathers at T2).....	58
<i>Figure 6.</i> Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Mothers at T2).	59
<i>Figure 7.</i> Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Adolescents at T2)	60
<i>Figure 8.</i> Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Gender Predicting National Identity (For Adolescents at T2).....	61

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Dedication

To my greatest mentor and role model, my grandmother, Hazelyn Melconian McComas for her constant belief in me throughout my life, and for the encouragement, love, and confidence she gave me at each stepping stone of my education.

Predicting Relations between Discrimination and Identity among Chinese Canadian Immigrants:
A Lifespan Approach

Study Overview

This study investigates the relation between identity and discrimination during adolescence and middle adulthood among a sample of Chinese immigrant families to Canada. Drawing from social identity theory, I examined two types of social identities: ethnic identity and national identity. These two cultural identifications are particularly relevant for immigrants whose identity is constructed in relation to their heritage culture and the majority culture of the settlement society simultaneously.

Ethnic identity formation is conceived as the process of developing a psychological affiliation with an ethnic group, such that the value and significance of this ethnic group membership is embedded as part of one's self-concept (Tajfel, 1981). A large body of research has explored the process of ethnic identity development and the correlates of different levels of ethnic identification. One important focus of research has been on the links between ethnic identity and experiences of discrimination. Findings from these studies, which included primarily ethnic minority college students, have yielded inconsistent conclusions regarding the direction of influence between these two constructs: Some scholars argue that discrimination triggers subsequent ethnic identity development (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999) and others argue for a reverse pattern (e.g., Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Since this research has been conducted primarily with ethnic minority college students, less attention has been paid to how these constructs may shape one another within an immigrant context. Further, experiences of ethnic identity and discrimination in adolescence and middle adulthood may not be adequately represented by the preponderance of literature employing

ethnic minority young adult samples. For immigrants in particular, an exploration of national identity is crucial to investigate alongside the ethnic identity-discrimination relation. Ethnic discrimination impacts the individual as a whole, and can be associated not only with changes in ethnic identification, but also in one's feelings of identification with the national group (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009). Surprisingly, research on national identity is largely absent from the ethnic identity-discrimination literature. This in part might be due to the research focus on native-born ethnic minority individuals, whose national identifications may be less salient and dynamic. The present study investigates the relations among discrimination, ethnic identity, and national identity over time among immigrants during two distinct developmental periods.

Social Identities

Research generally divides the construct of identity into personal and social components. Personal identity refers to one's unique personal characteristics such as personality, relationships, and self-esteem (Chen 2009). Personal identity is balanced with the salient social identities in one's life. According to Brewer (2001), social identities are "...categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept" (p. 246). In this way, social identities deal in the value and meaning of what it means to be part of a social group based on gender, ethnicity, religion, nationality, etc. All individuals are part of multiple social groups. For ethnic minorities and immigrants, social categorization based on ethnic group membership may be particularly relevant given the challenges of minority group status in the race-based hierarchy of North American society.

Overview of Different Aspects of Ethnic Identity

Contemporary ethnic identity research stems from Phinney's 1989 framework, which distinguishes three separate dimensions of ethnic identity: unexamined ethnic identity, exploration, and achievement. An unexamined ethnic identity is simply one that has not yet been explored. The identity is considered unexamined regardless of the feelings of commitment one may have towards his or her ethnic group. Borrowing from Marcia's (1980) identity theory, this unexamined identity could be categorized as either diffused (no exploration of, or commitment to the identity) or foreclosed (commitment without exploration). The second dimension, ethnic identity exploration, refers to the extent to which an individual tries to discover what it means to be part of his ethnic group (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006). This state of searching can be classified as moratorium: a period of pure exploration without a commitment to one's ethnic group. Finally, the dimension of achievement indicates that both an exploration of the identity and a commitment to the ethnic group have been completed. Ethnic identity achievement is frequently measured in the literature as ethnic identity resolution, which taps into an individual's personal understanding of her ethnicity and the role it plays in her life (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedijan, & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004). These two aspects of achievement, exploration and commitment, represent the cognitive and affective components of this dimension, respectively. In the empirical literature, this affective aspect is typically measured through ethnic identity affirmation, ethnic group esteem, or ethnic *private* regard. These all refer to the private positive feelings about one's ethnic group. Conversely, the concept of ethnic *public* regard refers to one's impression of how others see one's ethnic group (Hughes, Way, Rivas-Drake, 2011).

Ethnic private and public regard have been found to relate differently across ethnic groups, with strong correlations between the two constructs appearing in White and Asian

populations, and no correlations present among Black populations (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Brodnax, 1994). More contemporary work that has looked at these public-private regard relations across generational status has painted a more nuanced picture. Public and private regard are positively related in first generation Black and Latino immigrants, but not in second generation immigrants (Wiley, Perkins, & Deaux, 2008). Conversely, for Asians and Pacific Islanders, public and private regard continue to be positively related across generations, suggesting that these two constructs are more inter-related for individuals from these cultural backgrounds (Wiley et al., 2008). In this thesis I will specifically be focusing on the dimension of ethnic affirmation as I explore the relation between this affective identity component and discrimination.

The Course of Ethnic Identity Development During Adolescence

Dating back to Erickson (1968), adolescence has been considered *the* time for identity development. But, how does this process work? Does identity grow as one entity, or do the particular dimensions develop separately: at different rates, following different courses? Longitudinal research supports ethnic identity progression: movement from unexamined forms of ethnic identity (i.e., foreclosed and diffused stages) toward ethnic identity exploration and eventual identity achievement over the course of adolescence (Quintana, 2007). Yet, research that has examined ethnic identity growth trajectories during the adolescent years has yielded mixed findings. Recent work by Huang and Stormshak (2011), which used a composite score of certain ethnic identity growth items across different identity dimensions, found that while the majority of adolescents experienced growth in ethnic identity over time, a substantial subgroup maintained stable levels. This suggests that identity growth during adolescence may only be the experience of a sub group of youth.

However, one can argue that interpreting ethnic identity growth with a composite score is nearly impossible, if different dimensions take their own developmental course. Empirical studies that independently examine specific ethnic identity dimensions provide additional insight into the developmental course of ethnic identity. Research with urban adolescent samples, containing both foreign born and US born individuals, has identified that ethnic identity exploration increases from early to mid-adolescence and then decelerates after 10th grade (French et al., 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006). The developmental course of ethnic affirmation, on the other hand, is less well-defined. While some research finds that group esteem rises over both early and mid-adolescent periods (e.g. French et al., 2006), and decelerates during late adolescence (e.g., Rogers-Sirin, & Gupta, 2012), other research argues that there is no consistent growth pattern for ethnic identity affirmation (e.g., Pahl & Way, 2006).

Alongside changes in affirmation and exploration, changes in ethnic/racial centrality and public regard also operate on their own timetable. Work with African-American adolescents has found that there is little change in racial centrality—or the degree to which race is central to one’s self-definition— during middle adolescence (Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009), and an increase in racial centrality between adolescence and young adulthood (Rivas-Drake & Witherspoon, 2013). In contrast, public regard decreases from mid to late adolescence (Seaton, et al., 2009), and then remains stable during the transition to adulthood (Rivas-Drake & Witherspoon, 2013).

Further complicating clean conceptual ideas of a fluid, forward moving identity is empirical work which characterizes ethnic identity “growth” as more of a “two steps forward, one step back” phenomenon. For example, in their longitudinal study of African American adolescents, Seaton, Morgan-Lopez, Yip, and Sellers (2012) found that the majority of youth

who experienced movement in racial identity achievement (exploration + commitment) during adolescence reported a combination of identity progression (increases in levels of identity achievement) and regression (decreases in levels of identity achievement), such that progression would be evident between, for example, time points one and two, followed by a regression between time points two and three. Furthermore, a large sub group of adolescents in this sample demonstrated regressive patterns only, suggesting that progressive change may not be the common experience for all adolescents.

Another challenge to portraying a uniform pattern of ethnic identity development is that the course can vary by ethnic group and gender. Recent longitudinal work by Huang and Stormshak (2011) in the US found ethnic group differences among six identified trajectories of ethnic development. Pacific Islander youth exhibited high initial levels of ethnic identity and were exclusively represented in trajectories in which identity increased or stabilized over the course of the study. By contrast, African American adolescents, who were more mixed in their initial levels of identity than the Pacific Islander youth, were largely represented in trajectories that showed steady identity increase. Finally, the majority of Asian American and American Indian adolescents maintained their low initial levels of ethnic identity over the course of the study, indicating limited growth. Within a particular ethnic group, distinct gender patterns can also exist. For instance, longitudinal work with Latino adolescents has found that girls experience an increase in identity exploration, resolution, and affirmation during the transition from middle to late adolescence, whereas boys only experience an increase in ethnic group affirmation (Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, & Guimond, 2009).

In addition to ethnic group and gender differences, adolescents' ethnic identity development is influenced by the messages they receive from a variety of external sources,

including parents, teachers, and peers (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009). Of these, research supports the idea that parents' ethnic socialization is the major determinant of ethnic salience (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). Ethnic socialization is the practice whereby parents teach their children about the importance and meaning of ethnic group membership throughout childhood and adolescence, and in some cases prepare their children for experiences of discrimination.

Contemporary research finds that greater ethnic socialization is associated with greater ethnic identity exploration (Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006), and that ethnic socialization mitigates the effects of discrimination on self-esteem (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007). Moreover, research has found that family ethnic socialization predicts future ethnic affirmation in adolescent males and females, as well as ethnic resolution (achievement) in adolescent males (Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2012). This suggests that family ethnic socialization may act as a catalyst for ethnic identity development in males, and generally contributes to identity development over time.

Collectively, the research reviewed here does not produce one uniform message. There is no boom time for ethnic identity as a whole, where all the components grow in tandem. Rather it may be that different dimensions undergo dynamic periods of greater identity change throughout the course of adolescence. As exploration surges during middle adolescence, the process is fueled not by developmental changes or contextual influences in isolation, but rather their synergistic interaction. As adolescents' self-descriptions become broader and abstract reasoning abilities are honed during the cognitive advances of adolescence, ethnic socialization messages may prompt exploration of and experimentation with different identities. Different patterns emerge for boys versus girls and between different ethnic groups, making the reality of identity development more muddled than theoretical ideas suggest. Adolescence may be more aptly

called a period of ethnic identity change rather than growth, as unidirectional movement towards greater affirmation or exploration remains more concept than experience.

Another major external influence on ethnic identity is the experience of discrimination. Ethnic identity formation involves developing a psychological affiliation with one's ethnic group, and embedding this group membership into one's self-concept (Tajfel, 1981). As such, the marginalization of and discrimination against ethnic minority groups in our society is inherently relevant to the part of the self that has created cognitive and affective links with the devalued ethnic group.

Context of Discrimination in Canada

Ethnic/racial discrimination can be defined as targeted and unjust treatment based on race or ethnicity (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). Discrimination can occur on institutional, cultural (the belief that the ways of life of the majority group are superior to those of the minority group), collective (a joint effort among majority group members to restrict the rights of minority group members) and interpersonal levels. Research with ethnic minority youth (primarily conducted in the United States) has found discrimination to be a commonplace part of everyday life (Benner & Graham, 2013).

Canada has an official multiculturalism policy that promotes ethnic culture retention and an anti-racist society. However, in the day-to-day lives of ethnic minorities and immigrants, the reach of such policies is not always felt. As one example, half of all hate-motivated crimes investigated by the Canadian Police in 2012 were racially based (Statistics Canada, 2010). Canadian racial discourse argues that modern Canada is plagued by a "democratic racism," a concept which calls attention to the clash in value systems between the reality of endemic racism and a political commitment to democratic liberalism (Henry & Tator, 2000, p.285). A 2010

evaluation of Canada's action plan against racism finds that race-based discrimination continues to be commonly reported across domains. Personal discrimination is commonplace in the workplace; structural and institutional discrimination are evident in the high rates of ethnic minorities and immigrants who are unemployed and socially segregated (Statistic Canada, 2010). The Ethnic Diversity Survey of 2002, which surveyed over 42,000 Canadians (ages 15 and up) across all ten provinces found that 33% of Chinese and South Asian individuals and nearly 50% of Black individuals reported discrimination in the past five years, making discrimination an all too common occurrence in the lives of ethnic minority individuals in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2010).

For children and adolescents, experiencing discrimination impacts development in critical ways. Canadian research has found that ethnic discrimination among immigrant youth is associated with higher levels of depression (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999), lower levels of self-esteem (Beiser et al., 2012), and a decreased sense of social and academic competence (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012). Given the significance and prevalence of discrimination in Canadian society, a more nuanced understanding of its impact on the developing sense of self and identity in marginalized populations, particularly that of immigrant youth, is crucial.

Ethnic Identity and Discrimination: The Chicken or the Egg?

In multicultural Canadian and US society, discrimination and ethnic identity development are interwoven. Discrimination can provide crucial material for ethnic identity construction. For example, Way, Hernandez, Roggers, and Hughes' (2013) longitudinal qualitative work suggests that stereotypes of one's own ethnic group, as well as those of other ethnic groups, provide scaffolding around which identity construction occurs in adolescence. Further, experimental

research has demonstrated that perceptions of inter-ethnic group discrimination are associated with greater identity centrality as well as the construction of ethnic ideologies, such that those who endorse an ideology that their ethnic group's experience is distinctive from that of other minority groups are the most likely to perceive discrimination in ambiguous intergroup interactions (Outten, Giguere, Schmitt, & Lalonde, 2010).

At the root of these interdependent relations is a debate over the direction of influence. Is it that discrimination fosters greater ethnic identity development? Or is it that high levels of ethnic identity increase the likelihood that one will identify discrimination in attributionally ambiguous settings?

Advocates of the Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe et al. 1999) argue the former: discrimination drives increased ethnic identification. While isolated instances of prejudice can be more easily attributed to factors other than ethnic group membership, in the face of systematic discrimination, strengthening one's identification with the devalued minority group is an adaptive strategy which promotes in-group acceptance and protects psychological well-being (Branscombe et al., 1999). Empirical evidence for this phenomenon across minority groups is substantial. Studies with religious, racial, ethnic, and other minority groups have repeatedly demonstrated that "...the more that devalued group members recognize prejudice against their group, the more highly identified they are with that group" (Branscombe et al., 1999, p.137).

Another body of research, stemming from social cognitive models of construct activation, argues for the opposite direction of influence. This work proposes that among ethnic groups who experience prejudice, individuals with greater ethnic group identification have a greater likelihood of perceiving attributionally ambiguous experiences as discriminatory (Kaiser &

Wilkins, 2010). Proponents of this perspective argue that individuals who are highly group-identified are more likely to see the world through “a group lens.” These individuals gravitate toward group-level as opposed to individual-level explanations, and are disposed to link events such as discrimination with group-based prejudice rather than personal injustice (Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003). These findings provide evidence for an additional pathway, one that reverses the direction of influence identified in the rejection-identification model.

Interestingly, the proponents of these two perspectives: *discrimination affects ethnic group identification* (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001) and *ethnic group identification affects perceptions of discrimination* (e.g., Major et al., 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003;), have used adult samples (primarily college students) of historically marginalized groups, including ethnic minority groups, but have not specifically studied immigrants or adolescents. Notably, there is some work to suggest that the rejection-identification model does not fit with the *adolescent* experience (e.g., Derlan et al., 2013; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2012), and may not appropriately capture the relationship for all *immigrant* groups (e.g., Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Liebkind, 2011).

Ethnic Identity and Discrimination in Adolescence

Research with adolescents is generally supportive of the intertwined nature of discrimination and ethnic identity. For example, research by Pahl and Way (2006) found that discrimination acts as a catalyst for identity exploration, while continued discrimination events shape identity exploration’s developmental course. More nuanced explorations reveal the hidden complexities of this relation. How discrimination contributes to ethnic identity depends on a variety of factors including the source of discrimination, the particular identity dimension under inspection, and the gender of the adolescent.

First, it is important to note that discrimination can come from multiple sources. Adolescents from different ethnic groups may more commonly experience discrimination from one source over another. For example, some research has found that non-Puerto Rican Latino and Asian American adolescents report more peer discrimination, and Black adolescents report more adult discrimination over the course of adolescence (Green et al., 2006).

Looking now at the relation between different sources of discrimination and ethnic identity, adolescent research supports the conclusion that perceived discrimination by peers, but not adults, alters the course of ethnic identity exploration (Pahl & Way, 2006), and predicts lower private regard among ethnic minority youth (Rivas-Drake, et al., 2009). Further, discrimination by peers *and* adults predicts lower ethnic public regard over time. These findings indicate that perceptions of how one's group is viewed in society are linked with the levels of discrimination perceived across sources, whereas personal feelings about ethnic group membership may be particularly impacted by experiences of discrimination from one's peers during adolescence (Rivas Drake et al., 2009).

The strength of the connection between discrimination and ethnic identity further varies with the particular dimension of ethnic identity under review. While ethnic identity exploration is linked consistently with peer discrimination (Pahl & Way, 2006), the findings for the relationship between discrimination and ethnic affirmation are more mixed. Ethnic affirmation has been found to be unrelated (Pahl & Way, 2006), and negatively related (Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2012; Romero & Roberts, 2003), to perceptions of discrimination. Given these mixed findings, specifically investigating the relation between discrimination and ethnic *affirmation* in adolescence is a primary aim of this thesis.

Finally, the distinct relations between discrimination and individual identity dimensions (e.g., exploration, affirmation, resolution) also differ by gender. A study by Umaña-Taylor and Guimond in 2012 found that among adolescent males, those who reported higher levels of discrimination also indicated higher levels of ethnic identity exploration and lower levels of ethnic identity affirmation. This same relationship was not present for females, such that discrimination was unrelated to levels of ethnic identity exploration or affirmation. Interestingly these significant relationships were only found concurrently, as discrimination was not found to predict ethnic identity exploration or resolution over time in this study. The authors propose that because Latino males are more likely to experience discrimination due to greater freedom to engage in extra-familial contexts than females, they are more likely to use these experiences in forming their ethnic identity. Similarly, Umaña-Taylor, Wong, Gonzales, and Dumka (2012) found that Mexican-American adolescent males' positive feelings about ethnic background (affirmation) minimized negative effects of discrimination on adjustment, but this pattern did not emerge for females. Together, these studies indicate that discrimination experiences may have a stronger relationship with ethnic identity development among males than females, at least among Latino adolescents.

A Lifespan Approach to the Relation between Discrimination and Ethnic Identity

In this thesis, I investigate the links between ethnic identity affirmation and discrimination among Chinese Canadian adolescents and their immigrant parents. I focus specifically on the dimension of affirmation for two main reasons. First, affirmation taps into the sense of belonging and positive feelings one has towards one's ethnic group, which experiences of discrimination can call into question. As discussed previously, the relation between this affective identity component and discrimination is not well understood in adolescence.

Addressing this relation within the context of a Chinese Canadian sample is one contribution of this thesis. Second, given that I am also addressing these relations within an adult immigrant population, it is important to consider that adults who initially constructed their identities in China likely have an established grounding in what it means to be Chinese. As such, they may be less likely to *explore* the meaning of their ethnic background regardless of their immigration and settlement experiences in Canada. In contrast, feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging, are subjective and responsive to life experiences in the host country, making this dimension salient in the lives of the adult immigrants.

Within the study sample there is considerable diversity in both age (adolescence through middle adulthood) and the relative amount of time lived in the settlement society. This allows for several interesting evaluations. For example, is the relative amount of time lived in the heritage country vs. Canada linked with any differences in identity and perceptions of discrimination, or the relation between the two constructs? Are differences in age (adult vs. adolescent) associated with different experiences of discrimination and identity?

Immigration provides a unique context to examine identity across the lifespan. For adults, prior to emigrating, ethnic and national group membership may have been assumed or synonymous, and not in need of exploration or re-definition. As members of a dominant culture, adults may have held their ethnic group in strong public regard prior to immigration (Wiley et al., 2008). Post-immigration, individuals are subject to a major contextual shift as they enter into Canadian or US society, and a race-based status hierarchy where discrimination is commonplace (Waters, 1999; Wiley et al., 2008). In this new context, old assumptions of positive public regard of one's ethnic group may evaporate. While navigating a newly acquired minority status in a novel cultural context, the individual negotiates identity amidst a society that may be marked

with discrimination. In this way, individuals who immigrate as adults undergo renewed processes of identity development that may parallel adolescent identity formation.

In contrast, when individuals immigrate as children or are born to immigrant parents in the host country, their identity is predominately developed within the new society. They do not undergo identity development in the context of being an ethnic majority as their parents did, and instead negotiate identity simultaneously within the cultures of the ethnic group and the majority national group. Amidst these changes, children of immigrants may experience a different group power status from their parents (Wiley et al., 2008), meaning they may be more easily accepted into Canadian society. These different experiences may result from greater language abilities or stronger perceptions of belonging to the host country among children, whereas parents may continue to struggle with being identified as “perpetual foreigners” regardless of length of residence due to accented English.

Discrimination experiences also differ for immigrant vs. native-born minorities (within adolescent and adult populations), though a consistent pattern has not been found for adults. Some empirical work finds that perceptions of racial discrimination are greater among second generation versus first generation immigrant adults (Hall & Carter, 2006; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). However, there is also evidence to support a reverse pattern, with first generation adult immigrants perceiving more racial discrimination than their second-generation counterparts (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). In efforts to make sense of these discrepant findings, Wang, Minervo, and Cheryan (2012) argue that these differences may be due to the types of discrimination experienced: with discrimination based on language abilities more frequent in the first generation, and discrimination rooted in racially driven inequities more likely in second

generation individuals who have undergone more extensive socialization as a racial minority in their host country.

For adolescents, no differences in perceptions of discrimination are typically found between first and second-generation immigrant groups. However the impact of discrimination on well being does vary with generation status. As one example, Tummala-Narra and Claudius (2013) found that discrimination perpetrated by adults was associated with depressive symptoms among immigrant origin US born adolescents, but not among foreign-born youth. It is commonly observed that on average, later-generation youth report more maladaptive adjustment compared to foreign-born youth. This may in part be due to the greater emotional impact of discrimination on US-born youth from immigrant families compared to foreign-born youth.

A final consideration for discrimination is how perceptions of discrimination may vary by age and change over the course of a lifetime. Research on the relations between age and experiences of discrimination has yielded somewhat mixed findings. The chronic stressor model argues that one may be more likely to perceive and feel impacted by discriminatory experiences as age increases due to an increasing allostatic load (Neblett, Shelton & Sellers, 2004). Applying the chronic stressor model to an immigrant population, we may expect that as length of residence increases so do the perceptions and impacts of discrimination. However, other research finds that perceptions of racial discrimination actually decrease with age (Yip, et al., 2008). Following this logic we might think that chronological age would be a more relevant predictive factor of perceptions of discrimination than length of residence.

Ethnic identity varies by age and can be experienced differently for native born vs. immigrant individuals. How generation status and developmental stage are associated with perceptions of discrimination remains an unresolved question. The current sample, comprised of

first and second-generation adolescents as well as their immigrant parents, is well suited to address how ethnic identity affirmation and perceptions of discrimination may vary with age and nativity status within a Chinese Canadian immigrant context.

Ethnic Identity Change in Adulthood

Adolescence has generally been considered the most salient time for ethnic identity search. Adulthood is believed to be a time when ethnic identity gains greater stability and achievement. Empirical work supports the idea that adults are more likely to have searched for and committed to an ethnic identity than adolescents. For example, empirical work by Yip, Seaton, and Sellers (2006), which examined the distribution of achieved, foreclosed, moratorium, and diffused ethnic identity statuses in African Americans across three distinct age groups, found that moratorium was the modal status for the adolescent age group, whereas achievement was the modal status for the adult age groups.

Nevertheless, throughout life, significant events can act as “encounters” that launch new periods of identity search (Cross, 1991). Torres and colleagues identify three particular categories of encounters that can generate identity search: changes in life circumstances, changes in environment, and internal changes (Torres et al., 2012). If we think about the experience of an immigrant: building a life in an unfamiliar place, negotiating strange customs in a foreign language, separated perhaps for the first time from extended family, or reconnecting with family in the new country after many years apart, the experience can hit on all three levels. In their 2008 work, Yip, Gee, and Takeuchi theorize that middle adulthood may symbolize a relatively stable developmental period. By contrast, periods of early and late adulthood are conceived to be ones of greater life change that can de-stabilize ethnic identity. However this pattern may not be representative of *immigrants* whose adjustment and acculturation processes launch renewed

phases of ethnic identity development. For an adult immigrant deep in the process of adjusting to a new culture, middle adulthood may be one of the most tumultuous times for identity as the individual tries to piece together the familiar and longstanding sense of self with the parts that are changing in response to a new environment.

Another relevant catalyst for identity change in adulthood is interpersonal relationships. Within collective and family-oriented cultures in particular, relationships provide material for identity reconstruction throughout the lifespan. For example, Martinez and colleagues' research exploring *familismo* and ethnic identity with Latina women has found that changes in identity in adulthood occur through negotiating changing family dynamics and relationships (Martinez et al., 2012). In this way, values such as familialism may provide the type of influence on identity change that family ethnic socialization provides earlier in development. Essentially an identity rooted in familial values may use family roles and relationships as material for identity construction. As such, changes in relationships may be linked with changes in self-definition.

Research that has looked specifically at ethnic identity among *immigrant* adult populations provides some unique considerations to integrate with what is known about ethnic identity among minority adult populations. Qualitative research with Asian Indian immigrant parents in the United States finds that ethnic identity post-immigration is associated with participation in cultural celebrations, preservation of traditions, strong family connections, and ethnic social supports (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2009). The importance of social influences to ethnic identity post immigration is echoed in Nesdale and Mak's (2003) quantitative research on adult immigrants to Australia. In this work, involvement with one's ethnic group and the number of ethnic friends was found to be predictive of ethnic identity.

Together these two studies demonstrate the important role of social connections and involvement in the ethnic culture for ethnic identity construction in adulthood.

In addition to these interpersonal and behavioral elements, cognition also factors into ethnic identity reconstruction. Qualitative research by Cervatiuc (2009) on cultural and linguistic identity among adult immigrants to Canada identifies the use of symbolic membership with the “imagined multilingual and bicultural community” as one common and effective strategy of cultural identity construction. Interestingly, such a strategy enables an individual to create an invented group of similar individuals with hybrid cultural identities, a group separate from the imagined community of non-immigrant native language speaking Canadians, representing the majority. This strategy illustrates how cultural identity can be reconstructed via internal cognitive tactics in the absence of tangible social supports from one’s ethnic group.

Finally, a number of external factors also are associated with stronger ethnic identity among immigrant adults, including poor language ability in the host country and a greater distance between the heritage culture and host culture (Nasdale & Mak, 2003). These two factors may drive immigrants to build stronger connections with their ethnic group, given that living and communicating with members of the majority culture may feel like an insurmountable obstacle. In sum, for immigrant adults, ethnic identity is renegotiated through interpersonal relationships, ethnic culture participation, and private identity related cognitions. To some degree however, ethnic identity is also constrained by larger factors such as cultural distance and language ability.

Links between Ethnic Identity and Discrimination in Adulthood: Summary of Research Gaps

What is known about the relations between ethnic identity and discrimination in adulthood is largely derived from research with young adults, primarily undergraduate samples. As such, the findings from these populations are more representative of an emerging adulthood period than they are middle adulthood. Moreover, such findings may not be applicable to a community sample of middle-aged adults (like the present sample) who do not all necessarily have a college education. As such, these findings should be interpreted with a critical eye towards potential differences in privilege, life experience, and developmental period. The dearth of research in this area prohibits us from really understanding how discrimination and ethnic identity shape each other past the adolescent and emerging adulthood years.

Another major limitation with the bulk of this undergraduate research is that it does not account for the role that immigration plays in defining identity. One distinctive longitudinal research study with Asian and Latino immigrant college students found that ethnic identity is more strongly tied to immigration experiences than it is to discrimination (Sears, Fu, Henry, & Bui, 2003). Essentially, within this study the most recent immigrants held the strongest ethnic identities. These individuals were the most likely to live in ethnic enclaves and come from families who did not speak English. As such, a strong ethnic identity was tied to the immediacy of the immigration experience rather than to perceptions of discrimination, which were not found to be predictive of ethnic identity. This suggests that the established ethnic identity and discrimination links may not be as relevant to new immigrant groups as they are to native-born ethnic minorities. This idea is further supported by Abu-Rayya's (2009) research with adult immigrants to France. This study also found that discrimination experienced in the host country

had no bearing on ethnic identification among immigrants. In the current thesis I want to pull at these potential differences in the ethnic identity-discrimination relations for immigrants. At some point, as the length of residence in the host country increases, do immigrants fall into the expected discrimination-ethnic identity patterns that are supported in the literature with ethnic minorities? The participants in the current study will consist of individuals with a range of length of residence in Canada, which will aid in addressing this question, and can contribute to what we know about ethnic identity in immigrant adult populations specifically, rather than ethnic minority populations more broadly.

In sum, though valuable, the majority of ethnic identity research has been conducted with ethnic minority adolescents and college students, resulting in a body of literature with limited generalizability. The distinctiveness of the immigrant experience, particularly that of adults, has not been adequately addressed. In the subsequent sections I explore another identity dimension—national identity—that may help to further elucidate the connections between ethnic identity and discrimination that have been discussed thus far.

Multiple Social Identities

Understanding the complexity of identity development requires capturing the intersection of multiple social identities; tapping into the subjective experience of being part of more than one social group (Chen, 2009). Brittian (2012) argues that identity is constructed through the interaction of social and personal components, naturally varies by social context, and changes throughout the lifespan.

One relevant contemporary model of multiple social identities is that of Jones and McEwen (2000). This model has generally been used in educational psychology and applied to the identity development of college students. In this model, the personal core--which consists of

personal identity, attributes, and characteristics--remains central across time, while aspects of identity rooted in context (family background, sociocultural conditions, race, ethnicity, current experiences) are dynamic and contextually dependent, varying over time in the relative salience they hold for the individual (Jones & McEwen, 2000).

What governs when a particular social identity becomes salient? Ethier and Deaux (1994) developed three criteria to measure the level of salience of a social identity. The criteria for a highly salient identity include: enduring levels of group identification (such as having grown up with a strong Chinese identity since childhood), high contrast between an individual's self definition and the surrounding context (such as being female in a predominately male profession), and a high contrast between one's background and the current context (such as moving from a racially diverse to a predominantly White neighborhood) (as cited in Chen 2009). Applying these criteria to the immigration context, national and ethnic identities can both become highly salient post immigration as stark differences between one's country of origin and the settlement country, as well as differences in how the immigrant defines herself compared to how individuals native to the settlement country self-identify, come to the forefront.

Another interesting aspect of multiple identities to consider is how they are managed. Previous research indicates that multiple social identities are largely managed in the following three ways: focusing on a single social identity, compartmentalizing multiple social identities in separate categories, or integrating identities into a holistic identity (Chen 2009). The interaction of various social identities can be collaborative and thereby create an overall positive and cohesive sense of identity. By contrast, different social identities can work against each other and create an internal conflict within an individual (Brittian 2012). By looking at the single psychological stressor of discrimination and its relationship with different identity dimensions, I

aim to clarify how ethnic identity and national identity can work in tandem or in opposition to each other within the context of discrimination.

The Role of National Identity

National identity can be thought of as identifying with and placing value in one's membership to a superordinate group, the nation-state. Like ethnic identity, national identity can also be measured on dimensions of exploration and affirmation. National identity affirmation will be the dimension of focus in this thesis. There is little research that addresses national identity in its own right. However, the experience of nationalism is a prevailing occurrence in the western world, one that has helped mold human experience throughout modern history (Tammeveski, 2003). Despite the referent role the nation plays in identity construction, research on national identity (among immigrants and native citizens alike) and specifically its development throughout the life course is sparse (Tammerevski, 2003).

Discrimination and National Identity

Ethnic identity research has largely been conducted with ethnic minority groups, many of which are not immigrants. Stangor and colleagues have argued theoretically that how discrimination is experienced is additionally influenced by one's identification with the *majority* group (Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001). This is a departure from the research reviewed thus far in which discrimination has been associated with changes in one's identification with the *minority* group (ethnic identity). Essentially, Stangor and colleagues' theoretical framework suggests that discrimination should also be met with changes in majority group identification, or in this case, Canadian national identity. For these reasons, when conceptualizing the relations between ethnic identity and discrimination with immigrant groups, national identity is a crucial dimension to explore alongside ethnic identity. Recent empirical studies support Stangor and

colleagues (2001) theory. Research indicates that discrimination can indeed be associated with lower levels of national identification among immigrants in both adult (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Sears et al., 2003) and adolescent populations (Mähönen et al., 2011).

In contrast to Branscombe and colleagues' (1999) Rejection-Identification Model, Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2009) propose that instead of an increase in ethnic identity, discrimination fosters a decrease in national identity via the Rejection-Disidentification model. The Rejection-Disidentification model (RDIM) is born from research on group engagement, a conceptual understanding of the multiple identity dimensions of immigrant populations, and social justice approaches to dis-identification – or disallowing an oppressive group or system from being part of how one self identifies (e.g., a Black student who feels devalued by an educational institution academically disengaging, and de-emphasizing the role of academic achievement in personal self-esteem) (Jaskinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). The RDIM hinges upon the belief that perceived discrimination thwarts immigrant individuals from finding a sense of belonging to the superordinate national group, and to a greater extreme can cultivate hostility towards the national majority group (Jaskinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009). More severe than a decrease in national identity, national *dis-identification*, "...is not merely the opposite of identification," rather it is rooted in reacting against that which represents the national group, and by extension creating an oppositional identity (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007, p.1450). Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2009) argue that national dis-identification is more common among immigrants with a more severe history of discrimination, suggesting that over time, chronic discrimination may destroy all positive feelings and identification with the national group leaving immigrants to feel completely alienated in their adopted homeland. A further consideration is whether a parallel pathway towards national disidentification may exist for

immigrants whose ethnic group has been chronically devalued throughout its settlement history in the receiving society.

Ethnic Identity and National Identity

Existing research on the relations between ethnic and national identification among immigrant populations finds that within the context of a multicultural society, ethnic and national identity vary independently (Berry et al., 2006; Phinney, 2008). For some individuals, the positive experiences of one group membership may free psychological resources to focus on other aspects of identity development, such that one identity is positively linked with another type of identity (Fuller-Rowell, Ong, & Phinney, 2013). Thus, for example, a positive national identity should contribute to the future development of a strong ethnic identity. Consistently, research with Chinese Canadian adolescents has found that Canadian cultural involvement may serve to enhance Chinese (ethnic) identification among Canadian born youth (Costigan & Su, 2004).

On the other hand, ethnic and national identities can be in opposition to one another under certain conditions. Sindic and Reicher (2009) argue that it is only when the individual feels that she cannot practice and maintain her ethnic group cultural values within the cultural context of the superordinate group that national and ethnic identities become negatively associated. This negative relation is found when individuals experience high levels of discrimination and perceive discordance between the two (national and ethnic) cultures (Mähönen, et al., 2011). Essentially, the extent to which one feels identification with the nation state may largely depend on the degree to which an individual personally feels her ethnic culture is supported by, and fits within the societal context of the superordinate national group.

The Role of Societal Context

The likelihood of a decreased or low national identification as the principle identity response to discrimination may be tied closely to the cultural context of the settlement country. For example, the aforementioned studies on national dis-identification have been conducted in European countries: namely the Netherlands and Finland, which both largely employ an assimilationist attitude toward immigration and citizenship (Borooah & Mangan, 2009). By contrast, in the Canadian context where multiculturalism has been recognized on the policy level, national dis-identification may be a less likely response. Yet, as discussed previously, policy level multiculturalism does not negate the heavy reality of multifaceted discrimination on institutional, cultural, collective, and interpersonal levels. In fact, evidence of low national identification has recently been found in settlement countries embracing multiculturalism. For example, research with Latino adult immigrants in the United States has found that individuals who perceived group-based rejection from Americans, an ethnic discrimination related construct, identified less strongly with this national group (Wiley, 2013; Wiley, Lawrence, Figueroa, & Percontino, 2013). This thesis provides an opportunity to address these questions in the Canadian context, and assess the extent to which discrimination shapes the ethnic and national identities of Chinese immigrants.

Interplay of Discrimination, National Identity, and Ethnic Identity

Thus far, the relations between the two identity dimensions (ethnic and national) and their relations with discrimination have been explored separately. For immigrant individuals, identities are not experienced discretely. The relationship between ethnic identity and discrimination does not exist separate from national identity. Rather, experiences of discrimination affect the individual as whole and can yield simultaneous changes in national and ethnic identity

components. I now turn to potential interactions one might expect when national identity, ethnic identity, and discrimination are all studied within the same model.

Within ethnic identity development research, a small collection of studies has begun to look at the moderating role of national identity in the relations between discrimination and ethnic identity, exploring how high and low levels of national identity each distinctly influence the discrimination-ethnic identity relation. Specifically, two studies have employed this moderation model in predicting the impact of discrimination on subsequent ethnic identity development. Research by Fuller-Rowell and colleagues (2013) explored the moderating role of national identity with a college sample of young Latino adults. Their findings indicated that at low levels of national identity, perceived discrimination was positively associated with future ethnic identity commitment, meaning that for individuals who identified minimally as American, discrimination was linked with enhanced ethnic group commitment at a later time point. This is in line with Branscombe and colleagues' (1999) rejection identification model. By contrast, in this sample at high levels of national identification, perceived discrimination was associated with a less positive increases in ethnic identity commitment. These findings suggest that ethnic discrimination by the majority national group (Americans in this case) fosters more limited ethnic identity growth among those who identify strongly with being American (Fuller-Rowell et al., 2013). The addition of national identity sheds light on why discrimination is only sometimes met with increases in ethnic identity. Quite possibly, it is the hidden role of national identity that is directing these patterns.

The second study to evaluate whether national identity modifies the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity used a sample of Mexican-American adolescent mothers. Derlan and colleagues (2013) found that for individuals highly oriented towards the majority

culture, ethnic discrimination was associated with a *decrease* in ethnic affirmation overtime, rather than merely a lack of ethnic identity growth as was found by Fuller-Rowell and colleagues (2013). Further, in contrast with Fuller-Rowell and colleagues' adult sample, for this adolescent sample, ethnic discrimination was not associated with an increase in ethnic identity among individuals with low levels of majority culture orientation (Derlan et al., 2013). In other words, no support for the rejection-identification model was found. One can argue that the lack of evidence for the rejection-identification model in this study may be attributed to the distinct developmental period. As was previously discussed, the rejection-identification model has been supported within young adult (primarily college) samples. For these individuals, college may provide an environment that promotes ethnic identification. For example, many colleges have clubs and organizations devoted to celebrating different ethnic groups. By contrast, for adolescents, the pressure to fit in with one's peers may be of paramount importance. As such, a desire for conformity and acceptance by the majority cultural group may prevent one from increasing identification with one's ethnic group in the face of discrimination (Derlan et al., 2013).

Given these distinct findings for the developmental periods of adolescence and young adulthood, what pattern can be expected in middle adulthood? Though one might expect that support for the rejection-identification model would be stronger in this age group, given the greater stability of the middle adulthood period (Yip et al., 2008), such a prediction may not account for the stresses and pressures of immigration. For new immigrants, might a desire to fit in with the majority culture operate in a similar way as peer acceptance does in adolescence? Or, will a more established ethnic identity ground one to respond to discrimination with increased affirmation towards one's ethnic group? Through addressing these lifespan questions in my

thesis, I hope to cultivate an understanding of how these constructs shape one another in a life period not regularly addressed in the ethnic identity literature.

Context of the Current Sample: Standing of Chinese in Canada

Chinese Canadians are the largest non-European ethnic group in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2007), and make up over 10% of the population in British Columbia according to the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2007). Given that the majority of Chinese Canadians are foreign born (Statistics Canada, 2007), this growing population is opportune for studying the nature of identity as it relates to immigration. Drawing from a developmental systems perspective, it is important to recall that identity formation is embedded within a particular historical frame of reference (Brittian, 2012). For Chinese immigrants to Canada, developing a sense of oneself as both Chinese and Canadian occurs within the context of the hundreds of years of historical discrimination Chinese immigrants have faced in Canada; discrimination that began with the first settlement of the Chinese in the late 1700s and endured through the periods of head tax between 1885-1923, and subsequent exclusion in the second quarter of the 20th century.

In addition to the chronic historic mistreatment of Chinese immigrants, the contemporary challenges of belonging to this ethnic minority group may go unrecognized in light of the tendency to minimize or dismiss the difficulties of Chinese Canadian individuals given their position as a “model minority.” Essentially, this model minority myth, which some may consider a positive stereotype, argues for the positive adjustment of Asian heritage individuals in US and Canadian society, often pointing to the racial group’s relative academic and economic achievement in relation to other minority groups (Kwon & Au, 2010). Such a myth invalidates the challenges that members of this racial group may face. Further, endorsement of the model minority stereotype by Asian Americans has been found to be associated with higher

psychological distress and more negative attitudes towards help seeking (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011). Moreover, this stereotype can further isolate Asian individuals as it can pit them against other ethnic minority groups (Chen, 2009). Challenges such as these undoubtedly contribute to the experiences of discrimination among Chinese Canadians. According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002), one third of Chinese Canadians reported experiencing discrimination in the 2006 census (Statistics Canada, 2007). Of those individuals, the majority reported that this discrimination was racially-based.

These experiences of discrimination co-exist alongside both ethnic and national identities. According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002), 76% of Chinese Canadians reported a strong sense of belonging to Canada, and 58% reported a strong belonging to their ethnic group. Is discrimination associated with a decrease in the feeling that one belongs to Canada or identifies as Canadian? Population level findings indicate that discrimination, and ethnic and national identifications are relevant experiences in the lives of Chinese Canadians. In this thesis, I tease apart their influences and intertwined relations.

Research Objectives and Hypotheses

In my thesis I used data from the Intercultural Family Study (IFS), a larger longitudinal project under the direction of Dr. Catherine Costigan. The IFS examines family relationships, acculturation and adjustment among Chinese immigrant families to Canada, and contains self-report data for children, mothers, and fathers at two different time points. The current study aimed to understand the relations among discrimination, ethnic identity, and national identity during two distinct developmental periods: middle adulthood and adolescence. This study examined these relations within a sample of Chinese Canadian immigrant families in order to better understand how these processes work both during different developmental periods and

within individuals with varying amounts of time lived in the settlement society. Further, this study contributes to emerging research that looks specifically at how national identity is implicated in modifying the relation between ethnic identity and discrimination. Two models were addressed, which are discussed below.

Model 1: Predicting Change in Ethnic Identity

Drawing from Fuller-Rowell and colleagues' (2013) theory and research which associates strong identity in one sphere (e.g., national identity) with an increase in psychological resources to build identity in another sphere (e.g., ethnic identity), I predicted that high initial levels of national identity would predict an increase in ethnic identity affirmation over time (Hypothesis 1). Furthermore, I predicted that national identity would moderate the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity. This moderation is depicted in Figures 1 and 2, for adults and adolescents respectively. Drawing from previous research (e.g., Armenta & Hunt, 2009), my hypotheses for the moderating role of national identity are developmentally sensitive (e.g., vary for adults versus adolescents). The moderation hypotheses for adults first, followed by adolescents, are as follows

- Hypothesis 2a. Adults: At low levels of T1 national identity, T1 discrimination will predict an increase in ethnic identity affirmation.
- Hypothesis 2b. Adults: At high levels of T1 national identity, T1 discrimination will predict a decrease in ethnic affirmation.
- Hypothesis 3a. Adolescents: At low levels of T1 national identity, discrimination will not predict change in ethnic identity affirmation.
- Hypothesis 3b. Adolescents: At high levels of T1 national identity, T1 discrimination will predict a decrease in ethnic affirmation.

Furthermore, theoretically, adults with a longer length of residence in Canada may be more likely to endorse the rejection-identification hypothesis (perceptions of discrimination predict greater ethnic identity affirmation over time), as their experiences begin to more closely parallel those of Canadian ethnic minorities. Accordingly, I predicted that length of residence would also moderate the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity change among fathers and mothers (see *Figure 1*). Specifically, I predicted:

- Hypothesis 4a. At a longer length of residence, T1 discrimination will predict an increase in ethnic identity affirmation.
- Hypothesis 4b. At a shorter length of residence, the same effect posited in hypothesis 4a will be present, but will be weaker.

With regard to adolescents, I investigated the possibility that socialization as an ethnic minority versus an immigrant might differentially relate to the likelihood that an adolescent would endorse the rejection-identification model. Specifically, birthplace was tested as a moderator of the discrimination- ethnic identity change relation in adolescence as an exploratory objective (see *Figure 2*).

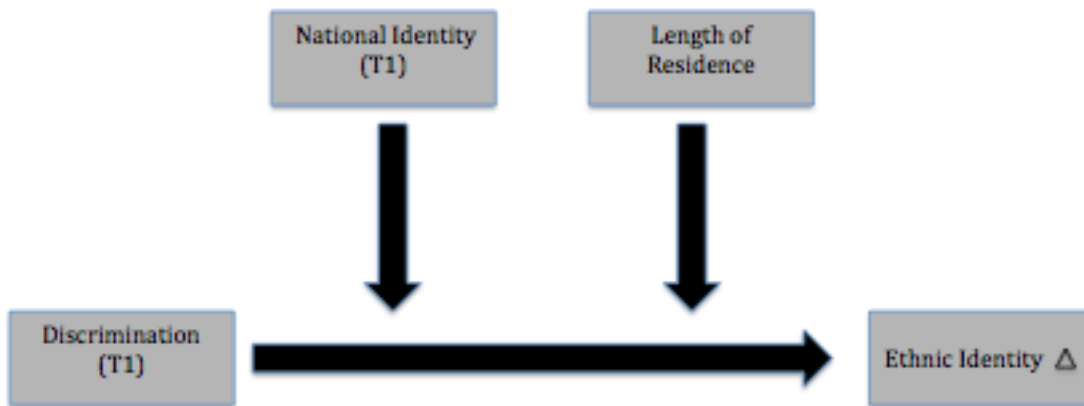


Figure 1. Conceptual model for the moderating effect of national identity and length of residence on the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity change among parents (Model 1 for Adults)

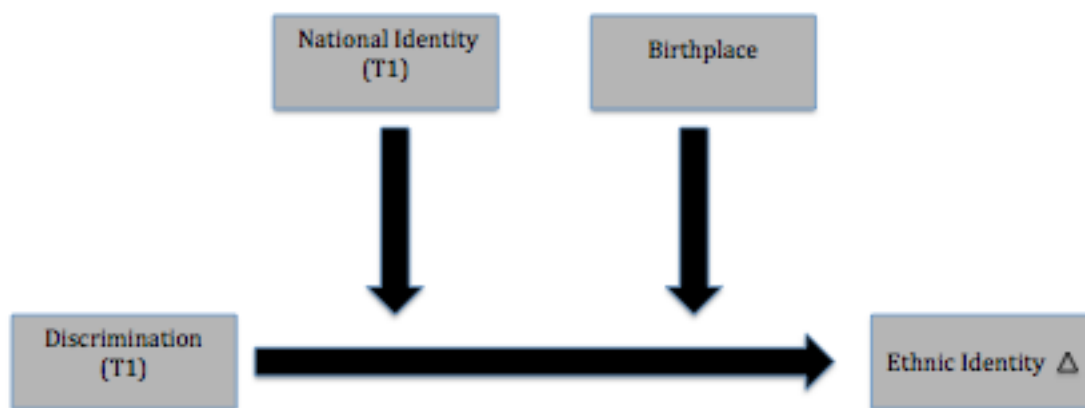


Figure 2. Conceptual model for the moderating effect of national identity and birthplace on the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity change among adolescents (Model 1 for adolescents).

Model 2: The Moderating Role of Discrimination

In Model 2, building on the theoretical work of Sindic and Reicher (2009), and the empirical work of Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Liebkind (2011), I investigated how discrimination may moderate the relation between ethnic identity and national identity. This model is depicted in Figure 3. To test this model, I examined the concurrent relations between

ethnic identity and national identity among adolescents, mothers, and fathers separately. I tested this model at both time one and time two. The hypothesis for this model is the same for adults and adolescents. It is as follows:

- Hypothesis 6a. At low levels of discrimination, ethnic identity affirmation and national identity affirmation are positively related.
- Hypothesis 6b. At high levels of discrimination, ethnic identity affirmation and national identity affirmation are negatively associated.

Drawing from adolescent research on the concurrent relations between discrimination and ethnic identity (e.g., Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2012), I predict in hypothesis 6b, that at high levels of discrimination, the negative association between ethnic and national identity affirmation will be stronger for adolescent males than it will be for adolescent females. This is the only place where I expect adolescent gender differences, as prior research indicates that discrimination is more closely tied to adolescent male ethnic identity than adolescent female ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2012), and such gender differences, should they exist, would be clearest at high levels of discrimination.

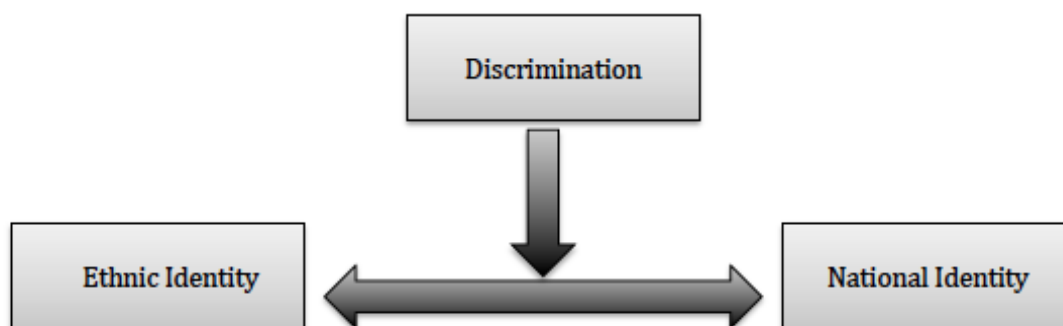


Figure 3. Conceptual model for the concurrent associations between ethnic and national identity affirmation, as moderated by discrimination (Model 2).

Methods

Participants

This thesis uses a longitudinal data set (two time waves), which was collected as a part of Dr. Catherine Costigan's Intercultural Family Study, a larger project that examines family relationships, acculturation and adjustment among Chinese immigrants families to Canada. One hundred eighty two families were recruited in two different areas in British Columbia, one large metropolitan city, and the other a small to mid sized city. The parents in these families all emigrated from Hong Kong, Taiwan, or The People's Republic of China after the age of 18. All of these individuals (179 mothers; 165 fathers) identified as being ethnically Chinese and had at least one child between the ages of 12 and 17 at the time of wave one data collection. A total of 181 children (87 boys; 94 girls) participated in this study at the first time wave. Over 80% of the families were retained from the first wave of data collection to the second. At time two, 133 dads, 150 moms, and 150 kids participated.

In terms of the demographics of the sample, the mean age for fathers was 41.16 (SD= 5.71), mothers' mean age was 44.79 (SD=4.74), and the mean age for adolescents was 14.95 years. At the time of the initial data collection fathers had lived in Canada an average of 11.01 years (SD=7.07), mothers mean length of residence was 10.56 years (SD=6.52), and children's average length of residence was 9.26 years (SD=4.20). Forty-five percent of children were Canadian born or immigrated to Canada prior to the age of six, with the remaining 55% immigrating after the age of 6. Families emigrated primarily from Mainland China (59% of Dads; 66% of Moms), with a smaller number emigrating from Taiwan (18% of Dads; 20% of Moms), and Hong Kong (13% of Dads; 12% of Moms).

The majority of parents were employed: 80.2% of fathers and 68.7% of mothers. Sixty-five percent of fathers and 51% of mothers worked full time (more than 35 hours per week), and 14% of fathers and 18% of mothers worked part time or unfixed hours. In terms of annual family income, 21% of families had an income less than \$25,000, 43% earned between \$25,000 and \$50,000, and 36% earned more than \$50,000 annually. Families were generally highly educated: 18% of Dads and 32% of Mothers indicated that they had attended a vocational school or college, 25% of Dads and 31% of Moms had obtained a degree from a four year university and 30% of Dads and 14% of Moms had received a graduate or professional degree. Thus only 20% of fathers and 21% of mothers indicated that they had a high school education or less.

In order to better understand the characteristics of the families who were retained in the longitudinal sample, differences between individuals who participated at both time points and those who participated at T1 only were examined. Mean differences among key demographic variables (e.g., age, length of residence, family income, etc.) as well as among the main study variables were assessed among fathers, mothers, and adolescents.

Overall, there was a significant mean difference in age at T1 among those who participated at both time points vs. those who only participated at T1 only. This was present among fathers; $t(156)=1.96, p=.05$, mothers; $t(176)=2.43, p=.02$, and adolescents; $t(177)=3.54, p=.001$. Individuals who participated at T1 only were significantly older ($M=48.93, SD=4.57$ for fathers; $M=46.53, SD=4.29$ for mothers; $M=15.88, SD=1.55$ for adolescents) than those who participated at both time points, ($M=46.69, SD=5.74$ for fathers; $M=44.33, SD=4.57$ for mothers; $M=14.73, SD=1.65$ for adolescents).

Similarly, significant differences in length of residence were also found among fathers; $t(156)=2.99, p=.003$, and mothers; $t(177)=3.89, p=.002$. Parents who only participated at T1

reported a longer length of residence at T1 ($M=14.44$; $SD=8.60$ for fathers; $M=14.63$; $SD=7.76$ for mothers) compared to parents who participated at both time points ($M=10.30$; $SD=6.25$ for fathers; $M=9.74$; $SD=5.94$ for mothers). For mothers, average levels of national identity at T1 were also significantly different; $t(176)=3.94$, $p<.001$, such that mothers who participated at T1 only reported higher levels of national identity ($M=3.25$, $SD=.48$) than those who participated at both time points ($M=2.90$; $SD=.44$). Notably, this difference in average levels of national identity among mothers was the only significant difference between T1 only and T1;T2 participants on all the main study variables (ethnic identity, national identity, and discrimination).

Among adolescents, there was a significant difference in birthplace between participants who participated at T1 only and those who participated at both time points, $\chi^2(1, N=179) = 7.36$, $p=.01$, such that there was a higher proportion of Canada-born adolescents among those who participated at T1 only (17 foreign born: 13 born in Canada), compared to the lower proportion of Canada born adolescents found among those individuals who participated at both time points (119 foreign born, 30 born in Canada).

Procedure

Families who participated in the Intercultural Family Study (IFS) were primarily recruited randomly through a survey research center that identified potential participants by contacting individuals in the telephone directory with Chinese surnames. Sixty-seven percent of the families were recruited using this method. The remaining 33% were recruited through referral, mostly from other families participating in the research project. Participating families met several criteria. The parents of each family immigrated to Canada after the age of 18 from Hong Kong, Mainland China, or Taiwan, and all identified ethnically as Chinese. All families

lived in Canada for at least two years, and had at least once child between the ages of 12 and 17 at time one data collection. Prior to data collection the IFS received approval through the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Victoria. The IFS is supported by a grant Dr. Costigan received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. Families were compensated \$50 for their participation at the first wave and \$60 at the second.

Once families agreed to participate they were presented with the option of completing the study in their homes or at the University of Victoria. Only one family chose to come to the University. Families were also presented with the opportunity to complete all survey measures in either Chinese or English. All the measures were developed in English and then translated to Chinese and back-translated. Additionally, two research assistants, at least one of whom spoke the family's preferred language, met with each family during data collection. Each family member completed his or her own self-report survey packet. All children completed the measures in English and the majority of parents completed the measures in Chinese.

Measures

Demographic Information. Background information was collected from participating family members and assessed a number of demographic characteristics including: gender, age, employment status, length of residence in Canada, highest education level, and annual family income. Demographic questions are provided in Appendix A.

Perceived Discrimination. Perceptions of discrimination were assessed using a three item perceived discrimination scale from Gil, Wagner, & Vega (2000) which was developed for use with Latino adolescent males, and has subsequently been used in many contexts with adolescent and adult populations. The three items ask participants to rate the frequency with which they had experienced each discriminatory situation on a five point Likert scale (1= never; 5=very often).

Minor changes were made to this measure so that the appropriate ethnic group was referenced (i.e., Chinese instead of Latin). This measure is provided in Appendix B. Gil, Wagner and Vega (2000) reported on internal consistency of the discrimination measure over three time waves of data collection. They reported a Cronbach's alpha of .58 at time one, .63 at time two, and .68 at time three in their paper debuting the scale. In the current sample there was a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .86 for Dads, .87 for Moms, and .83 for kids at time one. At time two, the internal consistency coefficient was .80 for Dads, .78 for Moms, and .72 for kids.

Ethnic Identity. Ethnic Identity at time one was assessed using the 14-item Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), created by Phinney (1992). A slightly revised version of the MEIM (12 items) put forth by Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, and Romero (1999) was used at the second wave of data collection. The MEIM consists of three subscales: ethnic identity affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors. For this thesis I used the ethnic identity affirmation subscale. The MEIM assesses ethnic identity using a four point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 4= strongly agree). I have provided the MEIM in full and highlighted the ethnic identity affirmation subscale in Appendix C. Internal consistency for the 1999 measure was reported by Roberts and colleagues to be .84. In the current sample a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .74 for Dads, .84 for Moms, and .81 for kids was found for the ethnic identity affirmation subscale at time one. At time two, the internal consistency coefficients were .75 for Dads, .78 for Moms, and .84 for kids.

Canadian Identity. The measure of Canadian Identity was created by Dr. Costigan and her research assistants, and is a modification of the MEIM. The Canadian Identity scale assesses Canadian identity through three subscales: Canadian identity affirmation and belonging, Canadian identity achievement, and Canadian behaviors. A similar adaptation of the MEIM to

assess American identity has also been created by Schwartz and colleagues (2012), and assesses American identity through dimensions of affirmation and exploration. For this thesis, I analyzed the affirmation subscale, which is highlighted in Appendix D. Internal consistency for the Canadian Identity affirmation scale was strong: .84 for Dads, Moms, and kids at time one, and .87 for Dads, .75 for Moms, and .74 for kids at time two.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

The main study variables of ethnic identity affirmation, national identity affirmation, and discrimination were examined as part of a data cleaning and screening process prior to conducting the main regression analyses. An examination of these variables revealed a total of six missing cases across all the variables of interest at both time points and across all three groups of participants (fathers, mothers, adolescents). No incorrectly inputted data were apparent. The specific characteristics of these main study variables are detailed below.

Ethnic Identity Affirmation

In terms of normality, skewness and kurtosis values for the distribution of ethnic identity affirmation scores for fathers, mothers, and adolescents were all within the acceptable ranges put forth by Tabachnick & Fidell (2007), as the value of all z scores was less than 3.29. However, four univariate outliers were identified for affirmation scores: one for fathers at T1, one for adolescents at T1, one for fathers at T2, and one for mothers at T2. The influence of these outliers was reduced by making these values less extreme (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). This was accomplished by bringing the raw scores closer to the next highest value by one half of the distance between each outlier and the next highest value. For example, the outlier for adolescent

ethnic identity at T1 originally had a raw score of 1.20. Since the next closest score was 2.00 the outlier was increased by .40 resulting in a new raw score of 1.60.

Overall, participants reported strong ethnic affirmation across both time points. Using a paired samples t-test, no significant differences were found between mothers and fathers on mean levels of ethnic identity affirmation. Among adolescents, there was a significant difference in mean levels of ethnic identity affirmation between boys ($M=3.09$, $SD=.53$) and girls ($M=3.24$, $SD=.44$) at T1 only; $t(178)=-2.04$, $p=.04$. No significant differences were present at T2. The observed ranges, means, and standard deviations for ethnic identity affirmation are summarized in *Table 1*.

National Identity Affirmation

Mild kurtosis at T1 and mild negative skewness at both time points was present for adolescent national identity. Mild kurtosis was also apparent in mothers' T2 national identity. These issues were sufficiently resolved after reducing the influence of six univariate outliers (two for adolescent T1 national identity, three for adolescent T2 national identity, and one for mothers T2 national identity), following the methods detailed above, and removing multivariate outliers (the process of which is discussed later in this section).

National identity affirmation scores were generally strong across participants. Descriptive statistics for national identity are summarized in *Table 1*. No significant differences between mothers and fathers mean levels of national identity affirmation were found at either time point using a paired samples t-test. Significant mean differences on national identity affirmation between adolescent boys ($M=3.02$, $SD=.59$) and girls ($M=3.27$, $SD=.53$) were observed at T2 only; $t(145)=-2.73$, $p=.01$.

Discrimination

Mild kurtosis and a small positive skew was present for fathers' reports of T1 discrimination. Adolescents' discrimination was moderately positively skewed at T1 and at T2; kurtosis was also apparent at T2. Further, mild kurtosis was apparent in the distribution for mothers' report of discrimination at T2. In order to address the moderate skewness and kurtosis, transformations were applied to the adolescent discrimination variables at both time points. A comparison of the skewness and kurtosis values between the untransformed and transformed adolescent variables revealed that the T1 adolescent discrimination variable was best left untransformed. A logarithm transformation best fit the T2 adolescent discrimination variable, as it brought the skewness and kurtosis values closest to zero. This transformation was applied to T2 adolescent discrimination for all subsequent analyses. A check for univariate outliers on all of the untransformed discrimination variables revealed four outliers for discrimination at T1 (two for fathers' report, one for mothers' report, and one for adolescents' report) and one outlier for discrimination at T2 (for mother's report). The influence of these univariate outliers was reduced using the method described previously, which also reduced skewness and kurtosis across these variables.

Overall perceptions of discrimination were fairly low among this community sample. The means, standard deviations, and observed ranges for discrimination are provided in *Table 1*. Using a paired samples t- test, differences between reports of perceived discrimination from T1 to T2 were not found among mothers; $t(144)=-1.21, p=.23$, or adolescents; $t(145)=-.26, p=.80$. Mean differences between the reports of discrimination at the two time points approached significance for fathers; $t(128)=-1.83, p=.07$, with higher average levels of discrimination

reported at T2 than T1. No significant differences in the mean levels of discrimination reported were found between mothers and fathers or between boys and girls.

Additional Preliminary Analyses

After examining the main study variables individually, the data were screened for multivariate outliers. Three multivariate outliers were identified for the first model and five for the second model using Mahlanobis' distance. These multivariate outliers were deleted from the dataset, resulting in a final sample of 163 fathers, 176 mothers, and 180 adolescents at T1, and 131 fathers, 148 mothers, and 146 adolescents at T2.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Observed Ranges for Main Study Variables

Means (SD)	Fathers		Mothers		Adolescents	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Ethnic Identity	3.00 (.39)	3.10 (.48)	3.04 (.44)	3.05 (.43)	3.17 (.49)	3.29 (.46)
National Identity	2.91 (.45)	2.85 (.40)	2.96 (.46)	2.92 (.44)	3.13 (.51)	3.16 (.57)
Discrimination	1.92 (.66)	2.04 (.66)	1.92 (.66)	1.99 (.63)	1.78 (.77)	.22 (.17) ^a
Observed Ranges						
Ethnic Identity	1.70 -4.00	1.70-4.00	1.60-4.00	1.70-4.00	1.80-4.00	2.00-4.00
National Identity	2.00-4.00	2.00-4.00	1.80-4.00	1.60-4.00	1.40-4.00	1.40-4.00
Discrimination	1.00-4.17	1.00-3.33	1.00-3.67	1.00-4.67	1.00-4.35	.00 -.70 ^a

Note. Possible ranges for main study variables are as follows: Ethnic Identity (1-4), National Identity (1-4), Discrimination (1-5).

^aValues for transformed adolescent discrimination variable (T2 only).

Correlations

Evaluation of Potential Control Variables

Prior to examining the correlations among the main study variables, correlations between the main study variables and demographic variables were examined in order to determine which variables should be controlled for in the main regression analyses. These correlations are provided in *Table 2*. The mixed findings in the literature on the developmental course of ethnic identity affirmation necessitated examining age as a potential control variable. Based on previous research identifying different patterns of ethnic identity growth among boys and girls (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009), gender was also examined as a potential control variable. Length of residence and being born in Canada were also evaluated as potential control variables given the possibility that greater length of residence in Canada may be linked with a stronger national identity or be associated with more or less perceived discrimination. Finally, education and family income were also examined in order to tease apart any aspects of socioeconomic status that may be tied to discrimination or identity.

Variables that were significantly associated with both an independent variable and a dependent variable in Models 1 or 2 were identified as control variables for subsequent analyses. Accordingly, demographic variables that were associated with T1 discrimination, T1 national identity, or length of residence *and* T2 ethnic identity were identified as control variables for Model 1. For Model 2, control variables were those demographic variables associated with either ethnic identity, discrimination, (or gender – adolescents only), *and* national identity (either all at T1 or all at T2).

Among parents, education was modestly correlated with national identity and discrimination, such that higher levels of education were associated with higher levels of

discrimination among fathers and lower levels of national identity among mothers. National identity was also positively associated with age and length of residence. A stronger national identity was linked with a greater amount of time lived in Canada among mothers and fathers, and with older age among mothers only. Finally, ethnic identity and current employment were negatively related among mothers, suggesting that being employed is associated with lower levels of ethnic identity. Despite these isolated significant relations, using the criteria detailed above, no demographic control variables were identified for mothers or fathers for models 1 or 2.

For adolescents, T1 ethnic identity was modestly correlated with age and gender, indicating that older age and being female is associated with higher levels of ethnic identity. National identity was modestly positively correlated with family income and being born in Canada at both time points and with being female at T2 only. Discrimination was moderately correlated with age (at both time points), and family income at T1, suggesting that perceiving greater discrimination is associated with being an older adolescent and having a lower family income. Discrimination at T2 was also associated with not being born in Canada. On average, foreign born adolescents perceived significantly more discrimination ($M=1.83$, $SD=.78$) than Canada-born adolescents ($M=1.51$, $SD=.49$) at T2 only; $t(144)=2.09$, $p=.04$. No mean differences between foreign born and Canadian adolescents were present at T1; $t(179)=-.25$, $p=.80$. Given that family income was related to national identity (at both time points) and to T1 discrimination, it was controlled for in models 1 and 2. Additionally, in model 2, age and birthplace were controlled for in the regression analyses, given that age was significantly associated with T1 ethnic identity and T1 discrimination, and that being born in Canada was correlated with T2 national identity and T2 discrimination.

Table 2. Zero Order Correlations between Main Study Variables and Demographic Variables

Variable	Fathers					Mothers				
	Age	LOR	Employ	Edu.	Income	Age	LOR	Employ	Edu.	Income
Time 1										
Ethnic Identity	-.02	.07	.01	-.01	-.05	.04	-.02	.13	-.07	.06
National Identity	.09	.19*	-.02	-.14	-.12	.25**	.26**	.07	-.18*	.02
Discrimination	-.06	.03	.07	.18*	.01	-.10	.01	-.04	-.07	.04
Time 2										
Ethnic Identity	-.17	-.17	-.03	.02	-.00	-.11	-.09	.18*	.06	.08
National Identity	.11	.14	-.03	-.10	-.04	.13	.24**	-.02	-.13	.06
Discrimination	-.04	-.05	-.04	.34**	.09	-.13	-.02	.10	-.02	.03
Adolescents										
Variable	Age	Birthplace	Gender	Income						
Time 1										
Ethnic Identity	.15*	.00	.15*	-.09						
National Identity	.12	.17*	.12	.18*						
Discrimination	.29**	.02	-.04	-.25**						
Time 2										
Ethnic Identity	.04	.00	.14	.05						
National Identity	-.10	.24**	.22**	.22**						
Discrimination	.22**	-.17*	-.11	-.02						

Note. LOR=length of residence; Employ= Employment Status; Edu.=Education; Income = Annual Family Income.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Intercorrelations among Main Study Variables

Overall levels of ethnic identity, national identity, and discrimination were relatively stable over time (see *Table 3*). For parents, T1 reports of ethnic identity, national identity, and discrimination were significantly correlated with the corresponding T2 values of these variables. As shown in *Table 4*, among adolescents, moderate correlations between T1 and T2 values were also present for national identity, ethnic identity and discrimination.

Ethnic and national identity were positively associated in this sample. Specifically, among fathers, mothers, and adolescents, T1 ethnic identity and national identity were significantly positively correlated. This pattern was also found at T2 for adolescents only.

Regarding the relations between discrimination and identity, for fathers, significant correlations were present between T2 national identity and T2 discrimination such that high levels of discrimination were modestly associated with low levels of national identity. No significant correlations between discrimination and identity were present for mothers, however. Among adolescents, significant correlations were present between T1 discrimination and T2 national identity, such that high levels of discrimination at T1 were modestly associated with low levels of national identity at T2.

Table 3. Zero Order Correlations among Main Study Variables (Fathers and Mothers)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Ethnic Identity (T1)	---	.32**	.06	.50**	.09	.15
2. National Identity (T1)	.21**	---	-.08	.11	.50**	-.05
3. Discrimination (T1)	.01	-.06	---	-.01	-.09	.49**
4. Ethnic Identity (T2)	.56**	-.08	.02	---	.16	.06
5. National Identity (T2)	.14	.51**	.01	.13	---	-.08
6. Discrimination (T2)	.01	-.09	.52**	-.02	-.21*	---

Note. Correlations for fathers are presented below the diagonal, and correlations for mothers are presented above the diagonal

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4. Zero Order Correlations among Main Study Variables (Adolescents)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Ethnic Identity (T1)						
2. National Identity (T1)	.20**					
3. Discrimination (T1)	-.07	-.07				
4. Ethnic Identity (T2)	.38**	.17*	-.03			
5. National Identity (T2)	.12	.59**	-.25**	.34**		
6. Discrimination (T2)	-.02	-.04	.41**	-.02	-.07	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Main Regression Analyses

Predicting Change in Ethnic Identity

In Model 1, I predicted that high initial levels of national identity would be predictive of an increase in ethnic identity over time (Hypothesis 1). I also hypothesized that national identity at T1 would moderate the relation between discrimination at T1 and change in ethnic identity (from T1 to T2). I predicted that at low levels of national identity, discrimination would predict

an increase in ethnic identity over time (among mothers and fathers), and would be unrelated to ethnic identity change among adolescents. At high levels of national identity, I hypothesized that discrimination would predict a decrease in ethnic identity over time among fathers, mothers, and adolescents.

I further predicted that length of residence would act as a second moderator of the discrimination – ethnic identity change relation among adults. I hypothesized that the effect of T1 discrimination predicting an increase in ethnic identity affirmation would be stronger among mothers and fathers with a longer length of residence compared to those with a shorter length of residence. Finally, as an exploratory objective, among adolescents I examined birthplace as a potential moderator of the ethnic identity- discrimination relation.

Multiple regression analyses were used to test these hypotheses, and are summarized in *Table 5* for adults, and *Table 6* for adolescents. For adults, T1 ethnic identity was entered in step 1 to control for the stability in ethnic identity. Discrimination (T1), national identity (T1), and length of residence were entered at step 2, and the interactions of Discrimination X National Identity and Discrimination X Length of Residence were tested in step 3. For adolescents, T1 ethnic identity and family income were entered in step 1, T1 discrimination, T1 national identity, and birthplace in step 2, and the interactions of Discrimination X National Identity and Discrimination X Birthplace in step 3. T1 discrimination, T1 national identity, length of residence, and birthplace were mean centered for these analyses following the recommendations of Aiken and West (1991).

For fathers, national identity (T1) had a significant main effect on change in ethnic identity, such that high levels of national identity at T1 were predictive of decreases in ethnic identity at T2. This is in contrast to Hypothesis 1, which predicted that high initial levels of

national identity would predict an increase in ethnic identity affirmation over time. There was no main effect for discrimination or length of residence, and neither the Discrimination X National Identity interaction, nor the Discrimination X Length of Residence interaction was significant. The final model accounted for 36% of the variance. These regression analyses are presented in *Table 5*.

For mothers, there were no main effects for discrimination (T1), national identity (T1), or length of residence on ethnic identity (T2). The interactions of Discrimination X National Identity and Discrimination X Length of Residence, were also not significant, (see *Table 5*).

For adolescents, there were no main effects for national identity, discrimination, or birthplace in predicting T2 ethnic identity. Similarly, the interactions of Discrimination X National Identity and Discrimination X Birthplace were not significant (see *Table 6*).

Table 5. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 1 for Adults (Regression of ethnic identity change on T1 discrimination, national identity, and length of residence)

Predictor	Fathers				Mothers			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2
Step 1								
Ethnic Identity (T1)	.71	.09	.57***	.32	.49	.07	.50***	.24
Step 2								
Discrimination (T1)	-.01	.05	-.01		-.04	.05	-.06	
National Identity (T1)	-.17	.08	-.17*		-.01	.08	-.01	
Length of Residence	-.01	.01	-.12	.35	-.01	-.01	-.05	.23
Step 3								
Discrimination X National Identity	-.14	.10	-.11		.09	.10	.07	
Discrimination X Length of Residence	-.01	.01	-.04	.36	-.01	.01	-.11	.24

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Table 6. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 1 for Adolescents (Regression of ethnic identity change on T1 discrimination, national identity, and birthplace).

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				
Ethnic Identity (T1)	.35	.07	.37***	
Family Income	.03	.02	.08	.13
Step 2				
Discrimination (T1)	.03	.05	.04	
National Identity (T1)	.05	.08	.05	
Birthplace	-.02	.09	-.02	.11
Step 3				
Discrimination X National Identity	-.13	.10	-.11	
Discrimination X Birthplace	-.06	.14	-.04	.11

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

The Moderating Role of Discrimination

The second model investigated the concurrent relations between ethnic identity and national identity at both time points, and specifically hypothesized that discrimination would moderate these relations. I predicted that at low levels of discrimination, ethnic and national identity would be positively related, whereas at high levels of discrimination, national and ethnic identity would be negatively related. I also predicted among adolescents that at high levels of discrimination the predicted negative relation between ethnic and national identity would be stronger for adolescent males than females. These hypotheses were evaluated using hierarchical multiple regression analyses. The discrimination and ethnic identity variables were mean centered for these analyses. Summaries of the results of the regression analyses for Model 2 are provided in *Table 7* for parents and *Table 8* for adolescents.

For fathers and mothers, discrimination and ethnic identity were entered at step 1 and their interaction was entered in step 2. For adolescents, family income, age, and birthplace were entered at step 1 as control variables, ethnic identity, discrimination, and gender at step 2, and the interactions of Discrimination X Ethnic Identity, Discrimination X Gender, and Gender X Ethnic identity at step 3. Finally, for adolescents, the three-way interaction of Discrimination X Ethnic Identity X Gender was entered in step 4.

Table 7. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 2 for Fathers and Mothers (Regression of national identity on ethnic identity and discrimination).

Predictor	Fathers								Mothers							
	T1				T2				T1				T2			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2
Step 1																
Discrimination	-.04	.05	-.06		-.13	.05	-.21*		-.06	.05	-.09		-.06	.06	-.09	
Ethnic Identity	.26	.09	.23**	.04	.11	.07	.13	.05	.32	.08	.31***	.09	.16	.08	.16*	.03
Step 2																
Discrimination X Ethnic Identity	-.25	.14	-.14 ^b	.06	-.24	.12	-.17*	.07	-.10	.12	-.06	.09	-.22	.11	-.17*	.06

^b $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Table 8. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses for Model 2 for Adolescents (Regression of national identity on ethnic identity and discrimination).

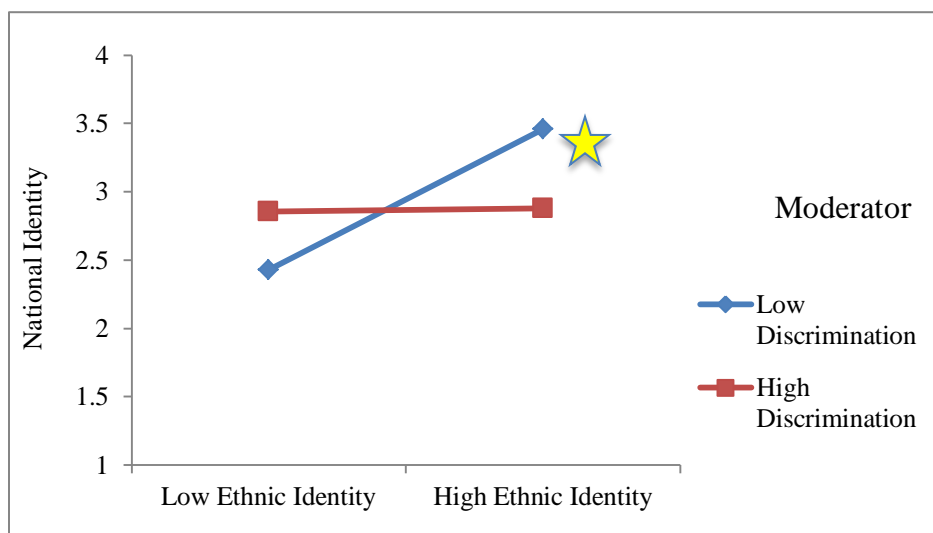
Predictor	Time 1				Time 2			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	ΔR^2
Step 1								
Age	.05	.02	.17*		-.01	.03	-.02	
Family Income	.06	.03	.17*		.08	.03	.20*	
Birthplace	.20	.09	.17*	.07	.31	.12	.22**	.08
Step 2								
Discrimination	-.03	.05	-.05		-.02	.27	-.01	
Ethnic Identity	.17	.08	.17*		.38	.10	.31***	
Gender	.10	.08	.10	.09	.16	.09	.14 ^b	.19
Step 3								
Discrimination X Ethnic Identity	-.08	.10	-.07		-1.46	.55	-.20**	.24
Discrimination X Gender	-.01	.10	-.01		-.36	.51	-.05	
Gender X Ethnic Identity	-.04	.16	-.02	.08	-.45	.19	-.18*	
Step 4								
Discrimination X Ethnic Identity X Gender	.01	.20	.01	.08	1.13	1.10	.08	.24

^b $p < .10$; * $p < .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. *** $p < .001$

Model 2: Time One

For fathers, ethnic identity had a main effect on national identity, indicating that ethnic identity positively predicted national identity. No main effect for discrimination was found. The interaction of ethnic identity and discrimination approached significance. This interaction of ethnic identity and discrimination is plotted in *Figure 4*. To probe the interaction, the relation between ethnic and national identity at high and low levels of discrimination (one standard deviation above and below the mean) was evaluated. Regression analyses indicated that at low levels of discrimination, higher levels of ethnic identity were associated with higher levels of national identity ($B=.52, t=3.09, p=.002$), whereas at high levels of discrimination, ethnic identity and national identity were not significantly related ($B=.01, t=-.08, p=.94$). This finding supports the predictions made in hypothesis 6a (that at low levels of discrimination ethnic and national identity will be positively related), but not the predictions made in hypothesis 6b (that at high levels of discrimination, ethnic and national identity will be negatively associated). The significant slope is indicated with a star in *Figure 4*.

Figure 4. Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Fathers at T1)



For mothers, there was a main effect for ethnic identity in predicting national identity, demonstrating that the two constructs are positively linked. Discrimination was not significantly related to national identity, and the interaction of ethnic identity and discrimination was not significant either.

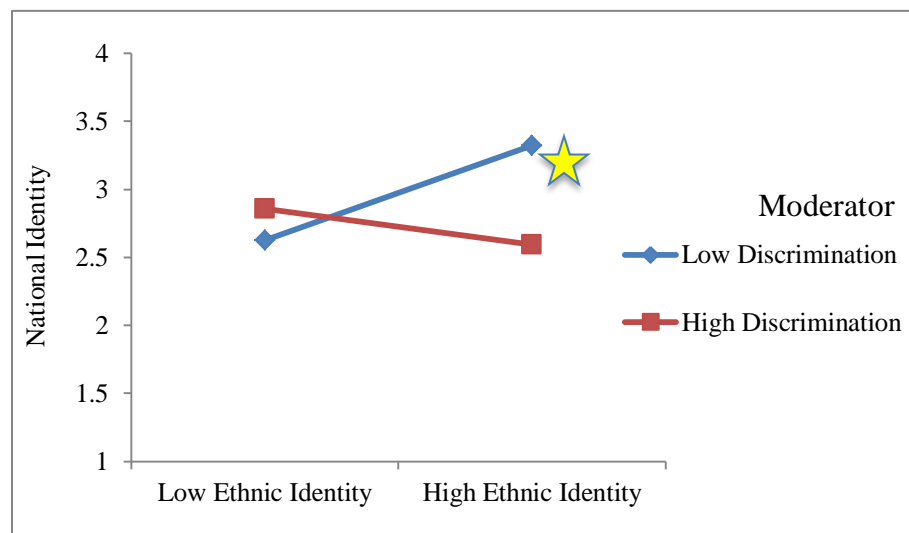
In the regression analyses for adolescents, main effects for age, family income, birthplace, and ethnic identity were found, indicating that older age, higher family income, being born in Canada, and higher levels of ethnic identity predicted national identity. Although no specific hypotheses for age or birthplace were made, the idea that a greater amount of Canadian experience is associated with stronger levels of national identity seems logical given that such individuals have had more time to develop a sense of belonging to Canadian society and may innately have a stronger sense of belonging to the country of their birth. No main effects for discrimination or gender were identified. None of the interactions tested in steps 3 (Discrimination X Ethnic Identity, Discrimination X Gender, Gender X Ethnic Identity) or 4 (Discrimination X Ethnic Identity X Gender) were significant.

Model 2: Time Two

At T2 for fathers, as shown in *Table 7*, discrimination significantly predicted lower levels of national identity. No main effect for ethnic identity was found. Interestingly, this is the opposite pattern from what emerged in T1, where only ethnic identity (and not discrimination) was found to have a main effect on national identity. The interaction of ethnic identity and discrimination was significant. This interaction is plotted in *Figure 5*. The interaction was probed at high and low levels of discrimination. Regression analyses revealed the same pattern of results found at T1. At low levels of

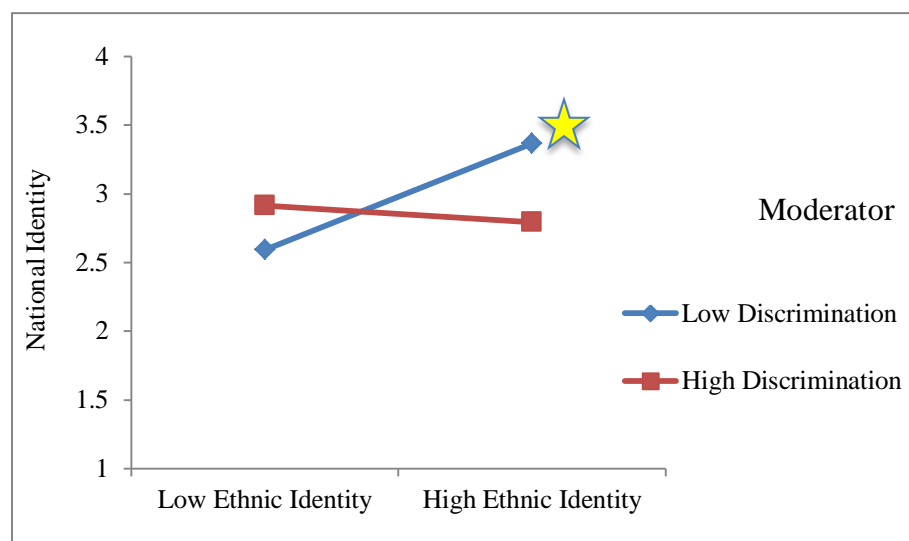
discrimination, ethnic identity was positively associated with national identity ($B=.35$, $t=2.49$, $p=.01$). At high levels of discrimination, the two identities were not significantly associated ($B=-.14$, $t=-.95$, $p=.34$).

Figure 5. Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Fathers at T2)



In contrast to the findings for fathers, for mothers a main effect was found for ethnic identity, but not for discrimination. This is a duplication of the pattern that was present for mothers at T1. Unlike at T1 however, the interaction of ethnic identity and discrimination was also significant for mothers at T2 (see *Table 7*). Probing the interaction at high and low levels of discrimination revealed that only the low discrimination slope was significant. Specifically, ethnic identity and national identity were positively associated under conditions of low discrimination ($B=.42$ $t=2.78$, $p=.01$), and were not significantly associated at high levels of discrimination ($B=-.03$, $t=-.03$, $p=.83$). This is the same pattern that was found for fathers at T1 and T2. This interaction is plotted in *Figure 6*.

Figure 6. Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Mothers at T2)



Finally, for adolescents, similar to the findings at T1, main effects for family income, birthplace, and ethnic identity were found, indicating that higher income, being born in Canada, and higher ethnic identity positively predicted national identity. Interestingly, at T2, a positive association between gender and T2 national identity approached significance, indicating that being female is associated with higher levels of national identity. There were no significant main effects for age or discrimination on national identity. The interaction of Discrimination X Ethnic Identity tested in step 3 was significant. At low levels of discrimination, higher levels of ethnic identity were associated with higher levels of national identity ($B=2.07$, $t=3.60$, $p<.001$). At high levels of discrimination, higher levels of ethnic identity were associated with lower levels of national identity ($B=-1.193$, $t=-2.10$, $p=.04$). These findings support hypotheses 6a and 6b, which posited that ethnic and national identity would be positively associated under

conditions of low discrimination and negatively associated under conditions of high discrimination. These significant slopes are plotted in *Figure 7*. The interaction of Gender X Ethnic Identity tested in step 3 was also significant. When probed for male and female participants separately, it was found that among males, ethnic and national identities were significantly positively associated ($B=.62, t=2.86, p=.005$), whereas among females, there was no significant association among the two identities ($B=.16, t=.75, p=.46$). This significant slope for adolescent males is depicted in *Figure 8*. The interaction of Discrimination X Gender in step 3 was not significant among adolescents, nor was the three-way interaction of Discrimination X Ethnic identity X Gender tested in step 4.

Figure 7. Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Predicting National Identity (For Adolescents at T2)

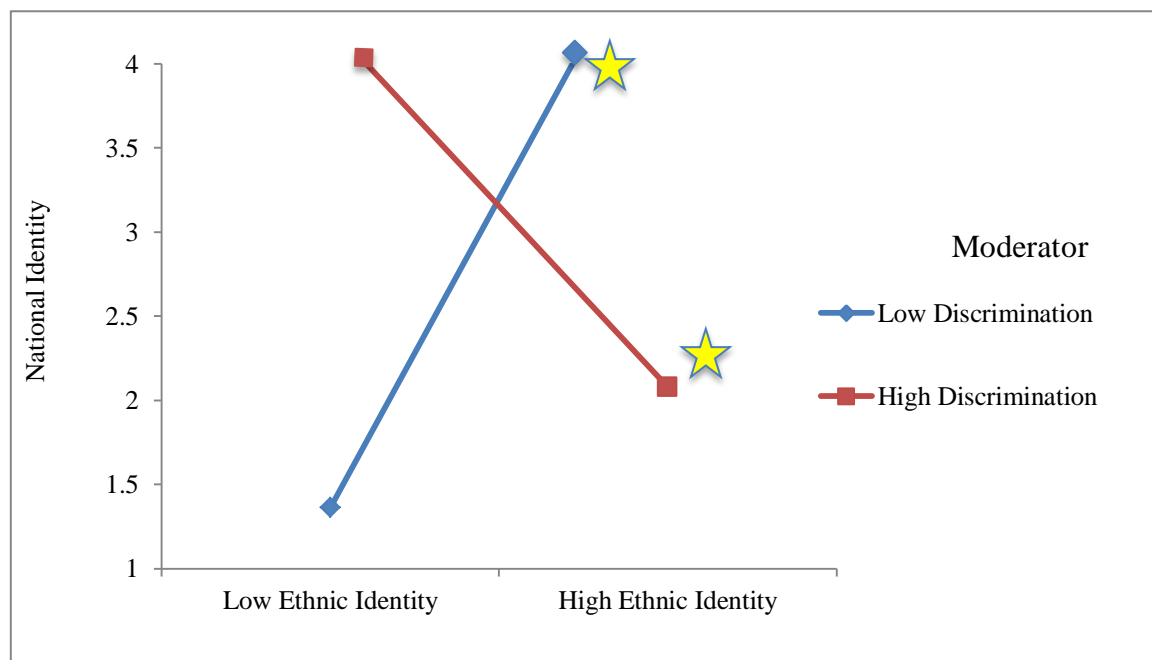
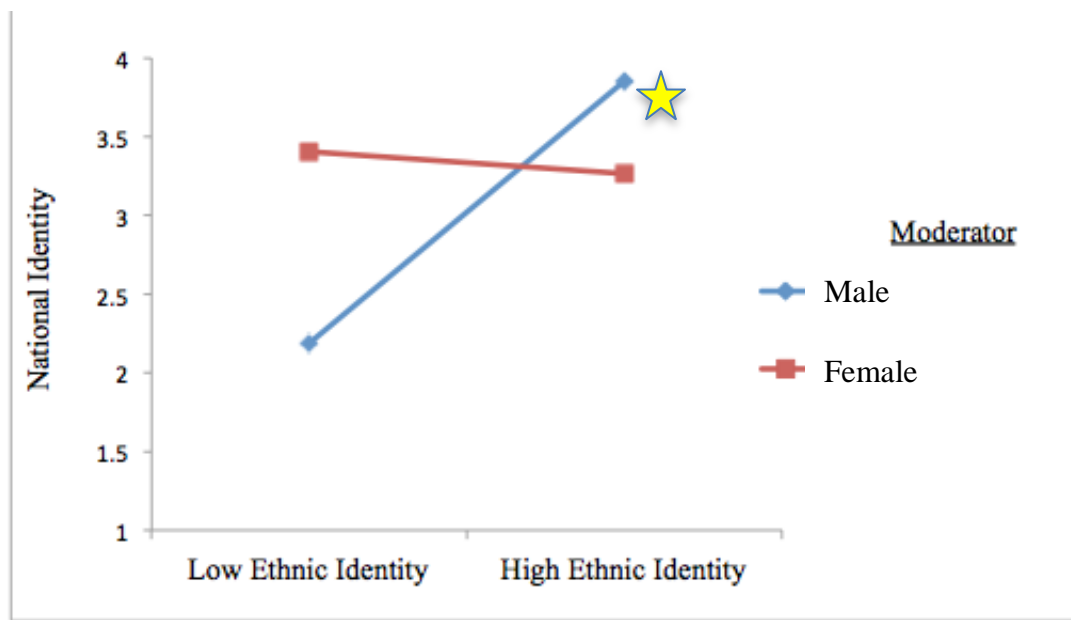


Figure 8. Interaction of Ethnic Identity and Gender Predicting National Identity (For Adolescents at T2)



In sum, there was no support for model 1 among fathers, mothers and adolescents in this sample. Discrimination was unrelated to ethnic identity change over time, and neither national identity, nor length of residence was found to act as a moderator of the discrimination ethnic-identity change relation. In contrast, Model 2 was supported, particularly at T2, where discrimination was found to moderate the relation between ethnic and national identities among the fathers, mothers, and adolescents in this sample.

Discussion

Using a multiple social identities framework, this thesis examined the relations among ethnic identity, national identity, and discrimination in Chinese immigrants to Canada during the developmental periods of adolescence and middle adulthood. Specifically two different models were tested to explore these relations among a sample

of Chinese immigrant families. Model 1 assessed the rejection-identification (RID) hypothesis originally put forward by Branscombe and colleagues (1999), which posits that experiences of discrimination will predict increases in ethnic group identification over time. Within this model length of residence for adults, birthplace for adolescents, and national identity for both adults and adolescents were assessed as moderators of the discrimination – ethnic identity change relation. In Model 2, the concurrent relations between ethnic and national identity at two different time points were investigated. Perceptions of discrimination were tested as a moderator of these identity relations. The findings for each of these models are discussed below within the context of previous theoretical and empirical work.

Rejection-Identification Hypothesis among Adults

Contrary to predictions, there was no support among parents for the rejection-identification hypothesis. In other words, experiences with discrimination did not predict an increase in feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging over time for mothers or fathers. Further, neither national identity nor length of residence was found to moderate this relation. A lack of support for the rejection-identification hypotheses among parents may be due to a variety of factors.

First, the levels of perceived discrimination in this sample were fairly low. As such, it is possible that discrimination experiences were not salient enough to warrant developing a coping mechanism such as increased ethnic identification. Another consideration is that the measurement of discrimination in this thesis was somewhat different from other key studies on rejection-identification. For example, in their seminal study, Branscombe and colleagues (1999) tested discrimination as the frequency of

making attributions to prejudice in attributionally ambiguous situations. This provides an assessment of one's predisposition to perceiving discrimination rather than of the frequency of perceptions of discrimination, as was measured in this study. Possibly these subtle differences in the constructs that were being tested may have contributed to lack of support for the RID model among parents in this sample.

Another possibility for the non-significant findings is that the rejection-identification hypothesis may not fit the coping processes of immigrants as well as it does those of ethnic minorities. Of note, this thesis is not the first to fail to find support for the rejection-identification model with immigrants. Mähönen and colleagues (2011) advanced several rationales for why the RID model was not endorsed among their sample of Russian immigrants to Finland; these may apply to this thesis as well. Mähönen and colleagues argued that increasing ethnic identification in response to discrimination may not be desirable under certain circumstances, such as if the prospect of social mobility is limited, or ongoing discrimination is expected. In these situations, enhanced ethnic identification may be viewed as a barrier to integration and success in Canadian society, and therefore not a viable coping mechanism. Further, ethnic identity levels in this study and in the Mähönen et al. (2011) study were initially fairly high. Given this strong base, a small increase in ethnic identification may not enhance coping abilities in response to discrimination in a meaningful way.

Accordingly, perhaps the desire to fit in with the majority culture is a more powerful factor for immigrant individuals in the midst of processes of acculturation than it is among ethnic minorities who have been socialized within the context of a majority culture throughout their lives. It is possible that coming of age in a race-based society

creates a more chronic and pressing need to cope with discrimination through increased ethnic identification. Among immigrant individuals who may be facing particular types of discrimination for the first time upon their arrival in Canada, enhanced ethnic identification may not be seen as a successful strategy for coping with experiences of discrimination. As such, perhaps rejection-identification best captures a process distinct to ethnic minority populations rather than immigrant populations. Assessment of the RID with Chinese Canadian (non-immigrant adults) could be useful to assess what aspects of the RID may be linked to Chinese cultural identity, and what aspects linked to being a member of a broader ethnic minority (Asian) vs. immigrant group.

Finally, it is possible that the RID model may not fit developmentally with coping processes used in middle adulthood. Given that the RID model has been predominantly tested with young adult samples, it is possible that in middle adulthood, where identity has traditionally been considered to be less dynamic, identity change is a less likely coping response to discrimination. Instead other coping strategies such as accessing family or community support may be used that are not captured in the constructs tested in this thesis.

The lack of support for the two proposed moderators of national identity and length of residence is further indication that the rejection-identification hypothesis did not match the immigrant experience in this sample. Even as immigrant adults' length of residence increased, and in some ways their day-to-day experiences in society may have become closer to those of ethnic minority individuals, there was still no support for the RID model. Similarly, regardless of the strength of national identity at T1, discrimination remained unrelated to change in ethnic identity over time. One interpretation of this

finding is that ethnic identity is not the best measure of the impact that perceptions of discrimination have on one's changing sense of self over time. Perhaps, among this sample, perceiving discrimination impacted aspects of the broader sense of the self not tied specifically to cultural identity, such as self-esteem, or other aspects of identity that were not measured here (e.g., occupational identity may be more directly impacted by discrimination in the workplace).

Discrimination and Identity among Adolescents

A major aim of this thesis was to investigate the nature of the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity affirmation, given the mixed findings about the characteristics of this relation in the literature. To review, previous literature has found that discrimination is unrelated to changes in ethnic identity affirmation over time during adolescence (Pahl & Way, 2006), that discrimination is negatively related to ethnic identity affirmation in adolescence (Romero & Roberts, 2003), and that the constructs are concurrently unrelated among adolescent girls and modestly negatively related for adolescent boys (Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2012). In the present study, adolescents' perceptions of discrimination at T1 were unrelated to changes in feelings of ethnic affirmation and belonging at T2, as tested in Model 1. Further, discrimination was unrelated to concurrent levels of ethnic identity affirmation at T1 and T2, as was tested in Model 2. Results remained the same when tested separately for girls and boys. The average levels of discrimination reported in this thesis and the three studies cited above were similar, suggesting that the different findings are not a function of different levels of discrimination. However, it is possible that differences in how perceptions of discrimination were operationalized may account for some of the discrepant findings. Of

note, the Romero and Roberts (2003) study, which found the strongest support for a negative relation between discrimination and ethnic identity affirmation among adolescents, measured discrimination in a different way than the other studies presented above. While all other studies, including this thesis, measured perceptions of discrimination by the frequency with which the discriminatory incidents have occurred, Romero and Roberts (2003) used a subscale of their sociocultural stress scale, which measured perceptions of discrimination on a 4 point scale from “not at all stressful” to “very stressful.” Therefore, perhaps the stronger tie between discrimination and ethnic identity affirmation in adolescence has to do with the level of *stress* a discriminatory event arouses in an individual, rather than the frequency with which such events occur. Further research that addresses multiple aspects of perceptions of discrimination (both frequency and perceived stress level) is warranted to further clarify this relation.

Relatedly, among adolescents support for the RID model was not found, meaning that discrimination did not predict change in ethnic identity. The relation between discrimination and ethnic identity change remained non-significant when the role of distinct socializations as an ethnic minority versus an immigrant were considered. This was done through testing birthplace as a moderator of the discrimination ethnic identity change relation. Lack of support for the RID model among these *immigrant adolescents* is in keeping with the results of previous research that has found that discrimination does not predict increased ethnic identification among *ethnic minority adolescents* of varying immigration histories (Derlan et al., 2013; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2012). These findings collectively suggest that developmental period may be a more important factor

than generational status in determining whether individuals enhance their sense of ethnic identity to cope with experiences of discrimination.

Findings Unique to Fathers

Decreases in Ethnic Identification Over Time

It was predicted within Model 1 that national identity at T1 would positively predict ethnic identity change. In contrast to this hypothesis, T1 national identity was associated with decreases in ethnic identity affirmation among fathers (the constructs were unrelated for mothers and adolescents). Though unexpected, this finding for fathers is in keeping with Amiot, de la Sabionnière, Terry, and Smith's (2007) four-stage model of social identity development and integration. Specifically, their proposed second stage is characterized by the advancement of one social identity above another. As such, adapting and acculturating into a national culture may result in a decrease in ethnic identity (Amiot et al., 2007). The fact that this process was evident among adult men and not women speaks to the potential increased incompatibility of a strong ethnic identity among Chinese immigrant male adults within the Canadian context. This potential ethnic identity incompatibility among Chinese men in particular may be influenced in part by how Asian men are devalued in Canadian society. As an example, the relegation of many Asian males, especially newer immigrants, to "feminized labor" (e.g., cooking, laundry, etc), the portrayal of Asian males in the media as effeminate, and the historical use of anti-miscegenation laws out of fear or disdain for Asian male sexuality, all exemplify a particular type of racism called *gendered racism* (Liang, Rivera, Nathwani, Dang, & Douroux, 2011). Gendered racism refers to the intersection of sexism and racism, a type of discriminatory experience which creates a stress different from that triggered by

experiencing sexism or racism in isolation (Liang et al., 2011). Some scholars argue that researching gender and race in parallel as two discrete social identities has led us to link psychological distress to threats to one identity or the other, and has kept researchers from understanding the true scope of the impact of discriminatory experiences upon the integrated social identities of Asian men (Liang et al., 2011). Given the very small body of work on gendered racism, further exploration of how discrimination simultaneously impacts multiple social identities, particularly ethnic and gender identity, is needed.

Rejection-Disidentification

Another central idea that was investigated in this thesis was rejection-disidentification, or the idea that experiences of discrimination may result in decreases in national identity. Correlational evidence for the rejection-disidentification model was found among fathers at T2 in Model 2. This is in line with the findings of previous research with immigrant adults (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Sears et al., 2003). One main question that emerges is why rejection-disidentification was found only among fathers and only at T2? One possibility is that higher average levels of discrimination for fathers at T2, compared to T1, were linked with a dis-identification coping reaction that was not fully necessary at T1 when levels of discrimination were slightly lower and individuals may have felt more able to maintain a Canadian identity despite perceiving some discrimination. With an increase in average discrimination levels at T2, decreasing national identification may have become more necessary in order to maintain a cohesive sense of self.

The fact that the rejection-disidentification model was only endorsed among fathers and not mothers may be indicative of the differential role discrimination plays in

identity affirmation among males. Some research with *adolescents* has found that discrimination is more tied to identity construction among males than females. For example, Umaña-Taylor and Guimond (2012), found among their sample of Latino adolescents that perceived discrimination was significantly linked with adolescent male ethnic identity exploration and affirmation, but was not significantly related to either dimension of ethnic identity among adolescent females. Perhaps a similar gender divide is also present in middle adulthood. This possibility remains somewhat unclear given the paucity of research on immigrant adult identity generally, and its relation with discrimination in particular. In keeping with the idea of gendered racism, for fathers, facing discrimination that devalued them as Chinese men may have also been more impactful than it was for mothers, if it devalued multiple key social identities. As such, a detachment from Canadian society via disengaging from one's feeling of national identity may have acted as a coping mechanism to keep intact one's sense of self not just as a Chinese individual, but specifically as a Chinese man.

Ethnic and National Identities in the Context of Discrimination

Another major aim of this thesis was to investigate the concurrent relations between ethnic and national identity affirmation, and how the relation between these two different identities may be impacted by varying levels of perceived discrimination. Findings indicated that ethnic and national identities were generally positively associated, as was the case among fathers, mothers and adolescents at T1, and among mothers and adolescents at T2. These findings are in line with previous literature that argues that group identification is generally viewed as a positive experience, which can enhance identity development in other areas (Fuller- Rowell, et al., 2013).

Importantly, discrimination was found to dampen the positive relation between ethnic and national identity, such that the two identities were only positively associated at low levels of discrimination among fathers (T1; T2), mothers (T2), and adolescents (T2). Applying a multiple social identity framework, this finding supports the conceptualization of social identities as dynamic and contextually dependent, changing in their relation to one another based on the pervasiveness of discrimination. The findings for adolescents at T2 -- at high levels of discrimination, ethnic and national identities were negatively related, and at low levels of discrimination they were positively related-- is in keeping with the idea that depending on the context, identities have the potential to be collaborative and cohesive or in conflict with one another (Brittian, 2012). This illustrates the importance of context in how multiple social identities are managed, and how these management strategies change over time.

Interestingly, unlike for adolescents (T2), at high levels of discrimination, ethnic and national identities were unrelated among fathers and mothers. The fact that high levels of discrimination were only found to polarize identities among adolescents may speak to a particular developmental challenge. Given that adolescents are still in the midst of identity development, they may have more difficulty maintaining multiple social identities than do their parents. Adolescents may not yet have developed the ability to compartmentalize different identities, which is one strategy for managing multiple social identities (Chen, 2009). Further, beyond differences in developmental stage, distinct migration histories between adolescents and adults may be at play. All of the adults in this sample grew up outside of Canada where they underwent processes of ethnic identity development within the ethnic majority culture. As such, their own ethnic identities may

be more solidified and less impacted by high levels of discrimination as compared to adolescents who are developing their ethnic and national identities simultaneously in response to active discrimination and ongoing socialization experiences in Canadian society.

Another explanation for this finding is the possibility that discrimination is more closely tied to identity during adolescence than middle adulthood, when bullying and the importance of peer acceptance are arguably at their prime. Bullying that is specific to one's ethnic background or cultural identity, known as *ethnic bullying* (McKenney, Pepler, Craig, & Connolly, 2006), may be of particular importance to one's sense of ethnic identity during adolescence. Research by Pepler, Connolly, and Craig (1999) has found that family immigration history is linked to experiences of ethno-racial bullying, such that high school students whose parents were born outside of Canada reported the highest levels of ethnic bullying compared to other ethnic minority adolescents, making adolescents of immigrant parents a particularly at-risk group for ethnic bullying. This increased risk for ethno-racial bullying might in turn shape an adolescent's developing sense of ethnic identity and impact the extent to which he or she can feel a sense of belonging within both ethnic and national cultures.

In terms of previous research, the specific role of high levels of discrimination in polarizing ethnic and national identities among adolescents is in line with the hypotheses (but not the findings) of Mähönen and colleagues' (2011) study of immigrant youth, which is the only other study to my knowledge to test a variation of this model in adolescence. These authors predicted that perceived discrimination and cultural discordance (perceived incompatibility of the ethnic and national cultures) would polarize

ethnic and national identifications, though only cultural discordance was found to be a significant moderator in their study.

The Roles of Gender and Age

On average, adolescent girls reported higher levels of ethnic identity affirmation (at T1) and national identity affirmation (at T2) than adolescent boys. Gender differences in ethnic and national identity affirmation were not found between adult mothers and fathers, suggesting that this gender difference in adolescence may be distinct to the developmental stage. It is possible, as some literature suggests, that girls experience more comprehensive ethnic identity growth during middle to late adolescence, than do adolescent males (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). Further, in Model 2 at T2, ethnic and national identities were positively related among adolescent males and unrelated among adolescent females, suggesting that these social identities may be more connected among males, an idea supported by the emerging body of work on gendered racism among Asian men. Interestingly, no significant differences between mothers and fathers or adolescent boys and girls were found for perceptions of discrimination. This is in contrast to previous research with Latino adolescents finding that boys perceive greater discrimination than girls (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2012).

These findings suggest that while differences in identity affirmation are present between the sexes in adolescence, these discrepancies largely disappear in middle adulthood. Yet, men showed unique discrimination-identity relations in middle adulthood that were not found among women, suggesting a tighter connection between discrimination and identity among men.

With regard to age, within the sample of adolescents, ethnic identity affirmation and perceptions of discrimination were both positively associated with age, suggesting that these experiences may become more relevant to adolescents in later adolescence compared to earlier adolescence. This is in keeping with a large number of studies conducted with ethnic minority individuals that speak to the salience of ethnic identity and discrimination in late adolescence and young adulthood (e.g., Fuller-Rowell et al., 2013; Greene et al., 2006).

Within the adult sample, age was not significantly related to discrimination or ethnic identity. However, age and national identity were positively associated among mothers. It is unclear whether this is indicative of a true relation between national identity and age, or whether this correlation is an artefact of the positive relation between national identity and length of residence found among the mothers and fathers in this sample, given that age and length of residence were found to be moderately correlated among adults.

In sum, while age was clearly linked to ethnic identity and experiences of discrimination among adolescents, no clear patterns for the relation between age and identity and discrimination were found among the adults in this sample. This suggests that compared to middle adulthood, age is a more significant factor during the adolescent developmental period in terms of how one makes sense of identity and perceives discrimination.

Contributions and Limitations of this Study

Overall, this study has contributed to the body of ethnic identity research working to move beyond ethnic minority college samples and into an exploration of how ethnic

identity is experienced in other developmental periods and within immigrant contexts. The use of longitudinal and cross-sectional data provides a deeper understanding of how discrimination and identities interact concurrently and over time. The focus in this study on national identity and its particular relations with ethnic identity and discrimination further contributes to our understanding of how discrimination impacts different aspects of identity and how multiple social identities are managed among immigrant populations throughout the life course.

The findings presented in this study should be considered alongside several limitations. First, the measurement of discrimination used in this study only addressed interpersonal levels of discrimination. The impact of institutional, cultural, and collective levels of discrimination on identity was not assessed, and thus the findings presented here only speak to the relations between ethnic and national identity affirmation and interpersonal discrimination.

Moreover, the measure of discrimination used in this thesis only asks one question about discrimination from friends, and does not inquire about other potential sources of discrimination. Some previous research with adolescents (e.g., Greene et al., 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006) has independently assessed the role of discrimination from peers versus adults, and found differential relations with ethnic identity. Future research which includes a more detailed analysis of the source of discrimination (e.g., peers, teachers, supervisors, members of the ethnic in-group vs. out-group) could help to further our understanding of whether these different sources of discrimination are uniquely related to identity affirmation.

Finally, as mentioned previously, the measure of discrimination used in this thesis does not tap into attributions to prejudice, which have been a focus of some previous research testing the RID model (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999). Conceptually distinct from perceptions of ethnic discrimination, attributions to prejudice refers to the likelihood that an individual will attribute a particular exchange or negative outcome to the stigma others hold against his or her broader social group (ethnic discrimination), as opposed to a particular trait or quality unique to the individual (personal discrimination without an ethnic component; Majors et al., 2003). The addition of this component to a discrimination measure would help to better illustrate what aspects of discrimination are most closely tied to ethnic identification.

A second limitation of this thesis is that the use of a sample of adolescents and their immigrant parents does not provide the same independence or randomness in sampling that would be achieved if the adolescent and immigrant adults were recruited separately and not as part of the same family unit. Given the related nature of the participants, there may be more commonalities among the adolescent and adult data than would be expected with a non-related sample. Further, while the present study makes a contribution to studying changes in ethnic identity over time, longitudinal research assessing more than two data points would allow for the detection of patterns in identity progression vs. regression over time, which were not possible in this thesis.

Additionally, the definition and assessment of ethnic and national identity affirmation could be enhanced through adding a qualitative component to future studies. Making such an addition could help ensure that the personal definitions that individuals have for ethnic and national identity affirmation are being adequately captured in the

quantitative data. In particular, the personal meaning of identity *affirmation*, or having positive feelings towards and a sense of belonging to one's ethnic or national group, may have great individual variability. For some people, belonging may be largely behavioral, indicated through active engagement with ethnic or national cultural activities or it might be achieved through passive engagement such as keeping up with the news and living life within a multicultural society. For others, the sense of belonging may be based on personal relationships, or more structurally on immigration milestones (e.g., obtaining Canadian citizenship).

Finally, the findings of this study may have limited generalizability to other ethnic groups and immigrant populations, given that these research questions were investigated with a Chinese Canadian immigrant population. The experience of ethnic and national identity within Canadian society might be quite different among immigrants who come from ethnic groups that do not have the same complex history or the same type of historical devaluing that the Chinese have endured in Canada. Immigrants who come from European countries more similar to Canada, or those who do not identify as visible ethnic minorities may not experience ethnic identity as distinctly. Further, Canadian census data indicates that certain ethnic and racial groups report a higher prevalence of discrimination than Chinese individuals. For example, the Ethnic Diversity Survey of 2002 found that 33% of Chinese and South Asian individuals compared with nearly 50% of Black individuals reported discrimination in the past five years (Statistics Canada, 2010). Differences in the prevalence of perceptions of discrimination may be linked to differential relations with ethnic and national identity than were found in this Chinese Canadian sample.

Future Directions

A number of directions for future research could be pursued. With regard to advancing the specific research question, the current model could be expanded to include correlates with mental health, psychological adjustment, and overall well-being, to which much of the discrimination-ethnic identity literature attends (e.g., Greene et al., 2006; Torres, Yznaga, & Moore, 2011; Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010), but which has not yet been fully addressed with national identity. Specifically, future research could investigate whether having polarized (negatively associated) vs. orthogonal ethnic and national identities under high levels of discrimination is associated differentially with psychological well-being. Further, expanding the multiple social identities framework to include an understanding of other salient social identities (e.g., religious identity, gender identity, occupational identity, etc.) may also be valuable in situating the relative salience of ethnic and national identities to immigrant individuals' sense of self at various points in the life course. This would also be valuable given that experiences of discrimination are not always targeted at one discrete aspect of a person's identity (i.e., just race or just gender) and may have a greater impact on one's social identities than any discrete incidents of pure sexism or racism (as is the case with *gendered racism*).

Future research could also investigate additional models for understanding the relation between discrimination and ethnic identity among immigrants of varying ages. One model that could be investigated is the construct activation model (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010; Major et al., 2003), which argues for an additional directional pathway

between ethnic identity and discrimination (high levels of ethnic identity predicting increased perceptions of discrimination *in attributionally ambiguous situations*). Testing this other model may be valuable in investigating whether support for the opposite directional pathway exists among immigrants in adolescence and middle adulthood, especially considering the lack of support for the RID model in this sample.

Additionally, further examination of identity construction and reconstruction processes among immigrant adults is needed. The concepts in the current thesis were built from the idea that despite the relatively stable period of identity development in middle adulthood discussed in some of the literature (e.g., Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006), immigration and acculturation processes can act as a catalyst for identity reconstruction (Torres et al., 2012). In this vein, additional exploration of what events in adults' lives generally (e.g., children leaving home, retirement, etc.) and in immigrant adults' lives specifically (e.g., cultural rites of passage, immigration of additional family members to the host country, etc.), might catalyze identity reconstruction processes would be valuable. Relatedly, there is a need for continued research that examines immigrant identities beyond the prime identity development years of adolescence and young adulthood. This thesis has looked only as far as middle adulthood. With the exception of a few studies (e.g., George & Fitzgerald, 2012; Shemirani & O'Connor, 2006) the cultural identities of aging immigrants are rarely studied.

Practice and Policy Implications

This thesis holds avenues for practical application with immigrant serving agencies and for clinical work. With regards to immigrant serving agencies, the findings of this thesis could be diffused into a few key takeaway points that could be incorporated

into trainings for settlement workers. Specifically, an outline for how discrimination may differentially impact identity processes among men and women could be valuable information for front line workers. In addition, an introduction to how experiences of discrimination may impact the feelings of belonging that immigrant youth feel to their heritage culture and Canadian society may be valuable. The findings from this thesis indicate that at high levels of discrimination, adolescents are not able to achieve a strong sense of belonging to both ethnic and national cultures simultaneously. In this sense, high levels of discrimination prevent adolescents from achieving a bicultural identity, an asset that has been linked to many aspects of positive development, including leadership and social responsibility among immigrant youth (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2014). Further, a lack of bicultural identity attainment may prevent youth from ever achieving a fluid sense of biculturalism, which meta-analytic findings support as being strongly linked to positive psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013).

In terms of settlement services provided to immigrant individuals, the introduction of conversation groups addressing how individuals deal with discrimination could be integrated into programming for immigrants of all ages. Specifically, targeted groups addressing how individuals cope with experiences of discrimination could be implemented in adolescence, concurrent with the major process of identity development, and again as part of settlement support services for adult immigrants who have recently arrived in Canada and are potentially in the midst of identity reconstruction processes. Such groups could focus on how discrimination impacts individuals' sense of belonging and proactively work to enhance opportunities for achieving a sense of belonging or

leadership in Canadian society and within ethnic cultures to counteract the negative effects of ongoing discrimination.

In terms of clinical applications, the results of this thesis suggest that adopting a multiple social identities framework may be valuable in understanding the role that different social group memberships contribute to one's sense of self, as well as one's sense of belonging and acceptance. Most specifically this framework may be beneficially applied to case conceptualizations for ethnic minority and immigrant clients. Situating the relative salience of ethnic and national identities in reference to one's sense of self and attending to the dynamic nature of these identities in response to experiences of discrimination may allow clinicians to better understand the personalization of experiences of discrimination and their direct linkage with identity. Given the unique findings for the fathers in this sample, particular consideration of how sex and gender identities are related to ethnic and national affirmation may be particularly important when working with immigrant Asian men. This framework would also be valuable to use in thinking about how to address perceptions of discrimination, prejudice, or injustice should they arise during the course of therapy.

With regards to policy implications, the findings of this thesis indicate that discrimination thwarts bicultural identity attainment throughout the life course and accordingly prevents immigrant individuals from achieving a cohesive sense of belonging in Canadian society. Experiences of discrimination negatively impact immigrant individuals' identity development during adolescence, when bullying is at its prime. In middle adulthood these experiences may continue to have a destructive impact on maintaining a positive ethnic and national identity. Efforts to address discrimination are

needed at federal and local levels in order to help the next generation of Canadians preserve an integrated sense of self and achieve a sense of belonging in their adopted homeland. Specifically, more coordinated efforts in executing the federal initiative CAPAR (Canada's Action Plan Against Racism), as have been outlined in prior evaluations of this plan (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada Evaluation Division, 2010) that target more streamlined governance of and increased cohesion among individual anti-racism initiatives may increase the reach of such federally funded efforts. Furthermore, at the federal level, amendments to the Canadian Human Rights Act to include language as a basis for discrimination in all provinces would draw a higher accountability towards regulating anti-discriminatory practices, particularly against immigrant individuals who may largely communicate within Canadian society in a language other than their mother tongue. At local levels, citizens and leaders in immigrant communities can continue to undertake efforts to bring awareness to issues of discrimination in their communities and can support cultural celebrations and education initiatives that provide opportunities for immigrant individuals to share with Canadians what their cultures have to offer.

Conclusion

Overall the findings of this thesis speak to the need for continued research on the discrimination and identity experiences of *immigrant* individuals. Immigrant and ethnic minority individuals may use divergent coping processes to deal with discrimination, as might be suggested through the lack of support for the rejection-identification model with the immigrant adults in this study. Patterns unique to adolescence that emerged in this study, such as the polarization of ethnic and national identities at high levels of

discrimination, indicate that managing multiple social identities is a dynamic process, the strategies for which likely shift and adapt throughout the life course. Continued research exploring the relations between multiple social identities and their relation with discrimination is needed in developmental periods not yet studied with the same rigor as adolescence and young adulthood. Furthermore, this study found a number of patterns unique to fathers, suggesting that the experiences of discrimination among immigrant individuals may vary greatly by sex. In the future, research that can attend to multiple affronts of discrimination, (such as gendered racism), will be essential to truly understanding these experiences and their impact on an individual's sense of identity. Finally, this study has found that even infrequent experiences of discrimination are harmful to bicultural identity maintenance. Among adolescent and adult participants discrimination dampened the positive relations between ethnic and national identity, despite the relatively low levels of discrimination reported in this sample. Initiatives focused on fostering a greater sense of belonging in Canadian society are essential to combat these affronts and strengthen the feelings of affirmation and belonging new Canadians have towards both their ethnic and national cultures.

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Appendix A: Demographic Information

1. Age _____
2. Date of Birth: Month_____/Day_____/Year_____
3. Your marital status is...
 - Married/commonlaw – married how long? _____ years
 - Divorced and currently single – single how long? _____ years
 - Divorced and currently remarried – remarried how long? _____ years
 - Other (Please explain _____)
4. How would you describe your ethnic background?

5. Do you or your spouse maintain a home or employment outside of Canada?
 _____ I do _____ my spouse does _____ neither (we both live in Canada full time)
6. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (check one)
 - _____ Elementary (Grade 6)
 - _____ Junior High (Grade 8)
 - _____ High school (Grade 12)
 - _____ Vocational school or college
 - _____ 4-year University
 - _____ Graduate/ Professional
7. Are you currently employed? No _____ Yes _____
8. What is your current occupation?_____
9. If you are currently unemployed, would you consider yourself
 - _____ unemployed and looking for work
 - _____ not employed by choice (homemaker, raising children, do not need income, etc.)
10. In a typical week,
 - how many hours do *you* spend in paid employment? _____ hours
 - how many hours does your *spouse* spend in paid employment? _____ hours
11. Current yearly *family* income
 - _____ below \$10,000 _____ \$10,000-\$25,000 _____ \$25,000-\$40,000

____ \$40,000-\$50,000 ____ \$50,000-\$75,000 ____ \$75,000-\$100,000
____ \$100,000 +

Immigration History

1. When did you immigrate to Canada? Year _____ Month _____
2. Where did you emigrate from? Mainland China _____ Taiwan _____ Hong Kong _____
3. What is the name of the city or region that you emigrated from?

4. Was the region you emigrated from: Urban _____ Rural _____
5. What is your immigration class?
____ family class
____ independent class
____ business class
____ refugee class
6. Did you and your spouse immigrate to Canada at the same time? Yes _____ No _____

Appendix B: Perceived Discrimination Scale

In general, how often do you experience the following?

	Never	Rarely	Some- times	Often	Very often
1. How often do people dislike you because of your ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
2. How often are you treated unfairly because of your ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
3. How often have you seen friends treated badly because of their ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C: Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or *ethnic* groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Chinese, Indo-Canadian, First Nations, and White. People differ in how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
4. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4
6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	1	2	3	4
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.	1	2	3	4
8. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4
9. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
10. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	1	2	3	4
11. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
12. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
13. I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4
14. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music or customs.	1	2	3	4
15. I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4
16. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
17. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4

18. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	1	2	3	4
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Appendix D: Canadian Identity Measure

These questions are about the Canadian group and how you feel about it or react to it.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I have spent time trying to find out more about Canada, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly Canadians.	1	2	3	4
3. I have a clear sense of my Canadian background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by being Canadian.	1	2	3	4
5. I am happy that I am a Canadian.	1	2	3	4
6. I have a strong sense of belonging to the Canadian group.	1	2	3	4
7. I understand pretty well what being Canadian means to me.	1	2	3	4
8. In order to learn more about my Canadian background, I have often talked to other people about the Canadian group.	1	2	3	4
9. I have a lot of pride in Canadians.	1	2	3	4
10. I participate in Canadian cultural practices, such as special food, music or customs.	1	2	3	4
11. I feel a strong attachment towards Canada.	1	2	3	4
12. I feel good about my Canadian cultural background.	1	2	3	4