Discrimination, Identity, and Psychological Distress: An Investigation of Adult Immigrants' Social Identity Management in Identity Threatening Contexts

by

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B.A., Macalester College, 2010

M.Sc., University of Victoria, 2015

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Abstract

Rooted in adult identity development and social identity theories, this dissertation investigated the experiences of discrimination, ethnic and national identity, and psychological distress amongst immigrant adults (ages 40-64) in Canada. A mixed methodological approach was used to quantitatively investigate the links among discrimination, ethnic identity, and psychological distress as well as the links between social identity and identity management strategies. Open-ended questions and thematic analysis were used to identify the ways in which discrimination affects participants' sense of belonging and connection to their ethnic group and Canadian society. The findings of this dissertation highlight the major protective function of (ethnic and national) identity affirmation, both in buffering discrimination-related stress and guiding the selection of adaptive identity management strategies. Equally, the qualitative work provides insight into the myriad of ways that individuals protect their sense of self when faced with discrimination. A major contribution of this work is an evaluation of the applicability of existing identity theories to adults in midlife and the integration of a number of disparate areas of identity theory. Clinical and policy implications as well as future directions for research are discussed.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my father, Hamouche Taknint, whose rich descriptions of his experiences as an indigenous Algerian (Amazigh) immigrant to France in childhood and to the United States in adulthood catalyzed my initial interests in the complexity of navigating multiple cultural identities.

Major Research Questions

This dissertation addresses three key research questions: First, what are the roles of discrimination and ethnic identity in predicting psychological distress? Second, how does the strength of one's ethnic and national identity inform the specific strategies that are employed to protect one's sense of self when experiencing discrimination? This question attends specifically to the investigation of the roles of ethnic and national identity in the selection of identity management strategies as conceptualized through the perspectives of social identity management theory and biculturalism theory. Third, how do people naturally manage their social identities when these identities are threatened (i.e., within the context of discrimination)? In other words, what strategies are naturally employed and to what extent do these map onto the strategies outlined through the social identity management and biculturalism perspectives?

Overview of Key Constructs

Discrimination

Ethnic/racial discrimination is defined as targeted and unjust treatment based on race or ethnicity (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). Ethnic/racial discrimination is often conceptualized, measured, and thus researched on a person-to-person interaction level. Importantly though, discrimination also occurs on institutional, cultural, and collective levels. Institutional discrimination is apparent through the high rates of ethnic minorities and immigrants who are unemployed (Yssaad & Fields, 2018) and socially segregated. Cultural discrimination is manifested in the expression of beliefs that the ways of life of a minority group are inferior to those of the majority culture. Collective discrimination includes group efforts by the majority group to restrict the rights of a minority group. These dimensions of discrimination can all have a significant impact on an individual. For example, institutional discrimination may present barriers to accessing higher education or promotion, cultural discrimination may stigmatize cultural differences in expression (i.e., Eurocentric preference for written vs. oral history; Scott, 2007), and collective discrimination may oppress the freedom and autonomy of a minority group (i.e., imposing strict voter ID laws that disproportionately affect voting turn out from communities of color).

Identity

Identity consists of both personal components (e.g., personality, individual characteristics) and social components (e.g., important social group memberships). Personal identity has long been the focus of identity theorists such as Erickson and

Marcia. Social identity looks at the definition of the individual through their affiliation with key social group memberships. As Brewer (2001) states, social identities are "…categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept" (p. 246). As individuals, we can all hold multiple meaningful social identities, which complement our personal identity. Jones and McEwan depict this complementary nature of personal and social identities nicely in their 2000 model of multiple social identities. In this model, a personal core—consisting of personal identity, attributes, and characteristics—remains central across time, whereas 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). Personal and social identities are both key to the study of identity as a whole, but have often been researched separately. This study brings these two bodies of research together to better understand the developmental processes of identity development in middle adulthood and the role of two key social identities—ethnic and national identity—in the lives of immigrants.

In the sections that follow relevant literatures on identity development (i.e., personal identity development, racial/ethnic identity development, identity development across adulthood) will be reviewed. Additionally, research exploring the relations among discrimination, ethnic identity and national identity; discrimination, health, and well being; and group identification, discrimination, and health is discussed. Finally, identity management through the social psychology perspective of social identity management theories and through the lens of biculturalism literature is overviewed.

Personal Identity Development

While adolescence has been characterized as the key developmental period for identity formation, continued identity development throughout middle adulthood has been a longstanding part of identity discourse. Erickson viewed identity development in adulthood as determined in part by the environment of adult life. Specifically, he identified that significant life events of adulthood may prompt a "reconsideration of identity defining values and commitments" (Kroger, 2015). Erickson's key identity contributions are seen in contemporary identity theories of adult personal identity, which are discussed here. Additionally, his conceptualization of exploration and commitment components of identity has clearly been carried forward to *ethnic* identity research, which is discussed in subsequent sections of this introduction.

Through his research conducting semi-structured identity interviews with adolescents, Marcia expanded upon Erickson's conceptualization of identity exploration and commitment to develop the identity status model. In this model, Marcia outlined four identity statuses that characterize the state of adolescent psychological identity development: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement. Diffusion refers to an identity that is unexplored and lacking in commitment. The individual is not sure of what their identity choices are and is uncommitted to an identity. Foreclosure indicates that an individual has made some identity commitments, but has not fully explored the range of identity options. In adolescence this can be seen, for example, in teens who commit to the identity values of their parents, without having yet explored potential alternative identity options. Moratorium refers to a period of active identity exploration, where commitment has not yet occurred. Achievement is the culmination of the identity exploration and commitment process, where identity options have been fully explored and a commitment has been made.

Although this identity status model was based on Marcia's research with adolescents in the midst of the identity cohesion vs. role confusion psychosocial stage, he also believed that identity change could occur during subsequent psychosocial stages (Kroger, 2015). Marcia theorized that after the initial identity formation period, further identity development is catalyzed by "disequilibrations of existing identity structures." In essence, as an individual enters new life phases (i.e., parenthood, career change, retirement) and new identity demands occur, identity can be reconstructed to be responsive to the specific "demands and rewards of each developmental era" (Marcia, 2002). In fact, Marcia's iterative model of identity reconstruction posits that identity may be reformulated three or more times after adolescence, based upon the number of "identity-disequilibrating events" and individual experiences (e.g., change in romantic partnership, work transition, immigration).

Marcia further argued that *the ways* in which identity change occurs in response to dis-equilibration depends on the current identity status of the individual. When faced with dis-equilibration, *identity achieved* adults may experience what Stephen and colleagues first termed *MAMA Cycles* (moratorium-achievement-moratorium-achievement; Stephen, Fraser, Marcia, 1992), where they consider new identity options (moratorium) and subsequently engage in a process of thoughtful identity re-commitment. As an individual engages in this iterative process of identity search and commitment in response to life events, there is a broadening and deepening of the overall identity, as identities expand to include new experiences (Marcia, 2002). By contrast, individuals who face dis-equilibrating events from a foreclosed or diffuse identity status do not experience this depth and richness of identity. Adults in those statuses may strongly resist dis-equilibrating events and experience these events as shattering (i.e., unable to move forward from a job or relationship loss), thus preventing an opportunity for further growth (Kroger, 2015).

Moving forward from Marcia and Erickson, another conceptualization of adult identity development can be found in the world of social cognitive identity development models. Whitbourne and colleagues' *identity process theory* was developed from Piaget's theory of assimilation. According to this theory, when facing a life event, some individuals may engage in assimilation strategies, or approach new experiences in a fixed and rigid way that involves seeking information consistent with one's current positive identity schema. Alternatively, individuals may engage in accommodation strategies (i.e., change part of one's identity in response to an experience, triggering potential identity instability or incoherence). The identity process theory believes "the individual strives to reach a state of identity equilibrium or balance" (Kroger, 2015, p. 69), which is achieved through using accommodation strategies when needed, while still maintaining a stable sense of self (Whitbourne, Sneed, & Skultety, 2002). Although identity balance or equilibrium (the flexible use of both accommodation and assimilation strategies) is the goal, research has found assimilation strategies in some circumstances and accommodation strategies in others may yield more favorable outcomes. For example, research assessing individual functioning within the context of aging among women (ages 40-65) found that use of identity assimilation strategies in some domains of functioning, such as appearance and cognition, had the strongest links with self-esteem (Skultety & Whitbourne, 2004). Through using assimilation strategies in these contexts, women were able to discount or minimize experiences that called attention to negative changes in appearance and cognition. This, in turn, preserved self-esteem.

In addition to Whitbourne, Berzonsky also presented a social-cognitive model of identity reformulation throughout the lifespan. Berzonsky conceptualizes identity as “an implicit theory of oneself” (Kroger, 2015), guiding thoughts about who one is and what one wants. Berzonsky has re-conceptualized Marcia’s identity statuses as descriptors of identity styles rather than as a spectrum of identity development processes. He outlines three identity styles: informational processing style, normative-avoidant processing style, and diffuse-avoidant processing style. Berzonsky describes *informational processing style* as being open to new experiences and incorporating new information into decision making. The information processing style is typical of those individuals representing Marcia’s achieved and moratorium identity statuses (Kroger, 2015). Individuals with a *normative-avoidant* style, by contrast, tend to defer to the beliefs of their key reference groups. They follow these norms without question, and thus have a tendency to discount information that doesn’t fit with their belief system. This style maps onto Marcia's foreclosure identity status. Individuals with a *diffuse-avoidant* style tend to disengage from identity related decisions entirely, and rather than operating as an actor, rely upon life events to define their identity. This style is related to the identity diffusion status. Interestingly, individuals do have the ability to change identity style throughout their life course. As on example, longitudinal research with adolescents has demonstrated increased uptake of the informational processing style over the adolescent years (Berzonsky, 2011).

Moving from theory to empirical work, much identity research in adulthood has assessed longitudinal identity development along Marcia and Erickson's theoretical frameworks. As a whole, this work describes a movement in which adults generally shift towards a process of identity achievement with increased age (Fadjukoff, Kokko, & Pulkkinen, 2010). This pattern is largely consistent cross-culturally. For example, a trend toward identity achievement was evident in longitudinal research with Finnish adults investigating patterns of identity status change from ages 27 to 50 (Fadjukoff, Pulkkinen, & Kokko, 2016). Similarly, research looking at identity status differences among different age groups in Trinidad found that identity achievement characterized middle adulthood, whereas moratorium and diffusion identity statuses were more common amongst emerging and young adult groups (Arneaud, Alea, & Espinet, 2016). Additionally, a decrease in identity exploration with increased age (from ages 23 to 31) was evidenced in research with Japanese adults (Shirai, Namakura, & Katsuma, 2016). This is consistent with research that finds that identity exploration is most typical earlier in life and during unstable life circumstances (Fadjukoff & Kroger, 2016) before increased identity commitment, and in turn achievement, emerges in mid-adulthood.

In addition to this general pattern towards identity achievement, longitudinal investigation of specific developmental patterns within identity domains provides insight into discrete identity trajectories in adulthood. For example, Pulkkinen and Kokko (2000) conducted a longitudinal assessment of adult identity formation at ages 27, 36, and 42 using Marcia's identity status interview, which covers identity domains of religious beliefs, political identity, career, intimate relationships, and lifestyle. In this research, they found that work and family were identified as the most salient domains for middle aged adults. Generally, participants moved from a trajectory of identity diffusion to achievement within these domains over time. Identity exploration within these domains was the most frequent process at the first age point and became less frequent at later time points. Alongside this decrease in identity search, an increase in identity commitment was found to occur between ages 27 to 36, with little further growth from ages 36 to 42 (Pulkkinen & Kokko, 2000). This research indicates that the salience of discrete identity domains may change throughout developmental periods. Identity search within the domains that are most salient in middle adulthood peak in young adulthood, and taper off with increased age. Commonly, a movement toward achievement within the salient identity domains of middle adulthood (i.e., work and family) is seen in that developmental period.

Racial/Ethnic Identity Development

Ethnic Identity Development

Like personal identity, ethnic identity has benefited from robust research over the years. A large body of ethnic identity research developed from Phinney's 1989 ethnic identity framework, which adapted Marcia's identity status model (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, achievement) to the context of ethnic identity. Within this framework, Phinney discussed ethnic identity along the dimensions of exploration and commitment, with ethnic identity exploration referring to the *cognitive* task of learning about one's ethnic background, and ethnic identity commitment referring to the *affective* process of developing a sense of belonging and closeness to one's ethnic group. In the literature, commitment is also referred to as ethnic affirmation, and is measured through constructs like ethnic group affirmation (sense of commitment and belonging to one's ethnic group) and ethnic private regard (positive evaluations of one's ethnic group). Within an ethnic identity context, identity achievement, often referred to as ethnic identity resolution, takes place when a personal understanding of one's ethnicity and the role it plays in one's life is realized (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedijan, & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004). In other words, ethnic identity resolution occurs when exploration and commitment are completed, as is the case in Marcia's model of personal identity development.

Within a developmental context, a substantial body of literature has documented the process of ethnic identity development, particularly through adolescence and young adulthood. Similar to the findings for personal identity development in adulthood, longitudinal research generally supports ethnic identity progression: movement from unexamined forms of ethnic identity (i.e., foreclosed and diffused statuses) toward ethnic identity exploration and eventual identity achievement over the course of adolescence (Quintana, 2007). Importantly, within this general pattern, research supports that processes of exploration and commitment do not always work in tandem. For example, in their research with adolescents, Pahl and Way (2006) found that while ethnic identity exploration peaked in early to mid-adolescence, there was no consistent growth pattern for ethnic identity affirmation during the same period. Unfortunately, this type of nuanced investigation of ethnic identity development has been primarily researched with adolescent and young adult populations, precluding a clear understanding of how exploration and commitment may change over the course of adulthood. This may be in part because, within the world of ethnic identity research, adulthood is conceptualized as a time when ethnic identity gains greater stability and achievement. Indeed, empirical work supports the notion that adults are more likely to have searched for and committed to an ethnic identity than adolescents. For example, research 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. Nonetheless, theoretical models of racial identity development provide some insight into how ethnic identity development processes are not static and indeed continue to unfold in adulthood.

Adult Ethnic Identity Development

William Cross' seminal *Nigrescence* model of Black identity development, first developed in 1971, highlights important parallels between the personal identity development processes of adulthood discussed previously and the theoretical and empirical research on adult ethnic/racial identity development. Cross' *Nigrescence* model has influenced the development of many pan-ethnic and ethnic group specific identity development models. Cross' model was originally designed for use with adults, and later extended by Phinney for use in adolescence (Cross, 1995), making it a good model of comparison for our focus on adult identity development. *Nigrescence* is conceptualized as a "resocializing experience: the transformation of a preexisting identity (non-Afrocentric) to an Afrocentric identity" (Cross, 1995, p.93). Cross' updated 1995 model, which is often referred to in the research, includes five sequential stages: *pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization*, and *internalization-commitment.* These stages are briefly outlined here for comparison with the previously discussed personal identity theories.

In the pre-encounter stage racial identity holds low salience. Social stigma carries great weight in this stage, and race is given meaning as it applies to social discrimination. During pre-encounter, race can be viewed as an imposition. The feeling that one must defend oneself against social stigma is reactionary, but not supported by concrete knowledge of Black history or culture (Cross, 1995). Also salient at this stage is the preference for a Eurocentric perspective, as there is not yet knowledge of an Afrocentric perspective. The pre-encounter identity serves the individual throughout childhood, adolescence, and into early adulthood (Cross, 1995). In Erickson's terms, this could be thought of as an unexplored identity, and would parallel the experience of individuals prior to entering the identity cohesion vs. role confusion psychosocial stage. The pre-encounter identity filters incoming experiences so that information "fits" into the individual's current understanding of herself and the world in which she lives (Cross, 1995). Essentially this filter parallels the Piagetian concept of assimilation as applied by Whitbourne and colleagues to a social cognitive perspective on identity development.

The second stage of "the encounter," sometimes a single event of racial discrimination, but often the cumulative effect of a series of small eye-opening experiences, pushes the individual towards the path of Nigrescence (Cross, 1995). The encounter, by its nature, is powerful enough to overtake the pre-encounter identity, which defends against identity change (Cross, 1995). An encounter can be either positive (exposure to a profound African-American studies course) or negative (cumulative effect of frequent experiences of racial discrimination). Cross' development of this key idea of an encounter as a trigger for identity change was later echoed by Marcia through his application of the Piagetian concept of dis-equilibration as a catalyst for identity reformulation in adulthood.

The third stage of Nigrescence—Immersion-Emersion—is the crux of the identity transition. At the immersion step, the individual immerses himself into what he believes Black identity to be. Within immersion a dichotomized, quite literally Black and White worldview prevails, where all Black things are good and all White things are evil. Fixation in immersion produces a pseudo-Black identity where the focus is on hating white people rather than developing a healthy pro-Black perspective (Cross, 1995). In emersion, an individual transitions and looks towards developing a more integrated, and sustainable Black identity. The volatility of the immersion stage however, can cause some individuals to regress to their pre-encounter identity (diffusion in Marcia's terms), fixate at the immersion stage, or become overwhelmed to the point that they drop out of the *Nigrescence* cycle entirely (Cross, 1995), which Berzonsky may characterize as adopting a diffuse-avoidant processing style.

At the fourth stage—Internalization—an integrated identity is developed and "evidences itself in naturalistic ways in the everyday psychology of the person" (Cross, 1995, p.113). High salience is given to being Black. At this stage, the internalized identity serves protective functions for the individual. The internalized identity buffers psychological insults, provides a sense of grounding and belonging, and creates a framework through which to approach transactions with the outer world (Cross, 1995). At internalization, the Black identity is integrated with other roles and identities, which may or may not attend particularly to race (Cross, 1995). This stage of *Nigrescence* in Ericksonian terms depicts an explored and committed identity, and in Marcia's framework, an achieved identity. The fifth stage of internalization-commitment, is quite similar to stage four, but includes the additional involvement and commitment to activities that promote the internalized Black identity.

Cross argued that the experience of ethnic identity is a function of the individual's context. Thus, new "encounters" throughout the lifespan spur re-cycling through the *Nigrescenc*e process. Building upon Cross' work, Parham (1989) outlined more specific patterns of Black identity development across the lifespan, thus extending Cross' original *Nigrescence* model to be responsive to the developmental tasks of various psychosocial life stages. Parham argued that in contrast to the initial racial identity development period of young adulthood, "encounters" in middle adulthood are likely to carry greater emotional intensity as middle adults have greater responsibilities to family, work, and community. As a result, during the immersion-emersion phase of *Nigrescence,* although middle adults may experience the same anger or frustration as younger individuals, their experience of immersion-emersion may be quieter as they feel they must not act in a way that would interfere with their ability to execute their responsibilities. For example, Parham argues that middle adults are more likely to display their Blackness through institutional involvement (i.e., joining Black organizations, avoiding social gatherings when other Black people are not in attendance, adding Black cultural experiences to their children's educations) as opposed to the more vocal identity exploration activities of young adulthood. While Parham proposes qualitative differences in the behaviors linked to different developmental occurrences of the *Nigrescence* cycle, he sees the cycle as recurrent throughout development, similar to Marcia and Erickson's views on identity development processes.

Moreover, Parham proposes three patterns of Black identity development: *Stagnation*, *Stagewise linear progression*, and *Recycling*, which occur within the Nigrescence cycle. *Stagnation*, as Parham describes, involves a fixed racial identity, thought to be non-self actualized, as new experiences are not integrated into the racial identity. In description, stagnation shares features with Marcia's diffuse and foreclosed identity statuses and suggests a problematic absence of Whitbourne's accommodation identity strategies. *Stagewise linear progression*, according to Parham, involves one passage through the *Nigrescence* cycle, which concludes once the stage of internalization is achieved the first time. This suggests that although the end result may be compared to Erickson's identity achievement, there is a closed door to subsequent racial identity development in later developmental periods. Finally, Parham discusses *recycling* as movement through the *Nigresence* stages throughout life in response to new encounters. Marcia's description of "disequilibrating" events as a catalyst for identity reformation maps onto Parham's conceptualization of recycling. Individuals who engage in the recycling pattern seem, from Parham's description, to develop the level of identity depth and richness discussed in Stephen and colleagues' description of moratorium-achievement-moratorium-achievement (MAMA) cycling individuals.

Since Parham's work extending the *Nigrescence* cycle across the lifespan, Cross and Parham's conceptualizations have been assessed empirically through work using the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokely, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). Since development in 2001, the scale has been used to assess racial identity development with adolescents (i.e., Worrell, Andretta, & Woodland, 2014), college students (i.e., Worrell, Mendoza-Denton, Telesford, Simmons, & Martin, 2011) and adults (i.e., Worrell, Vandiver, Cross Jr., & Fhagen-Smith, 2004). In his study assessing *Nigrescence* attitudes in the three developmental periods of adolescence, emerging adulthood, and adulthood, Worrell (2008) found that the CRIS measured the same constructs across the three developmental periods. Further, there were minimal differences between the three age groups in terms of the patterns of racial identity attitudes that emerged among participants, indicating the salience of ongoing racial identity development across the lifespan.

Application to the Immigrant Context

Importantly, Parham's description of the role of the racial encounter in prompting adult identity development has clear applications to an immigrant context. In his 1989 paper, Parham writes, "It is important to remember that despite the bicultural existence some Blacks experience, many Black Americans grow up in communities where family, friends, acquaintances, and most strangers are all Black. For many of them, Blackness (racial identity) is not something they think about constantly or struggle with. It (Blackness) is something they simply are. As such, it is conceivable that their racial identity attitudes (pre-encounter) are characterized by a lack of awareness or seen as a sense of ambivalence with regard to race. *These individuals may never think about being Black until confronted with an encounter experience*" (p. 213). Immigrant individuals who come from mono-ethnic cultural backgrounds may experience a parallel process upon immigration to a multicultural and race-based hierarchical society, like Canada. Experiencing life, perhaps for the first time, as a person from a minority background, immigration may uniquely act as an encounter that can trigger a new identity reformulation period. In further contextualizing the role of "the encounter," Torres and colleagues identify three particular categories of encounters that catalyzed identity search among their research with Latino individuals between the ages of 20 to 58. These included: changes in life circumstances, changes in environment, and internal changes (Torres et al., 2012). Clearly, all three of these circumstances are central to the immigrant experience, suggesting that most immigrants who are navigating a new country in a new language, potentially in a new job or family living situation, are actively interacting with these identity change-producing encounters.

"The Encounter:" Discrimination and Ethnic Identity Development

In models of racial and ethnic identity development, developed after Cross' initial proposal, racism has continued to be viewed as an "encounter" that prompts ethnic identity exploration. For example, Iwamoto, Negi, Partiali and Creswell's 2013 phenomenological study of second generation Asian Indian American racial and ethnic identity formation identified racism as a major trigger for ethnic identity exploration among participants. In Nadal's 2004 model of Pilipino American Identity Development, the ethnic identity development phase of social/political awakening is identified as sometimes being launched through experiencing prejudice. In Atkinson, Morten, and Sue's (1993) Minority Identity Development Model, experiences of discrimination are viewed as one factor that may introduce an individual into the dissonance stage of their model, from which exploration of internal conflict and evaluation of identity values emerges.

The importance of the encounter as a catalyst for racial and ethnic identity development is even further supported by the robust research linking discrimination and ethnic identity empirically. Seminal to this area of work is Branscombe and colleagues' (1999) rejection-identification model (RID). The RID proposed that increases in the affective aspects of ethnic identity (e.g., enhanced sense of belonging) occur in response to discrimination. In essence, rejection-identification serves a protective function by protecting an individual from the negative impact of discrimination through developing closer affiliation and connection with the targeted ethnic group. Since the development of the RID, significant empirical work has supported the occurrence of rejection-identification among African Americans (Branscombe Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), Latinx individuals (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012), and multiracial people (Giamo, Schmitt, & Outten, 2012). Interestingly, there has also been empirical work that has supported a pathway in the other direction. Rooted in social cognitive models of construct activation, this line of research has found that people high in ethnic identity have a higher liekelihood of perceiving discrimination in situtaions of attributional ambiguity (Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Support for both of these models indicates that discrimination can not only act as an encounter and catalyst for ethnic identity development, but ethnic identity can also act as a lens through which discrimination is experienced, indicating a deeply intertwined relation between these two constructs.

National Identity

Ethnic identity is a key social identity for ethnic minority individuals. For immigrant individuals, national identity is another social identity that is equally as important to consider, given that a primary task of integrating into a new society is creating a sense of belonging and understanding of how one fits within one's ethnic heritage culture and the new national culture. National identity, conceptualized as identifying with and feeling a sense of belonging and commitment to one's national group, can be examined along dimensions of exploration and commitment, just like ethnic identity. Importantly, like ethnic identity, national identity is also impacted by perceptions of discrimination. Stangor and colleagues (2001) argued that perceiving ethnic discrimination influences one's identification with the majority group, in addition to one's ethnic identification. Specifically, they proposed that an adaptive response to ethnic discrimination is to detach oneself from the majority group – a process referred to as rejection disidentification (Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001). Recent empirical studies support Stangor and colleagues' (2001) theory. This research has found that discrimination and perceived group rejection are indeed associated with lower levels of national identification among immigrant adults (using primarily young adult samples); (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009; Sears, Fu, Henry, & Bui, 2003; Wiley, 2013; Wiley, Lawrence, Figueroa, & Percontino, 2013) and adolescents (Mähönen et al., 2011).

Discrimination, Ethnic Identity, and National Identity

Central to this dissertation is the question of how ethnic identity, national identity, and discrimination interact. Research on the links between ethnic and national identity among immigrant populations, has generally found that these identities vary independently within a multicultural receiving society (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Phinney, 2008). Further, some research has even found that strong social identity in one area can actually support identity development in another. For example, research by Fuller-Rowell, Ong, and Phinney (2013) argued that positive national identity might actually free psychological resources to further develop a strong ethnic identity. In keeping with this argument, research by Costigan and Su (2004) found that among Chinese Canadian adolescents, Canadian cultural involvement may enhance Chinese (ethnic identification) among Canadian born youth. Positive reinforcement between these two social identities has also been evidenced through recent research on dual identification (simultaneous high identification with ethnic and national cultures; Fleishmann & Verkuyten, 2016).

The potential for this collaborative relation between ethnic and national identity is, however, largely context dependent. For example, Sindic and Reicher (2009) have argued that in contexts where ethnic group cultural values and practices are not valued within the mainstream national context, ethnic and national identities can fall into conflict with one another. In keeping with this conceptualization, Mähönen and colleagues (2011) found that within a context where immigrant individuals perceived discordance between their ethnic and national cultures, ethnic and national identities were negatively associated with one another. Similarly, research with U.S.-born undergraduate students found that higher perceptions of ethnic group discrimination were linked with lower levels of national identity (rejection-disidentification) and higher levels of ethnic identity (rejection-identification) among Latinx and Black participants, showing a polarization of identities in the context of discrimination (Molina, Phillips, & Sidanius, 2015).

Discrimination, Health, and Well Being

The connections between perceptions of discrimination and health outcomes have been an area of significant inquiry in the research literature. This research has found that discrimination is linked with a wide variety of poor health outcomes. For example, discrimination has been positively linked with hypertension (Dolezsar, McGrath, Herzig, & Miller, 2014), sleep disturbance (Grandner et al., 2012), and is negatively associated with receiving cervical and breast cancer screening (Jacobs et al., 2014). Moreover, racial discrimination has also been positively linked with adverse mental health outcomes such as trauma-related, depressive, and anxiety symptoms (Pieterse, Todd, Neville, & Carter, 2012). In addition to links with negative outcomes, discrimination has also been empirically demonstrated as a threat to positive indicators of well being. Specifically discrimination has been found to negatively impact self-esteem (Douglass, Conlin, Duffy, & Allan, 2017; Lanier, Sommers, Fletcher, Sutton, & Roberts, 2017; Liu & Zhao, 2016), life satisfaction (Avidor, Ayalon, Palgi, & Bodner, 2017; Liu & Zhao, 2016), and expression of positive affect (Avidor et al., 2017).

Discrimination's profound links with health and well being has generated empirical interest in understanding the mechanisms at work, and in particular what factors buffer or exacerbate the relation between discrimination and poor health.

The Impact of Group Identification on the Discrimination-Health Relation

Germaine to this study, significant research has addressed the question: does group identification impact the discrimination-health relation, and in what ways does this happen? This research has portrayed a complicated picture. For example, in their meta-analytic review, Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009) identified that a majority (71%) of the studies they reviewed identified no clear identity effect. Essentially, across these studies the importance (or centrality) of a group identification based on race, gender, sexual orientation, etc. was unrelated to the relation between discrimination and mental health. Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, and Garcia echoed these findings in their 2014 meta-analysis. In this study, these researchers found that approximately half (46%) of the samples included in their meta-analysis found that group identification had no impact on the discrimination-psychological well being relation. However, 40% of these studies found at least one buffering effect for group identification, meaning that a strong group identification protected individuals from the deleterious effects of discrimination on mental health. Additionally, in a minority of studies (11%), group identification was found to have the opposite effect, such that strong group identification strengthened the negative effect of discrimination on mental health.

To unpack these mixed findings, a more nuanced examination of the *individual components* of group identification may provide greater clarity. For example, in the 2009 meta-analysis, Pascoe and Smart Richman defined group identification simply as the importance (or centrality) of salient group identifications based on race, sexual orientation, gender, etcetera, to one’s sense of self. One of the studies included in Pascoe & Smart Richman’s meta-analysis was Romero and Roberts’ 2003 study of the effect of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on the relation between ethnic discrimination and adolescent self-esteem among Mexican American youth. Looking at the original study, Romero and Roberts found the identity dimensions of exploration and affirmation played different roles: ethnic identity affirmation (but not ethnic identity exploration) was found to buffer the negative effect of perceived discrimination on self-esteem. That is, that youth who reported high ethnic identity affirmation and experienced high levels of discrimination, still reported high levels of self-esteem, whereas youth with low ethnic identity affirmation who experienced high levels of discrimination reported low self-esteem. By contrast, ethnic identity exploration was unrelated to levels of self-esteem. This finding identifies the potentially distinct and differential importance of these two identity dimensions on the discrimination-mental health relation, a finding that is missed when only one aspect of group identification is used as a proxy for understanding the totality of ethnic identity's effect, as was the case in Pascoe and Smart-Richman's 2009 meta-analysis.

Such a possibility of masked effects may also remain a factor in Schmitt and colleagues' (2014) meta-analysis. This study did look specifically at the unique contributions of two identity components: positive regard (positive personal evaluations of one's group) and group centrality (importance of the group to one's sense of self). Schmitt and colleagues reported that the majority of studies found that discrimination's negative impact on psychological well being was unaffected by the strength of either of these identity dimensions. They did find, however, a trend for evidence of the buffering effects of group identification when ethnic identity was measured as one general construct, suggesting that perhaps some unmeasured component, or the combined impact of ethnic identity components, can be protective. Findings from this meta-analysis are also somewhat difficult to interpret given that they look for the presence or absence of patterns across many types of group identification (not just those based on race and ethnicity). This may be of particular importance given that identity visibility vs. invisibility can make a significant difference in the way people use their group memberships to manage the negative effects of discrimination. For example, some researchers have argued that individuals are more likely to disengage from a threatened group identity in the face of discrimination when that identity can be hidden (Branscombe, Fernández, Gómez, & Cronin, 2012). In other words, group identification may only be used as a protective resource to buffer one's self against the negative effects of discrimination on well-being when that identity is not concealable. This phenomenon is discussed further in the identity management section of this introduction.

Findings Related to Specific Identity Dimensions

In an effort to better make sense of inconsistent findings regarding the role of identification in the discrimination-psychological distress links, below I review research that specifically assesses the impact of the *exploration* and *affirmation* dimensions of ethnic identity.

Exploration

Several studies have found that ethnic identity exploration worsens discrimination's negative effect on health outcomes. Among Latino adults, ethnic identity exploration has been found to *exacerbate* the effect of discrimination on psychological distress (Torres, Yzanga, & Moore, 2011) and depression symptoms (Torres & Ong, 2010). Research with Latino and Black male adolescents has also found that ethnic identity achievement (involving a heightened period of exploration) exacerbates the effect of discrimination on aggression and delinquency behaviors (Williams, Aiyer, Durkee, & Tolan, 2014). These researchers have argued that when an individual is undergoing a period of ethnic identity exploration they are in the process of viewing the world through their connection with their culture, and thus experience a heightened awareness of the way in which their ethnic group is treated in society (Williams et al., 2014). This results in a period of increased vulnerability resulting from greater attunement to ethnically-based affronts (Torres et al., 2011; Torres & Ong, 2010). This is in line with the previously discussed research identifying that ethnic identity increases the likelihood of perceiving discrimination in attributionally ambiguous situations (e.g., Major et al., 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Sellers & Shelton, 2003), and is also a description of Cross' immersion stage of *Nigrescence.* It is in this way that ethnic identity exploration can be understood as a risk enhancing mechanism for the discrimination-psychological distress relation.

Affirmation

In contrast to the exacerbating effect of ethnic identity exploration, a significant number of studies have found protective effects for ethnic identity affirmation. Research with Latino adults has found that ethnic identity affirmation can buffer the relation between discrimination and psychological distress (Torres et al., 2011), as well as the relation between discrimination and depressive symptoms (Brittian et al., 2014; Torres & Ong, 2010). This latter finding has also been identified in research with First Nations adults (i.e., Bombay, Matheson, Anisman, 2010). Similar findings have come to light in research with Latino and

Native American youth. In their 2015 study of Latino youth, Umaña- Taylor and colleagues found that high levels of ethnic affirmation buffered the negative relation between vicarious online discrimination and depressive symptoms. Similarly, a study investigating resilience to discrimination among Mexican American and Native American adolescents found that ethnic identity affirmation buffered the impact of discrimination on depressive symptoms (Romero, Edwards, Fryberg, & Orduña, 2014).

Ethnic identity affirmation has also been demonstrated as a protective factor against the link between discrimination and externalizing symptoms. Research with Latino and Black male adolescents has found that ethnic identity affirmation buffers the relation between discrimination and aggression (Williams et al., 2014) and research with Latino youth has found that high levels of ethnic affirmation buffer the relation between peer discrimination and externalizing problems (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015).

In addition to these buffering effects for negative psychological and behavioral outcomes, ethnic identity affirmation has also been found to be protective against discrimination’s threat to positive indicators of well being. For instance, a recent study with Arab American adolescents found that affirmation buffers the negative effects of discrimination on global self-concept (Tabbah, Chung, & Halsell Miranda, 2016) and research with Mexican American and Native American adolescents has found that ethnic identity affirmation buffers the impact of discrimination on self-esteem (Romero et al., 2014).

These studies provide evidence of a trend for ethnic identity exploration as a risk enhancer and ethnic identity affirmation as a risk reducer in the discrimination-distress relation. In addition to these identity dimensions, additional factors such as the source of discrimination and an individual's configuration of salient social identities (i.e., relation of one social identity to another), provides a deeper understanding of the discrimination-distress link.

Discrimination Source

The source of discrimination plays a key role in determining discrimination's impact on identity and well-being. For example, in their 2015 study of Latino adolescents, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues found that high levels of ethnic identity affirmation acted as a risk enhancer for experiencing lower adolescent self-esteem in the context of discrimination *from adults*. In contrast, they found protective effects for ethnic identity affirmation when looking at a number of other discrimination sources (i.e., peer discrimination, individual online discrimination, and vicarious online discrimination). The authors proposed that discrimination from adults may produce a unique effect given that the more disparate power differential could create a greater perceived threat. This differential effect of adult versus peer discrimination is in line with research by Pahl and Way (2006), which found that peer (but not adult) discrimination altered the trajectory of ethnic identity exploration. It is also consistent with research by Rivas-Drake and colleagues (2009), who found that peer (and not adult discrimination) predicted lower private regard (less favorable views of one's ethnic group) among ethnic minority youth. Given the important role of discrimination source in these adolescent studies, we could speculate that investigation of individual identity dimensions (exploration, affirmation) in tandem with nuanced investigation of discrimination type and source may further elucidate the role of ethnic identity in the discrimination-distress relation. Racial discrimination occurs against ethnic and racial minority adults in the sectors of employment access, rental and housing markets, unfavorable loans (i.e., higher rejection rates and less favorable loan terms), and poorer customer service experiences (including increased barriers to accessing goods and services; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Investigation of the impact of these varied discrimination sources on well being outcomes in adulthood is a critical next step.

Identity Configurations

In addition to considering discrimination source, the role of identity as a moderator of the discrimination-mental health relations may also be clarified by considering identity configurations. Identity configurations are the ways in which ethnic identity and other salient identities relate to each other and are maintained within the individual perceiving discrimination. An identity configuration view stands in contrast to just considering the strength of ethnic identity dimensions on their own. While individuals may experience multiple salient identities, including multiple ethnic, racial, and national identities, the research presented here focused on two main identities: ethnic identity and national identity.

Highlighting the important role of these two identities, a study using a national sample of adult immigrants in the Netherlands found that people who had high dual identification (high identification with their Dutch identity and with their ethnic group identity) demonstrated better outcomes in life satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and loneliness, over time, compared to those with lower levels of dual identification (Zhang, Verkuyten, & Weesie, 2018). Similarly, a study with Asian American college students found that for individuals who maintained dual identifications, or high levels of ethnic and national identity, there was no link between perceptions of *discrimination and psychological distress* (Huynh, Devos, & Goldberg, 2014). By contrast, individuals with a strong national identity and weak ethnic identity showed the strongest relation between discrimination and psychological distress. Individuals with a weak national identity (regardless of the strength of their ethnic identity) also showed a link between discrimination and psychological distress, though not as strong the former group. These latter findings suggest that the relation between key social identities activated by experiences of discrimination, like ethnic and national identity, also play a role in the discrimination-distress relation. Interestingly, in this study ethnic and national identities were both measured as unitary constructs, precluding an understanding of how the specific relation between affirmation and exploration dimensions of ethnic and national identity impact the discrimination-distress relationship.

Another aspect of identity configuration highlighted in Canadian research is the level of interaction between the two cultural identities. In their study of social identity integration using a cognitive-developmental model, Yampolsky, Amiot, and de la Sablonnière (2013), found that integrated identities were positively linked with narrative coherence concerning one's life experiences, whereas compartmentalized identities (separate cultural identities within the individual) were negatively associated with narrative coherence. This same pattern was also found quantitatively with the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS), where integration was positively linked with well being, and compartmentalization negatively associated with well being (Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2016).

Identity Management

With a general picture of how discrimination, well-being, ethnic identity, and national identity relate, we turn now to further understanding the mechanisms of how social identities, like ethnic identity, are managed when they are threatened (as is the case in the context of discrimination). This section draws links between the separate conceptualizations of identity management from both social identity and biculturalism perspectives.

Social Identity Management: The Social Psychology Perspective

From a social psychology perspective, identity management strategies are activated when an individual's salient social identity is threatened (group threat), as is the case in the context of discrimination. The likelihood of particular identity management strategies being utilized by an individual varies based on a number of cognitive and systemic factors. At the most basic level, how identity is managed is first determined based on the perceived permeability of the group boundaries. If group boundaries are seen as being permeable, the path of least resistance is for an individual to leave their group for a higher status group, often referred to as *individual mobility* (i.e., using white passing privilege to avoid racial segregation in the era of Jim Crow law in the US). Interestingly, recent research on national identity permeability with Christian Hungarian and Muslim Palestinian immigrants in Germany found that for the two immigrant groups positive contact with the national group was linked with viewing national group boundaries as more permeable and ethnic and national identities as concordant (Sixtus, Wesche, & Kerschreiter, 2019).

When impermeable group boundaries are perceived, as is often the case with visible group memberships like those based on race and ethnicity, the perceived stability of the group can determine what types of strategies an individual will use to protect their threatened identity. When a group boundary is perceived to be stable and unchangeable, an individual is likely to engage in *social creativity* strategies (Becker, 2012).

Social Creativity Strategies

These cognitive strategies provide a protective function for the threatened identity by changing the way one thinks about the status of their group. Social creativity strategies are rooted in the theories of *positive distinctiveness* (efforts to make one's group appear more valued) and *social comparison* (one's self-worth is determined by their merit relative to others). Protecting a threatened identity through social creativity strategies involves protecting the value of one's group through making comparisons to other groups on dimensions where the in-group is superior. These social creativity strategies may involve a downward comparison (comparing one's group status to a lower status group) or an upward comparison (comparing to a higher status group). Downward comparison can result in feeling that one's group is advantaged. Upward comparison typically involves identifying a dimension where one's group is superior to the higher status group (e.g., they are rich, but we are happy). Comparisons can also be temporal (e.g., we have a lot more rights than we used to; Blanz, Mummendey, Mielke, & Klink, 1998) or focused on maximizing intragroup variability (e.g., even if we are poor, we are not all poor; Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995).

Another type of social creativity strategy is to re-evaluate the value that is being invoked by the comparison dimension. This can be done through changing the valence, re-appropriating negative labels, and flipping negative beliefs about the group (e.g., Black is beautiful, gay pride), or through rejecting or downplaying the importance of the comparison dimension (e.g., wealth is undesirable). Social creativity can also include cognitive re-categorization, which is when one thinks of their in-group as part of a higher status superordinate group (e.g., regardless of ethnic background we are all Canadian) or splits the in-group into factions that have a lower status than one's own (e.g., documented vs. undocumented immigrants; Blanz et al., 1998).

Social Competition Strategies

Social creativity strategies are essential when group boundaries are stable and group status is seen as unchangeable. By contrast, when one believes that one's group status is not only unfair but also potentially changeable, individuals may be moved to action to address this inequity. Engaging in behaviors to improve the status of one's group is referred to in this literature as *social competition*, and refers to participation in collective action efforts (e.g.. Black Lives Matter). Unlike the social creativity strategies, which are focused on protecting the *individual's* threatened group identity, social competition strategies are focused on advancing the status of the *group* as a whole.

Interplay of Social Creativity and Social Competition Strategies

Some social competition and social creativity strategies can be used complementarily, while others are incompatible. Work by Becker (2012) indicates that some of these social creativity strategies (i.e., upward and downward social comparison strategies, downplaying or rejecting the importance of the comparison dimension) reduce the likelihood of engaging in *collective action* to help one's group achieve greater status. This makes sense as these social creativity strategies, which are employed to protect the self through giving value to the threatened social identity, also serve to maintain the status quo by distancing one's self mentally from a focus on the injustice of the group's relative deprivation. By contrast, in her study, Becker found that the social creativity strategy of changing the valance of a negative attribute ascribed to one's in-group was found to maintain or even increase the likelihood of engaging in *collective action,* suggesting that at least this specific cognitive social creativity strategy is compatible with the behavioral social competition strategy of collective action.

Research predicting which strategies are the most likely to be used by group members is somewhat mixed and highly context-dependent. There is some agreement however, that under conditions of group threat, high group commitment is linked with engaging in collective action and enhanced group affirmation, whereas low group commitment is linked with individual mobility (if possible) and the use of social creativity strategies (Ellemers, Spears, & Doojse, 2002).

Identity Management: The Biculturalism Perspective

Another way to think about how cultural identities are managed is through the lens of biculturalism. Bicultural identification includes thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that an individual has about each of their identity groups individually, the two groups together, and the relationship between them (Wiley & Deaux, 2010).

Biculturals can be thought of as “individuals who have been exposed to and have internalized two or more sets of cultural meaning systems. They navigate between their different cultural orientations by engaging in cultural frame switching,” (van Oudenhoven & Benet- Martínez, 2015, p. 48). Biculturalism is a particularly useful perspective for thinking about how immigrant individuals engage with both ethnic and national identity.

Identity Performance

Within the biculturalism literature, identification and expression of multiple social identities is discussed within the context of *identity performance.* Performance of individual identities (e.g., through manipulation of physical appearance, verbal expression of group values, observation of cultural norms for interaction) has been an area of significant inquiry, and provides some insight into the characteristics of *bicultural identity integration* (BII).

BII is the extent that “biculturals perceive their mainstream and ethnic cultural identities as compatible and integrated vs. oppositional and difficult to integrate” (Benet- Martínez & Haritatos, 2005, p. 1019). The audience that is there to witness their expression influences the ways in which identities are expressed, or performed. In this way, identity expression is as much about how someone sees the self as it is about how they would like other people to see them (Wiley & Deaux, 2010). The expression of the bicultural identity, and each individual cultural identity, is argued by Wiley and Deaux (2010) to be governed by three principles: *visibility, membership criteria*, and *status differences* between the bicultural individual and the audience for whom the identity is performed.

Research suggests that cultural identity visibility may be heightened when individuals are around in-group members and minimized when around out-group members, as performance of an in-group identity with an out group audience may open one up to experiences of discrimination or criticism (Wiley & Deaux, 2010). For immigrant individuals, it can be particularly challenging to navigate contexts where both audience groups are present (i.e., determine which identities to perform). Individuals in these situations face competing demands from the relevant two in-groups about which identities to express, particularly when the two groups are quite dissimilar. In this way, visibility creates a need to balance one's accountability to the potentially competing expectations of different audiences (Wiley & Deaux, 2010). Wiley and Deaux (2010) argue that in these contexts, individuals may "find ways to justify the nature of their group membership that recognizes the potential conflict between their groups while highlighting similarities and higher level categorizations to reconcile them." This strategy of seeking to reconcile disparate identities through placing both identities in a higher level categorization (e.g., thinking of the self as a global citizen) has been explored theoretically and empirically in research on the *common in-group identity model.* Importantly, this is also a direct parallel to the social creativity identity strategy of cognitive (superordinate) re-categorization within the social psychology framework previously discussed. Dovidio, Gaertner, and Saguy's seminal (2008) paper on the common in-group identity model argued that re-categorization of the self within a single inclusive superordinate group (vs. two separate groups) can reduce intergroup bias through promoting positive attitudes towards a unitary superordinate in-group identity. Indeed, social psychological studies that involve an induction of a superordinate in-group identity find an increased sense of closeness between former in-group and out-group members, enhanced positive communication between group members, and an increase in trust and helpful behaviors among these group members (Dovidio et al., 2008).

The second component, membership criteria, plays an important role in determining how bicultural individuals will express identities to an audience. Bicultural individuals can be vulnerable to membership questioning and perceived rejection from both of their cultural groups (Wiley & Deaux, 2010). This can be of particular concern for members that do not fit the prototypical profile of a group member (e.g., those who may not speak the heritage language of their ethnic group, individuals of mixed race/ethnicity). Additionally, strict group membership criteria may fail to recognize the importance of other group memberships (e.g., sexual orientation, religion), leaving these identity components marginalized.

Moving to a slightly broader context, status differences between the individual and the identity group(s) of the audience members can also play a role in identity performance. In particular, "when societies are marked by group-based hierarchies, members of devalued ethnic groups are more likely to see ethnic and national identification as incompatible" (Sinclair, Sidanius, & Levin, 1998, as cited in Wiley & Deaux, 2010). This puts greater pressure on achieving group acceptance through successful identity performance.

Bicultural Identity Performance at Rest and Under Threat

Of particular importance to this research is the variation in identity performance when identities are at rest vs. under threat (i.e., in the context of discrimination). When bicultural identities are not under threat, individuals who are strongly identified with their cultural identities are able to showcase their positive expressions of these identities, whereas people with weaker identification are not involved in such activities (Wiley & Deaux, 2010). Under this context, individuals may discuss the advantages of their bicultural identity status (i.e., having a unique worldview, feeling good about being a member of both cultures). During these times, the focus is on expressing positive regard for the cultural groups, as opposed to strategic identity performance for an audience.

By contrast, when identity is under threat, identity performance takes a very different form. Wiley and Deaux (2010) argue that when an individual's group membership is questioned (e.g., a Chinese Canadian person is told by a Chinese person that they are not really Chinese, or by a Canadian person that they aren't truly Canadian), identity commitment assumes a crucial role in directing identity performance behaviors. In these situations, individuals with low commitment are likely to try to avoid group categorization. In contrast, people with high identity commitment, those who think that a successful identity performance may lead to acceptance by the person questioning their belonging, will try to demonstrate their worth as members of both cultural groups. In the example of the Chinese Canadian individual, this may involve demonstrating heritage language use to a Chinese audience, or demonstrating knowledge of Canadian pop culture to a Canadian audience. Interestingly, these temporary identity performance behaviors may not be linked with any shifts in cognition about one’s identities (Wiley & Deaux, 2010), highlighting an interesting distinction between actions taken to protect an identity under threat and feelings of private regard about one’s cultural group. Moreover, biculturals may engage in different identity performance strategies based on their perceptions of potential acceptance in the two cultural groups. For example, immigrants may play down ethnic identity when they anticipate co-ethnics may doubt the legitimacy of their group membership (Wiley & Deaux, 2010).

In addition to threats in the form of questioning one’s group membership, interactions or messages that communicate a devaluing of one’s cultural group(s) can also activate identity performance. In these situations, individuals with low identity commitment to the cultural group tend to respond by psychologically or physically trying to leave the group, thereby removing themselves as a target of the threat. This is a parallel to the *individual mobility* identity strategy previously discussed. By contrast, those who are more strongly identified with the threatened group are more likely to try to prove their group’s worth through increased loyalty and engagement in collective action (Wiley & Deaux, 2010). This is engagement in a social competition identity strategy within the social psychology framework. Additionally, group members from lower status (i.e., more stigmatized or marginalized cultural groups) tend to be more intent on maintaining recognition of their membership in both their cultural group and the superordinate group (Dovidio et al., 2008), thus necessitating engagement in identity performances for both audiences.

Identity compatibility also plays a role in identity performance under threat. When identification with both groups is thought to be impossible, some individuals may adopt an identity performance strategy of emphasizing this incompatibility (Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008). For example, in their seminal study on cultural frame switching, Benet-Martínez and colleagues (2002) found that Chinese Americans, who were high on bicultural identity integration, or those who saw Chinese and American identities as compatible, responded in a culturally congruent manner when presented with cultural cues to engage American or Chinese behaviors. By contrast, those low in bicultural identity integration who perceived an incompatibility between the two identities, engaged in more culturally incongruent behaviors—activating more American behaviors when responding to Chinese cultural cues, and more Chinese behaviors when responding to American cues (Benet- Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). This same pattern of findings was also found with a sample of Asian Americans (i.e., Mok, Cheng & Morris, 2010) and with a group of Taiwanese professionals working in the global west (i.e., Friedman, Liu, Chi, Hong, & Sun, 2011). Importantly, the behavior of highlighting the incompatibility between the two groups can be interpreted in different ways. Heightening cultural incompatibility can be seen as a behavior that indicates a cultural disidentification process (Zou et al., 2008). Alternatively, other scholars have offered that these implicit actions of culturally incongruent responding may be a form of protecting the cultural identity that is not cued (Mok & Morris 2009; 2012; 2013, as cited in Hong, Zhan, Morris, & Benet- Martínez, 2016). Further, such actions could also be understood as enacting an individualization identity management strategy, rejecting both cultural identity group memberships in favor of viewing oneself as an individual versus a group member.

Advances in Canadian research have addressed unique aspects of biculturalism. In particular, West and colleagues (2017) *transformative theroy of biculturalism* has shed light on the importance of investigating the processes of biculturalism, or the *experience* of engaging with multiple cultures, as opposed to *the outcome*s of multiple culture engagement, as has been the focus in much of the literature reviewed thus far. This theory proposes a shift in the conceptualization of biculturalism as additive -- as the the composite of each culture's impact on the individual -- to a transformative conceptualization where the experience of mutliple cultures produce new internal experiences that are interactional and transformational in nature, or more than the sum of their parts (West, Zhang, Yampolsky, & Sasaki, 2017). The qualitative questions in this dissertation aim to tap into these experiences more deeply.

Canadian Context of Immigration and Importance of this Research

As a nation, Canada regards itself as a cultural mosaic—the basis of the official multiculturalism policies that have subsequently became central to contemporary Canadian identity since their inception in the 1970's. At present, more than one out of every five Canadians is foreign born (Statistics Canada, 2016). Most immigrants to Canada are adults, with the median age of immigration 32.5 years from 2011- 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017). In 2016, the median age among all immigrants in Canada was 48.6, making adults in midlife a large percentage of Canadian newcomers (Statistics Canada, 2017). Yet, this population remains a widely understudied group.

The current research is imperative to better understand the experiences of identity, discrimination, and psychological distress amongst the cohort that most strongly represents immigrants in Canada today. The dearth of data on identity processes in middle adulthood, and especially social identity processes amongst individuals who comprise 21.9% of the national population (Statistics Canada, 2016), is a critical gap. Further the theoretical silos of adult identity development, ethnic identity development, social identity management, and discrimination-identity processes have limited our global understanding of how immigrants cope with the inevitable experience of discrimination in Canadian society and the impact it has on one's sense of self. By bridging gaps across these distinct theoretical and empirical frameworks through mixed methodology techniques we can begin to better understand the experiences of a large proportion of Canadians whose stories have thus far been largely neglected.

Research Questions and Analyses

Research Question #1: Ethnic identity and discrimination as predictors of psychological distress

Regression analyses were used to look at the role of ethnic identity (both affirmation and exploration dimensions) and discrimination (lifetime, recent, and appraisal of stressfulness dimensions) in predicting psychological distress (anxiety, depression, stress). It was initially proposed that ethnic identity would be investigated as a moderator of the discrimination-psychological distress relation. In particular, it was hypothesized that ethnic identity exploration would exacerbate this relation whereas ethnic identity affirmation would buffer discrimination's deleterious effect on psychological distress. Unfortunately, there was insufficient power to test for a moderation effect in this sample, and thus only main effects of ethnic identity and discrimination on psychological distress were assessed.

Research Question #2: In what ways are ethnic and national identity related to the use of different social identity management strategies?

The relations between dimensions of ethnic and national identities (exploration, affirmation) and a range of different social identity management strategies prevalent in the social psychology literature were tested in research question #2. These relations were investigated using Bayesian Regression analyses. Ethnic identity and national identity (affirmation and exploration dimensions) were examined as predictor variables in a series of analyses which tested how well these identities predicted each of the following outcome variables: the endorsement of integrated dual identity, the endorsement of conflicted dual identity (see Appendix

G); the endorsement of nine social identity management strategies (see Appendix F) including: individual mobility, individualization, downward comparison, upward comparison, maximizing intragroup variability, superordinate re-categorization, temporal comparison, new comparison group, social competition.

Research Question # 3: How are social identities managed when under threat (within the context of discrimination)?

This research question used qualitative data to identify the most common ways that immigrant identities in midlife are impacted by experiences of discrimination. This research question consisted of four specific areas of inquiry: 1) The effects of discrimination on ethnic identity, 2) The effects of discrimination on national identity, 3) Thoughts and actions participants have after an experience of discrimination, and 4) What participants do to feel like they belong to both ethnic and national groups. The qualitative data obtained in this portion of the study were analyzed using a hybrid process of inductive and deductive thematic analysis (i.e., Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), which made use of both theory-driven and data-driven codes.

Method

Participants

The current sample included immigrants in middle adulthood (ages 40-65) who arrived in Canada at age 18 or later. All participants identified as ethnic/racial/visible minorities. Sixty-six participants began completing the online questionnaire. Of these, 39 met all inclusion criteria to participate (i.e., immigrated to Canada at age 18+, currently aged 40-65, identified as a racial or ethnic minority in Canada). Eight of these participants had data too incomplete to use. Therefore, analyses proceeded with the 31 participants who completed a substantive amount of the survey *(one or more quantitative measures beyond the demographic questions).* The smaller sample size ($n < 31$), apparent in some of the analyses that follow, indicates that there were some participants who did not complete one or more of the specific measures used in that particular analysis, though they may have completed sufficient measures to be included in other analyses.

This final sample consisted of 10 male-identifying and 21 female-identifying participants. Participants ranged in age from 40 to 64 (M=49.2, SD= 8.5). They reported living in Canada for between 1 and 44 years (M=18; SD=11.4) and immigrated between the ages of 18 and 46 (M=31; SD=7.9). Participants immigrated to Canada through all immigration pathways. The majority of participants reported coming to Canada through Family Class (41%) followed by Skilled Worker Class (24%), or as an International Student (9%). Additionally one participant identified coming to Canada as a refugee and five participants (15%) checked an “other class” option.

The sample was ethnically, linguistically, and religiously very diverse. The greatest number of participants identified as originating from Korea (n=5), Mexico (n=4), Japan (n=3), Brazil (n=2), India (n=2), and Venezuela (n=2). One participant indicated that they originated from each of the following countries: Eritrea, Philippines, Jordan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Barbados, Guyana, China, Pakistan, Jamaica, Hong Kong and Argentina. Participants represented a multitude of religions including: "Christian," (n=7), "Catholic" (n=3), "Religiously Oriented/Active" (n=3), "Buddhist" (n=3), "Agnostic/Atheist" (n=3), "Hindu" (n=2), "Shintoism-Buddhism" (n=2), "Jewish" (n=2), "Methodist" (n=1), "Non-religious" (n=1), and "Muslim" (n=1).

Concerning ethnic background, participants used a variety of national (e.g., Japanese), racial (e.g., Asian), and ethnic (e.g., Indonesian of Chinese descent) labels. Specifically, four participants identified as Mexican, three as Latin American, three as Korean, two as Asian, two as South Asian, and one as each of the following ethnicities: Brazilian, Eritrean, Filipino, Middle Eastern, Sri Lankan, Indonesian of Chinese descent, Barbadian, East Indian, Japanese, Pakistani, Jamaican-Canadian, and Chinese. Interestingly, when participants were later asked a more open-ended question, *"In terms of my ethnic background, I consider myself to be __________."* a more varied sampling of national-ethnic and ethnic-religious labels was evident (e.g., Barbadian-Canadian, Mexican Jewish, Muslim Arab, Canadian with Latin American roots). Providing fewer limitations on what constitutes ethnic identity in this open-ended question format likely allowed for participants' more salient identities to be captured. The importance of seeing the self at the intersection of national and ethnic identities as well as ethnic and religious identities was highlighted through these responses.

With respect to language, the majority of participants (n=22) spoke English as a second language, with a smaller number (n=4) speaking English as their third language. All but three participants (who all originated from the Caribbean) reported speaking more than one language. Twelve participants reported speaking at least three (and up to 5) languages.

Participants reported residing in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, and New Brunswick in urban, rural, and suburban locations. The majority of participants originated from British Columbia (35%), Manitoba (27%), and Ontario (24%). The majority of participants (71%) reported they were married. Nine percent were divorced, nine percent were living with a partner, and three percent were single.

Regarding employment, 65% of participants reported having full time employment, 9% part time, and 18% indicated they were unemployed. The majority of participants (65%) reported finding work in their desired field in Canada. Twelve percent of participants reported that they had decided to look for another kind of work in Canada instead. The annual family income was generally quite high with 24% of participants reporting earnings of $50-75,000; 29% reporting $75-100,000 in annual income, and 24% reporting more than $100,000 of annual family income. Twelve percent of participants reported an annual family income of less than $50,000, with nine percent of the total sample reporting earning less than $35,000 annually. Participants were generally highly educated, with 38% reporting a graduate or professional degree, 38% an undergraduate degree, and 12% completion of vocational school or two year college. Three percent reported high school completion as their highest degree.

Sample Considerations

In considering the generalizability of the quantitative and qualitative data presented in this dissertation, the demographic characteristics summarized above paint a picture of largely middle to upper class, highly educated, and gainfully employed participants (high status group members). Thus, the perspectives that are uncovered through the analyses that follow may as a whole indicate *elite bias* in the data.

Procedure

Participants were recruited online through correspondence with immigrant serving agencies, ethno-cultural organizations, and community centers throughout Anglophone Canada. An email invitation to participate in the study was provided to employees at such agencies and distributed to potential participants at the discretion of these individuals. Local recruitment was also accomplished through posting of flyers. Participants were informed that through the study, the researcher hoped to learn: *a) how immigrant adults relate to their cultural group and to Canadian society, b) how people manage their sense of self when they are in stressful situations, like when they experience discrimination or racism, and c) what are the different ways in which people understand their cultural identities and how does this relate to their sense of well being.* Participants had the option to share the link to the online survey with other potential participants upon completion, to allow for snowball sampling. Participants completed this survey through the SurveyMonkey platform and were given the option to provide their email address if they wanted to receive a summary of the research findings and/or be entered into an Amazon gift card draw.

Measures

Demographic Information

Basic demographic information (e.g., gender, country of origin, length of residence, immigration pathway) was collected, as is reported above. Appendix A contains the full demographic form.

Perceived Discrimination

Perceived discrimination was measured using a modified version of the *Schedule of Racist Events—General* (SRE-G; Lang, 2001) (see Appendix B), a version of the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) adapted for use with multiple ethnic groups. The SRE-G is an 18-item self-report measure of perceived discrimination. It assesses for discrimination from multiple sources (e.g., colleagues, employers, people in service jobs, strangers) and provides three different subscales of discrimination: Recent (frequency of racist events in the past year), Lifetime (frequency of racist events during one's lifetime), and Appraisal (stress appraisal of racist events). This allows for a nuanced inquiry of the potentially differential impacts of discrimination frequency versus discrimination stress. The minor modifications made for this study involved removing an item that asked about discrimination from teachers and professors and changing the content of an institutional discrimination item to reflect Canadian institutions (i.e., Ministry of Community and Social Services/ Ministry of Social Development instead of Department of Social Services; Employment Insurance Office instead of Unemployment Office). In her 2001 study, Lang validated the SRE-G for use across ethnic groups with a diverse sample of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Anglo (White) Americans. Lang reported strong reliability for SRE-G with the total sample and within each ethnic group. The total sample reliability coefficients were .90 for the Recent subscale, .92 for the Lifetime subscale, and .94 for the Appraisal subscale. In the current sample, the SRE-G had good internal consistency for the SRE - Recent subscale (α=.86), SRE - Lifetime Subscale (α=.94) and SRE - Appraisal Subscale (α=.97).

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity was assessed using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), created by Phinney (1992) and revised to the current 12-item version by Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts & Romero (1999). The MEIM (see Appendix C) consists of two subscales: ethnic identity search and ethnic identity affirmation, belonging and commitment, which are measured using a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 4 *(strongly agree).* Internal consistency for the 1999 measure was reported by Roberts and colleagues to be .84. The MEIM has been used extensively in research with varied ethnic groups and in different international contexts (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2007). In the current sample, the MEIM had acceptable internal consistency for the ethnic identity exploration subscale (α=.70), and good internal consistency for the ethnic identity affirmation subscale (α =.89).

Canadian Identity

Canadian Identity was measured using a direct modification of the MEIM, created by Dr. Cathy Costigan and her research assistants. The Canadian Identity Scale (see Appendix D) assesses Canadian identity in a parallel format to the MEIM, using the same 4-point Likert scale. A similar adaptation of the MEIM to assess American identity has also been created by Schwartz and colleagues (2012), including dimensions of affirmation and exploration. Chia and Costigan (2006) reported good internal consistency for the affirmation and belonging (.89) and achievement subscales (.76) of the Canadian Identity measure in their study with Chinese young adults in Canada. In the current study, the Canadian Identity Scale exhibited strong internal consistency. The Cronbach alpha coefficients were .80 for the national identity exploration subscale and .95 for the national identity affirmation subscale.

Psychological Outcomes

Negative psychological outcomes were assessed using the *Depression, Anxiety, Stress Scale, 21-item version* (DASS-21; Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995b). The DASS (see Appendix E) consists of three subscales representing Lovibond and Lovibond's (1995a) tripartite model of affect: depression (low positive affect), anxiety (physiological hyperarousal), and stress (negative affect). Participants are asked to report on their symptoms over the past week on a four point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 0 *(does not apply to me at all)* to 3 *(applied to me very much, or most of the time*). The DASS has been validated for use with ethnically diverse community and clinical samples in the UK (i.e., Antony, Bieling, Cox, Enns, &

Swinson, 1998), US (i.e., Norton, 2007), and Australia (i.e., Mellor, Vinet, Xu, Mamat, Richardson, & Roman, 2015). Chinese, Spanish, Turkish, and Bahasa Malaysia translated versions of the DASS have also been validated for use with samples in China (Wang, Shi, Geng, Zou, Tan, Wang,… Chan, 2016), Chile (Mellor et al., 2015), Turkey (Yildirim, Boysan, & Kefeli, 2018), and Malaysia (Musa, Fadzil, & Zain, 2007), respectively. Concerning construct validity, in his 2007 study, Norton reported good convergent validity between the DASS depressions scale and the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI), the DASS anxiety scale and the Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI), and the DASS stress scale with the BDI, BAI, and Positive and Negative Affect Schedule – Negative Affect (PANAS-NA). The magnitude of the individual associations between the DASS depression scale and the BDI, as well as the DASS anxiety scale and the BAI relative to the association between these DASS scales and the other measures listed above indicated good discriminant validity for the DASS. The DASS-21 has been validated for use as a clinical outcome measure in outpatient settings (Ng, Trauer, Dodd, Callaly, Campbell, & Berk, 2007). Internal consistency for the DASS Stress Subscale (α=.92) and the DASS Depression Subscale (α=.91) were excellent in the current sample. The internal consistency for the DASS Anxiety Subscale was questionable (α=.64). Thus results using this subscale should be interpreted cautiously.

Social Identity Management

An exploratory investigation of the endorsement of social identity management strategies was undertaken using the questions developed in Appendix F. These items were developed through adapting 13 items included in Blanz and colleagues' (1998) and four items from Becker's (2012) social identity management studies. Seven new items were also developed to represent other social identity management strategies found in the literature. The following identity management strategies are addressed: individual mobility, social competition, individualization, downward comparison, upward comparison, temporal comparison, maximizing intragroup variability, new comparison group, and superordinate re-categorization.

Internal consistency for the two individual mobility items (α=.92), three temporal comparison items (α=.92), and four social competition items (α=.92) was excellent. The internal consistency of the two individualization items (α=.70) and three downward comparison items (α=.75) was acceptable. The internal consistency for the three upward comparison items was initially poor (α=.57). Deletion of the item, *Canadians may have some advantages but (ethnic group) immigrants are happier,* resulted in acceptable internal consistency (α=.79) for the remaining upward comparison items. Of note, in addition to what is reported above, the Social Identity Management Scale consists of three superordinate re-categorization items, three new comparison group items, and one maximizing intragroup variability item, which should each conceptually be evaluated as single items. For example, the new comparison group items ask participants how relevant it is for immigrants in their ethnic group to compare themselves with a) Canadians, b) other immigrants, and c) people who have not immigrated to Canada. These comparison groups are each distinct - conceptually thinking it is relevant to compare oneself with Canadians would not necessarily be linked to thinking it is relevant to compare oneself with ethnic group members in one's country of origin.

Therefore, it would be inappropriate to group these items into a subscale.

Bicultural Identity Integration

Bicultural identity integration was assessed using a seven-item measure of *Integrated and Conflicted Dual Identification* developed by Fleischmann and Verkuyten in their 2016 study on dual identification. Fleischmann and Verkuyten's questions were modified for use in this study (i.e., the national label "Dutch" was replaced with the national label "Canadian," and the ethnic label "Turkish," was replaced with the ethnic label the participant provided at the beginning of the study) (see Appendix G). In their study, Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016) found that these seven items represented two separate factors, with the first tapping into an *integrated* dual identity, and the second a *conflicted* dual identity. They reported good internal consistency for the four items comprising integrated dual identity (Cronbach's alpha = .82). Internal consistency for the conflicted dual identity scale (the last three items on the questionnaire) was not reported. In the current study, the internal consistencies for the integrated dual identity items (α=.73) and the conflicted dual identity items (α=.71) were acceptable.

Open Ended Questions

Four open-ended questions were posed to participants. These questions (see Appendix H) asked about the natural identity management strategies that participants use within the context of discrimination, and asked them to reflect on how they think about their membership in both the ethnic and national groups following a discriminatory event.

Quantitative Results

Preliminary Analyses

All main study variables were inspected as part of the data cleaning process. Given the tendency for small samples to lack a normal distribution, only substantial skewness and kurtosis, as identified through visual inspection and a significance value of $p<.001$ on the Shapiro Wilk test were addressed.

In an examination of outliers, one univariate outlier was identified on the SRE recent and SRE lifetime scales (one participant was an outlier on both scales). Another outlier was present on the DASS stressful and DASS depression variables (a different participant was an outlier on both DASS subscales). The influence of the SRE item outliers was reduced (Tabachnick, Fidell, & Ullman, 2007), by changing the value of the most extreme value to that of 1/2 the distance between the outlier and the next highest value. The same process was used with the DASS variable outliers, but this did not sufficiently reduce the outliers ($z > 3.29$). Thus the outliers were further reduced to be 1/3 of the distance between the outlier and the next highest value. This successfully resolved the issue.

Even after reducing the influence of the outliers, the DASS subscale variables (total scores for the Stressfulness, Anxiety, and Depression scales) revealed significant positive skewness and kurtosis, using a visual inspection of the data and the Shapiro Wilk test, as recommended by Ghasemi and Zahediasl (2012). This is not unexpected, given that community samples typically report low levels of stress, anxiety, and depression. To mitigate these issues, the DASS variables were changed from continuous to categorical variables. Visual binning was used to develop categories of low and high symptoms for the depression, anxiety and stress subscales on the DASS. Visual binning is accomplished through setting a "cutpoint" for the data. This cuts the data into the desired number of groups. In this analysis, one cut point was selected so that 50% of the data were above the cutpoint value and 50% below, resulting in about ½ of the participants being in a low symptom group and ½ participants in a high symptom group (for the depression, anxiety, and stress subscales).

Concerning the newly developed social identity management items, significant negative skewness and positive kurtosis was evident for the maximizing intragroup variability item as well as for all three of the superordinate re-categorization items. Additionally, the third new comparison group subscale item had significant negative kurtosis (see Table 1, below). Given their failure to meet assumptions of normality, these variables were excluded from subsequent analyses.

The data were evaluated for multivariate outliers using Mahalanobis' Distance (df = number of variables at p=.001). No multivariate outliers were found for the main study variables.

Overview of Main Study Variables

Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, and observed ranges) of the main study variables for both quantitative research questions are provided in *Table 1*. Of note, the DASS statistics provided below refer to the original means, standard deviations, and ranges prior to the data cleaning adjustments noted above. As seen in Table 1, the average score on the three DASS subscales was between 3 and 6. The DASS scoring system requires these values to be doubled (i.e., 6-12) for interpretation. Scores on the DASS use qualitative labels to describe a range of values: *normal, mild, moderate, severe,* and *extremely severe.* The average scores across the depression, anxiety, and stress subscales all fall in the *normal range*, indicating little psychological distress on average in this sample.

On the SRE-G, average scores for the Recent, Lifetime, and Appraisal scales all fell well within the bottom 50% of the scale range, indicating generally low levels of reported discrimination.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations and Observed Ranges of Main Study Variables

Variable	Mean (SD)	Observed Range	Scale Range
National Identity Exploration	3.26 (.54)	2.00-4.00	1.00-4.00
National Identity Affirmation	3.34 (.62)	2.00-4.00	1.00-4.00
Ethnic Identity Exploration	2.80 (.62)	1.40-4.00	1.00-4.00
Ethnic Identity Affirmation	3.23 (.58)	1.86-4.00	1.00-4.00
SRE[1] Recent Subscale	23.76 (5.76)	17.00-40.00	17.00-102.00
SRE Lifetime Subscale	30.74 (9.85)	20.00-60.00	17.00-102.00
SRE Appraisal Subscale	37.50 (21.74)	15.00-90.00	15.00-90.00
DASS[2] Stress Subscale	6.08 (7.93)	0.00-30.00	0.00-63.00
DASS Anxiety Subscale	3.26 (4.61)	0.00-16.00	0.00-63.00
DASS Depression Subscale	4.00 (6.54)	0.00-24.00	0.00-63.00
Dual Identification (Integrated)	16.67 (3.29)	9.00-20.00	4.00-20.00
Dual Identification (Conflicted)	6.41 (3.05)	3.00-11.00	3.00-15.00
Social Identity Management			
Social Competition Subscale	12.41 (4.71)	6.00-20.00	4.00-20.00
New Comparison (vs. Canadians)	3.11 (1.40)	1.00-5.00	1.00-5.00
New Comparison (vs. other immigrants)	2.65 (1.29)	1.00-5.00	1.00-5.00
*New Comparison (vs. non-immigrant ethnic group members)**	*2.52 (1.42)*	*1.00-5.00*	*1.00-5.00*
Temporal Comparison Subscale	10.26 (2.80)	3.00-15.00	3.00-15.00
*Superordinate Re-categorization (ethnic group)**	*4.15 (1.22)*	*1.00-5.00*	*1.00-5.00*
*Superordinate Re-categorization (immigrant)**	*4.30 (1.24)*	*1.00-5.00*	*1.00-5.00*
*Superordinate Re-categorization (Canadian)**	*3.93 (1.24)*	*1.00-5.00*	*1.00-5.00*
*Maximizing Intragroup Variability**	*4.00 (.92)*	*1.00-5.00*	*1.00-5.00*
Upward Comparison Subscale	7.44 (1.89)	3.00-10.00	3.00-15.00
Downward Comparison Subscale	11.07 (2.88)	5.00-15.00	3.00-15.00
Individualization Subscale	5.63 (2.60)	2.00-10.00	2.00-10.00
Individual Mobility Subscale	5.70 (2.67)	2.00-10.00	2.00-10.00

Note. [1]SRE (Schedule of Racist Events), [2]DASS (Depression, Anxiety, Stress Scale), * Items italicized in the table above did not meet statistic assumptions of normality and were not used in the proceeding analyses.

Given the central role that ethnic and national identities played in this study, it was of interest to examine the general pattern of participant responses for these variables. Participants were typically quite high in their levels of ethnic and national identity affirmation and exploration. Equally, most had high levels of *integrated* dual identity and low levels of *conflicted* dual identity *(Figure 4).* The scatterplots provided in *Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4* help to visualize these trends. *Figure 1* shows that affirmation and exploration dimensions of identity are positively related. This is true for both ethnic and national identity, as portrayed through the nearly parallel positive lines graphed in *Figure 1*. In *Figures 2* and *3*, four quadrants have been created on each graph noting the midpoint of the ethnic and national identity exploration *(Figure 2)* and affirmation *(Figure 3)* scales. The clusters of dots in the upper right quadrant of both graph represents the majority of participants who endorsed high levels of ethnic and national identity exploration *(Figure 2)* and ethnic and national identity affirmation *(Figure 3).* In contrast to *Figure 3*, in *Figure 2* there are more data points in the upper left quadrant—indicating high levels of national identity (exploration) and low levels of ethnic identity (exploration). This is not surprising, given that developmentally, many individuals in middle adulthood may have already completed processes of ethnic identity exploration during adolescence and young adulthood. The relative recency of a new national identity, however, may necessitate continued exploration at this later developmental stage.

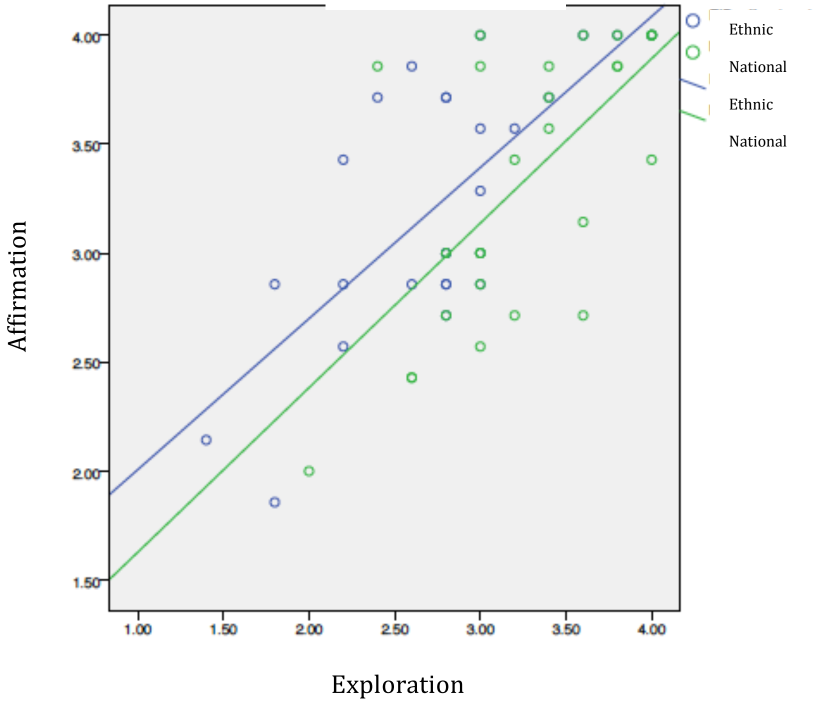

Figure 1. Scatterplot of participant scores on ethnic and national identity affirmation and exploration subscales.

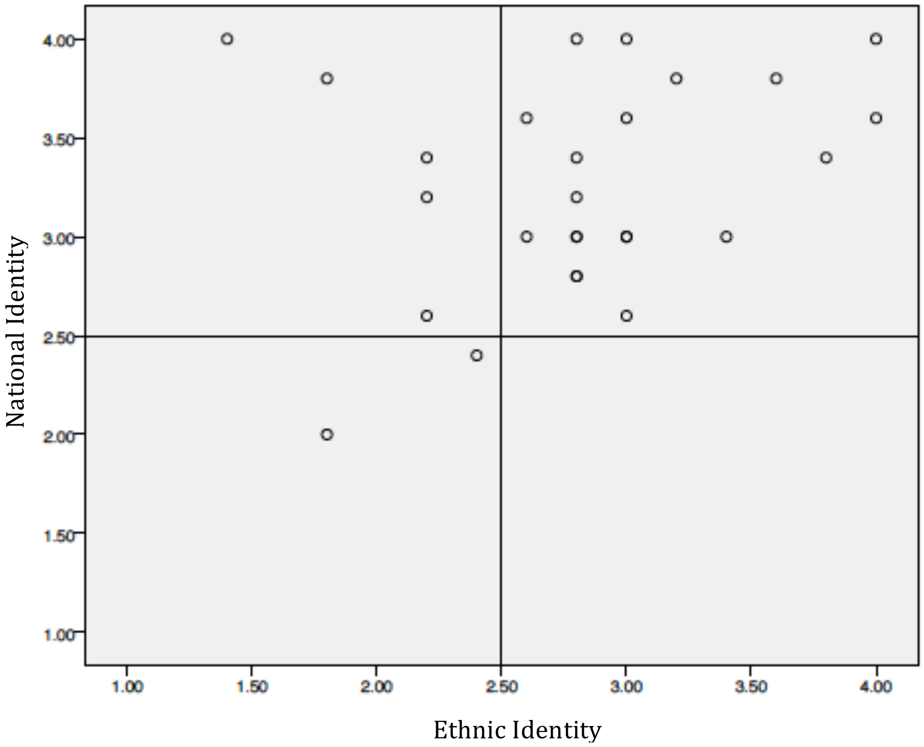

Figure 2. Scatterplot of ethnic and national identity **exploration** scores.

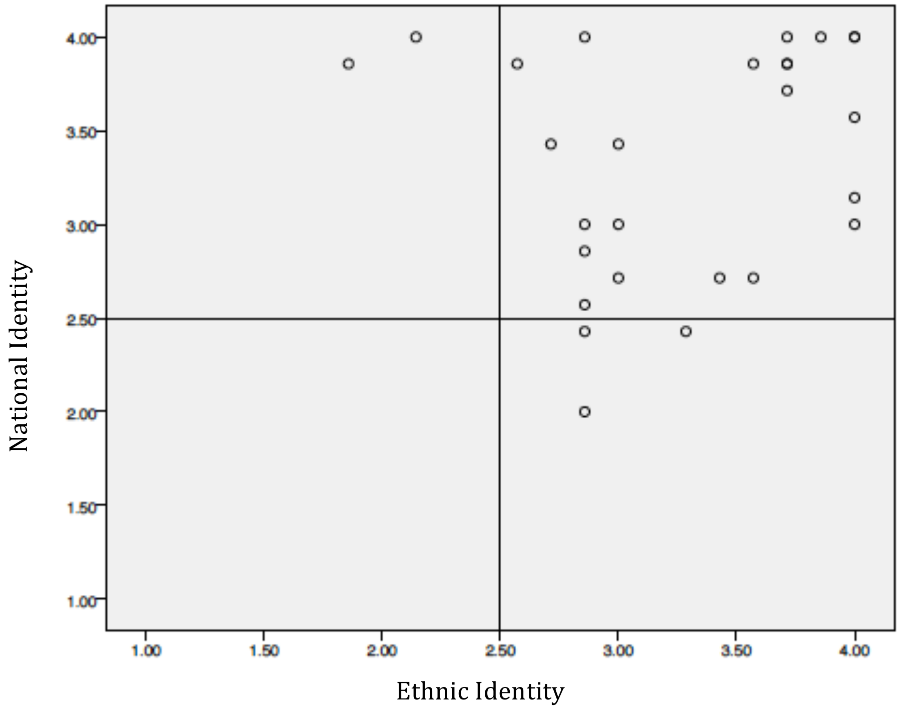

Figure 3. Scatterplot of ethnic and national identity **affirmation** scores.

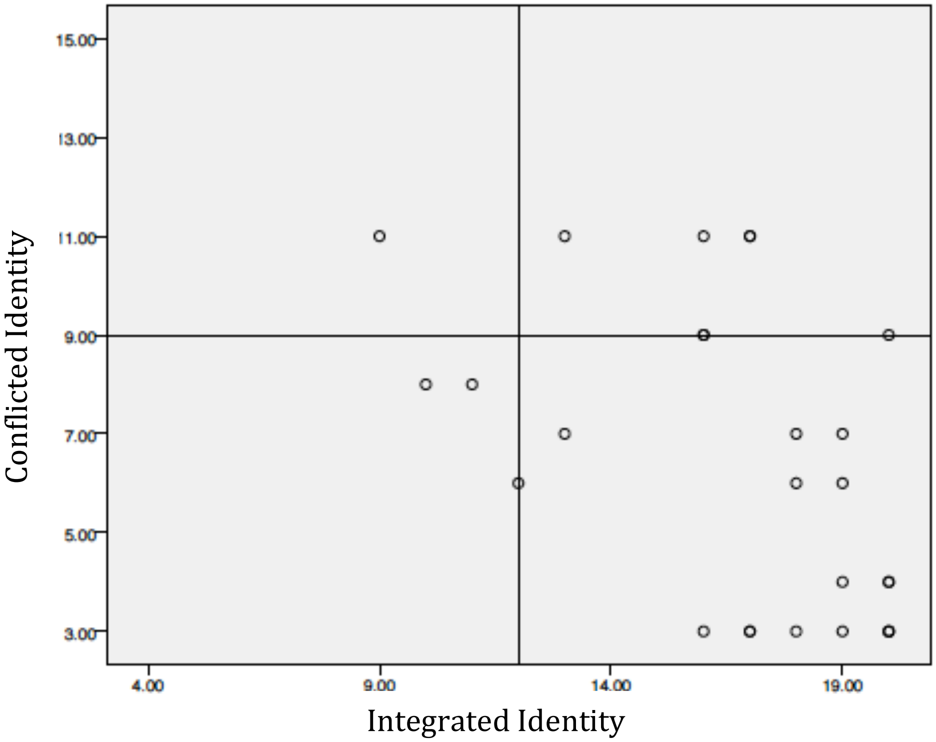

Figure 4. Scatterplot of integrated and conflicted subscale scores for the Dual Identity Scale.

Research Question #1: The role of ethnic identity and experiences of discrimination in predicting psychological distress

Correlations

Correlations between Demographic Variables and Main Study Variables. Pearson correlations between demographic variables (age, gender, length of time in Canada, Educational Level, Family Income) and the main study variables (the three SRE subscales, the three DASS subscales, Ethnic Identity affirmation and exploration subscales) were examined. Participant disclosed gender fell into two categories (male; female). This dichotomous variable was recoded as 0-1, such that the Pearson correlation could be completed. This is equivalent to a point-biserial correlation coefficient, appropriate for investigating the association between a metric and dichotomous variable (Kornbrot, 2005). The correlations revealed that a longer amount of time in Canada was linked with higher levels of ethnic identity affirmation (r=.39, p=.03). There were no other significant associations.

Inter-Correlations among Main Study Variables*.* There were a number of significant associations amongst the main study variables. The zero-order correlations for the main study variables are provided in *Table 2*. As expected, subscales within measures were generally positively correlated. Lifetime discrimination was positively associated with reports of recent discrimination and discrimination stress appraisal. Discrimination stress appraisal was positively associated with the endorsement of anxiety and depression symptoms on the DASS.

The affirmation and exploration dimensions of ethnic identity were strongly associated with one another.

Looking at the relations across scales, higher levels of ethnic identity affirmation were associated with lower levels of stress and depression symptoms. Similarly, ethnic identity exploration was linked with less endorsement of depression symptoms. Higher levels of ethnic identity affirmation were linked with fewer endorsements of experiences of racism throughout one's lifetime. Finally, higher reports of racism-related stress were associated with higher levels of stress and depressive symptoms on the DASS. The DASS variables referred to here, and in *Table 2,* are the modified (categorical variables) developed during the preliminary analyses.

Table 2

Zero Order Correlations among Main Study Variables for Research Question 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. EID[1] exploration	---							
2. EID affirmation	.73**	---						
3. SRE[2] Recent	.10	.06	---					
4. SRE Lifetime	-.19	-.39*	.54**	---				
5. SRE Appraisal	-.16	-.37	.24	.81**	---			
6. DASS[3] Stress	-.28	-.60**	-.02	.37	.44*	---		
7. DASS Anxiety	-.26	-.33	.07	-.05	.10	.46*	---	
8. DASS Depression	-.40*	-.57**	-.19	.31	.45*	.77**	.37	---

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01, [1]EID (Ethnic Identity), [2] SRE (Schedule of Racist Events), [3]DASS (Depression, Anxiety, Stress Scale)

Main Analyses

The original analytic plan involved using linear multiple regression to evaluate the hypothesis that discrimination (the three SRE subscales) predicts psychological distress (the three DASS subscales), and that this relation was moderated by ethnic identity (affirmation buffers discrimination's effect on psychological distress, while exploration exacerbates it). During the data cleaning process, the DASS subscale variables were changed from continuous to categorical variables to address the substantial positive skew. This change necessitated adjusting the analytical strategy as linear multiple regression is not an appropriate method for working with a categorical outcome variable. Instead logistic regression analyses were conducted.

Multivariate logistic regression can be used to evaluate the concurrent effect of multiple variables (e.g., discrimination, ethnic identity) on a dichotomous outcome variable (e.g., high or low depression). Logistic regression works through first determining the likelihood of each participant having either categorical outcome (e.g., being a member of the high or low depression group) in the absence of any specific predictors. In a case where there are an equal number of cases in each category (i.e., ½ participants in high depression group; ½ in low depression group), the model will correctly classify 50% of cases. When the number of cases in each group is unequal, the model will guess that each participant belongs to the category with the greater number of cases, by default. This constant is then included in the next iteration of models where predictors are added. Predictors add value to a model when the addition of specific predictor increases the number of cases correctly classified into each category. Another aspect of interpreting the predictive power of the model for continuous predictors, like those used in these models, is to examine the odds ratio in the regression output. The odds ratio tells us the increase in odds for the likelihood of our outcome (e.g., likelihood of a participant being in a high depression group) given a one-point increase in the scaled predictor variable (e.g., one unit increase in recent discrimination, ethnic identity affirmation). When this value is less than zero the inverse of the value is used to interpret the finding (as discussed in more detail in the logistic regression section of the results below).

Unfortunately, the small sample size in this study precluded testing any interaction effects. Thus, discrimination (the three SRE subscales) and ethnic identity (affirmation and exploration dimensions) were evaluated as independent predictors of psychological distress using logistic regression. Hypotheses were adjusted to more simply predict that *a) both dimensions of ethnic identity would predict lower levels of psychological distress and b) that discrimination would predict higher levels of distress.* Whether some dimensions of discrimination (i.e., SRE recent vs. SRE lifetime vs. SRE appraisal) predicted psychological distress more strongly than others was posed as an exploratory question.

In order to ensure that the correct predictors were entered into the logistic regression model, the relation between each of the predictors of interest and the outcome variables were evaluated using univariate analyses prior to constructing the logistic regression model (Ranganathan, Pramesh & Aggarwal, 2017). A less conservative p value of p=.10 was used at this stage, as recommended by

Ranganathan and colleagues (2017). Only significant univariate predictors were included in the logistic regression model.

In these univariate analyses (depicted in *Table 3*), significant differences between participants with high and low ***depression scores*** were found for ethnic identity exploration, ethnic identity affirmation, and SRE appraisal, such that participants with high depression scores had significantly lower levels of ethnic identity exploration and affirmation, and higher levels of discrimination stress compared to participants with low depression scores. There were no significant differences between participants with high and low depression scores on the SRE lifetime and SRE recent scales.

Regarding participants with high and low ***anxiety scores***, ethnic identity affirmation was the only variable where significant differences were observed—low anxiety participants had higher levels of ethnic identity affirmation than high anxiety participants. No differences between participants with high and low anxiety scores were observed on the variables of ethnic identity exploration, SRE appraisal, SRE recent, or SRE lifetime.

For the ***stress scores***, significant differences between participants with high and low stress scores were observed for ethnic identity affirmation, SRE lifetime, and SRE appraisal, such that individuals who reported high levels of stress had lower levels of ethnic identity affirmation and higher levels of lifetime discrimination and discrimination stress as compared to low stress participants. There were no notable differences between participants with high and low stress on ethnic identity exploration or endorsement of recent discrimination (SRE recent).

Results of these univariate analyses indicated that for the logistic regression model where DASS depression is the outcome variable, ethnic identity exploration, ethnic identity affirmation, and SRE appraisal should be used as predictor variables. The model where DASS anxiety was the outcome variable was eliminated given that ethnic identity affirmation was the only variable where significant differences between high and low anxiety scoring participants emerged. For the model where DASS stress is the outcome variable, ethnic identity affirmation, SRE lifetime, and SRE appraisal were included as predictor variables.

Table 3

T-Tests Evaluating Differences in Ethnic Identity and Perceived Discrimination between Participants with High and Low ***Depression, Anxiety,*** *and* ***Stress*** *Scores*

	High Depression Mean Score *(SD)*	Low Depression Mean Score *(SD)*	*t*	*p*
Ethnic Identity Exploration	2.50 (.62)	3.01 (.57)	-2.16	.04
Ethnic Identity Affirmation	2.86 (.55)	3.54 (.47)	-3.45	.002
SRE[1] lifetime	34.45 (11.55)	28.50 (7.72)	1.54	.14
SRE recent	22.70 (4.60)	24.86 (6.53)	-.90	.38
SRE appraisal	48.90 (20.50)	29.36 (19.32)	2.38	.03

	High Anxiety Mean Score *(SD)*	Low Anxiety Mean Score *(SD)*	*t*	*p*
Ethnic Identity Exploration	2.58 (.71)	2.92 (.58)	-1.35	.19
Ethnic Identity Affirmation	2.98 (.70)	3.40 (.51)	-1.76	.09
SRE lifetime	30.44 (6.39)	31.50 (11.54)	-.29	.77
SRE recent	24.44 (4.67)	23.67 (6.51)	.31	.76
SRE appraisal	40.33 (19.41)	35.80 (23.50)	.49	.63

	High Stress Mean Score *(SD)*	Low Stress Mean Score *(SD)*	*t*	*p*
Ethnic Identity Exploration	2.62 (.70)	2.97 (.58)	-1.42	.17
Ethnic Identity Affirmation	2.88 (.57)	3.60 (.42)	-3.70	.001
SRE lifetime	34.00 (11.07)	27.08 (6.69)	1.85	.08
SRE recent	23.18 (4.09)	23.33 (5.52)	-.08	.94
SRE appraisal	48.60 (20.88)	29.23 (20.02)	2.26	.04

Note. [1] SRE (Schedule of Racist Events)

Logistic Regression Analyses

Analyses proceeded with two logistic regression models: one predicting DASS depression and one predicting DASS Stress. The first (depression) model investigated the effect of three independent variables: ethnic identity exploration, ethnic identity affirmation and SRE appraisal on the likelihood of reporting high depressive symptoms. This full model was significant $\chi^2(3, N=24)=11.08$, $p=.011$. Although the overall model was able to successfully identify participants with low and high depression symptoms, none of the individual predictors made a statistically significant contribution. This may be due to low statistical power. The whole model classified 83.3% of cases correctly and explained between 37% (Cos & Snell R Square) and 49.8% (Nagelkerke R square) of the variance in depression scores.

The second model (stress) tested the impact of three independent variables (ethnic identity affirmation, SRE lifetime, and SRE appraisal) on the likelihood of reporting high stress symptoms. The full model was significant $\chi^2(3, N=21)=14.11$, $p=.003$. The model correctly classified 90.5% of cases, and explained between 48.9% (Cox & Snell R Square) and 65.3% (Nagelkerke R Square) of the variance in reports of stress. Ethnic identity affirmation was the only predictor variable found to make an independent statistical contribution to the model, with an odds ratio of .026 (p=.03). Using the inverse of this value (1000/26), to more easily interpret it, this can also be stated, *for each one point increase on ethnic identity affirmation, the odds of having a high stress score decreases by a factor of 38.5*. *Table 4* summarizes the results of logistic regression analyses.

Collectively, these results indicate that within this small and ethnically diverse sample, discrimination, especially the collective impact of discrimination experienced over one's lifetime and discrimination-related stress were linked with psychological distress (higher levels of depression and stress symptoms.) Across analyses, the protective impact of ethnic identity affirmation, above all other variables, was clear. Ethnic identity affirmation was linked with lower levels of stress, anxiety, and depression in the univariate analyses, and emerged as the only independent predictor of stress in the logistic regression model. This demonstrates ethnic identity affirmation as a major protective factor for ethnic minority immigrants in middle adulthood and underscores the importance of examining the dimensions of ethnic identity (exploration, affirmation) independently.

Table 4

Logistic Regression: Predicting Likelihood of High Depression, High Stress

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	*df*	*p*	Odds Ratio	95% C.I for Odds Ratio Lower	Upper
Depression Model								
SRE[1] Appraisal	.05	.03	2.65	1	.10	1.05	.99	1.12
EID[2] Exploration	-1.14	1.54	.55	1	.46	.32	.02	6.53
EID Affirmation	-1.61	1.42	1.27	1	.26	.20	.01	3.27
Stress Model								
EID Affirmation	-3.65	1.68	4.70	1	.03	.026	.001	.71
SRE Lifetime	.01	.16	.01	1	.94	1.01	.75	1.38
SRE Appraisal	.05	.06	.60	1	.44	1.05	.93	1.17

Note. [1] SRE (Schedule of Racist Events), [2]EID (Ethnic Identity)

Research Question #2: The role of ethnic and national identity in predicting the usage of social identity management strategies

In Research Question #2, four independent variables (ethnic identity and national identity—affirmation and exploration dimensions) were tested as predictors of ten outcome variables. The outcome variables included: the endorsement of integrated dual identity, the endorsement of conflicted dual identity, and the endorsement of eight social identity management strategies: individual mobility, individualization, downward comparison, upward comparison, temporal comparison, new comparison group (two separate comparison items), and social competition.

Correlations

Correlations between Demographic Variables and Research Question #2's Main Variables*.* The correlations between the main study variables for research question #2 and key demographic variables were examined prior to conducting the main analyses to gain a better sense of whether there were any patterns between basic participant characteristics and the endorsement of different social identity management strategies. These findings are summarized below.

Higher family income was associated with a more positive view on how things are for immigrants now versus how they were in the past *(temporal comparison scale)* (r=.48, p<.05) and with greater endorsement of items on the *Upward Comparison Subscale* (r=.52, p<.01), which are items that identify ways in which one's ethnic group is doing better than Canadians*.*

Endorsement of the items on the *Downward Comparison Subscale* (favorably comparing the experiences of one's ethnic group to those of other immigrant groups) was also moderately linked with higher family income (*r*=.43, p<.05) as well as with more time lived in Canada (*r*=.41, p<.01). Endorsement of an *individualization item*, "I do not consider myself as belonging to any group," was modestly associated with male gender (*r*= -.39, p<.05). Finally, a longer amount of time in Canada was linked with higher levels of *national* (*r*=.41, p<.05) and *ethnic* identity affirmation (r=.39, p<.05).

Inter-Correlations among Main Study Variables. As shown in *Table 5*, and as expected, affirmation and exploration dimensions of national identity were strongly positively associated with one another. Similarly, higher scores on the items assessing an integrated sense of dual identity were associated with higher national identity affirmation and higher ethnic identity affirmation. As expected, the integrated dual identification scale was negatively associated with the conflicted dual identification. Integrated dual identity and national identity affirmation were also positively associated with endorsement of downward comparison strategies, indicating that greater national belonging and a cohesive sense of ethnic and national identity is associated with favorably comparing oneself to a lower status social group.

Ethnic identity exploration and affirmation were negatively linked with individualization, and ethnic identity affirmation was also negatively associated with endorsement of individual mobility strategies -- indicating that high levels of ethnic identity affirmation are associated with rejecting the identity management strategy of physically or psychologically trying to leave one's ethnic group and rejecting identification as a single individual rather than as a group member.

There were no other significant correlations between the predictor and outcome variables. The different social identity management strategies were generally distinct from one another. Correlations for the main study variables are available in *Table 5.*

Table 5

Inter-Correlations among Main Study Variables for Research Question #2

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Ethnic Identity Exploration	1													
2. Ethnic Identity Affirmation	.73**	1												
3. Conflicted Dual Identity	-.07	-.15	1											
4. Integrated Dual Identity	.38	.46*	-.52**	1										
5. Social Competition	.03	.10	-.34	.23	1									
6. New Comparison (vs. Canadians)	-.03	.07	-.04	-.07	.06	1								
7. New Comparison (vs. other immigrants)	.22	.16	-.01	.12	.18	.10	1							
8. Temporal Comparison	.07	.24	-.16	.22	.30	-.10	.07	1						
9. Upward Comparison	.14	.31	.13	.06	-.06	-.01	.05	.23	1					
10. Downward Comparison	.04	.26	-.21	.41*	.04	.10	-.20	.66**	.26	1				
11. Individualization	-.50**	-.43*	.06	-.13	.14	-.08	-.16	.10	.15	.06	1			
12. Individual Mobility	-.20	-.44*	.05	-.07	-.24	.11	.22	.10	-.17	.15	.24	1		
13. National Identity Exploration	.26	.02	-.32	.36	.36	.18	-.01	.19	-.35	.02	.04	.32	1	
14. National Identity Affirmation	.18	.16	-.33	.52**	-.03	-.03	-.06	.03	-.07	.41*	.07	.27	.65**	1

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01

Bayesian Regression Analyses

Conceptual Overview of Bayesian Regression*.* A series of Bayesian regression analyses were conducted to investigate how well ethnic identity (affirmation and exploration subscales) and national identity (affirmation and exploration subscales) predicted the endorsement of eight social identity management and two dual identity strategies. While a comprehensive overview of Bayesian analyses is beyond the scope of this paper, a brief introduction to Bayesian regression concepts is provided in the pages that follow. Readers are referred to the excellent resources developed by Schönbrodt and Wagenmakers (2018), Kruschke and Liddell (2018), and Wagenmakers et al. (2018) for a deeper understanding.

In many ways, the Bayesian approach to statistical analysis mirrors how we intuitively think about probabilities. At its core, Bayesian statistics are about continuously updating one's understanding of which model most likely explains a set of data as new information becomes available. Prior to seeing any data, we may have some a priori ideas about how likely one model is to represent the data we are going to collect over another. Indeed, this sense of a priori probability is what we root our hypotheses in. The likelihood of one of these models fitting our data is called the "prior odds" within the Bayesian approach. The prior odds, mathematically, are equal to the probability (P) that the model (M) fits the data divided by the probability that the model does not fit the data P(M)/ P(-M).

Once we collect our data and begin to compare different models (null and alternative hypotheses), we can consider each model to be a different "candidate explanation" of the data (Kruschke & Liddell, 2018). As we run Bayesian regression analyses we are looking to see which model(s) or candidate explanations increase in their likelihood of explaining the data, and which decrease. This is done, in part, through interpreting the Bayes Factor, which redistributes credibility amongst the different possible models given the data in front of us. Ultimately, we are looking to see which models (which predictors or combination of predictors) have the greatest credibility. Through looking at the Bayes Factor we can examine whether the likelihood of these model(s) with the most credibility is different from a null model. Bayes Factors can be interpreted using the classification scheme for interpretation put forth by Lee and Wagenmakers (2013), adjusted from Jeffreys (1961), provided in *Table 6.*

Table 6

Classification Scheme for Interpreting Bayes Factors (BF_{10})

Bayes Factor	Evidence Category
>100	Extreme evidence for H_1
30-100	Very strong evidence for H_1
10-30	Strong evidence for H_1
3-10	Moderate evidence for H_1
1-3	Anecdotal evidence for H_1
1	No evidence
1/3 – 1	Anecdotal evidence for H_0
1/10 – 1/3	Moderate evidence for H_0
1/30 – 1/10	Strong evidence for H_0
1/100 – 1/30	Very strong evidence for H_0
<1/100	Extreme evidence for H_0

Note. This table is a direct of *Table 1* in the publication: Wagenmakers, E. J., Love, J., Marsman, M., Jamil, T., Ly, A., Verhagen, J., ... & Meerhoff, F. (2018). Bayesian inference for psychology. Part II: Example applications with JASP. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, *25*(1), 58-76.

The Bayes Factor allows us to interpret evidence in support or in contradiction to one or more hypotheses on a continuous scale. For this reason, Bayesian analyses are well suited for a small sample, such as this one. In the frequentist paradigm, a lack of statistical power may (likely) result in an insignificant effect. In such a case, we would be able to conclude that there was an absence of evidence in support of the hypothesis. However, we could not necessarily conclude that there was evidence of the absence of an effect. In other words, we may prematurely accept a null hypothesis without evidence in support of it (rather merely evidence signifying an absence of the hypothesized effect; Schönbrodt & Wagenmakers, 2018).

At the conclusion of a Bayesian analysis we have the posterior odds: the probability (P) the model is true (M) given the data "x" divided by the probability that the model is not true (-M) given the data "x." $P(M|X) / P(-M|X)$. The Posterior odds are equal to the prior odds multiplied by the Bayes factor which is mathematically represented as the probability of the data given the model is true divided by the probability of the data given the model is false: $P(X|M) / P(X|-M)$.

In sum, when conducting a Bayesian regression, we are interested in the strength of the Bayes Factor for each model and in determining which models have an increase from the prior to the posterior odds (noted as $BF_{\text{Inclusion}}$ in the output that follows).

In this study, all analyses were conducted in the computer software JASP using the Cauchy distribution default prior ($r = 1/\sqrt{2}$). This default prior was selected given that there was no prior empirical knowledge about the relations among these variables that would warrant setting a more specific prior odds. In situations such as this, a wide-tailed Cauchy distribution is recommended (van Doorn et al., 2019). Recall that in Bayesian analyses, the prior odds indicate our degree of belief in the model prior to seeing the data.

Each of the analyses that follow included a hypothesis testing component (is there evidence in support of an alternative hypothesis, expressed through the Bayes Factor? -- discussed above) and a parameter estimation component (if an effect is present, what is the size of this effect?-- expressed through the Credible Interval).

When looking at a Credible Interval we are looking to see whether the effect is significantly different from zero (the population correlation *p* does not include values between .05 and +.05; Worthy, 2017) and to determine the size of the effect through noting the range of values provided in the credible interval.

Bayesian Regression Results. The analyses that follow investigate whether ethnic and national identity (affirmation; exploration) predict the endorsement of eight specific social identity management and two dual identity strategies. For ease of interpretation, the items that comprise each of the social identity management strategy subscales under evaluation are provided in text.

Individual Mobility (single score calculated from average of two items below)

I try hard to be considered Canadian

I try to live as a Canadian, rather than as a (ethnic label)

Bayesian linear regression analyses compared a null (intercept only) model with fifteen alternative models (each independent variable on its own and all the varied combinations of the independent variables), as outlined in the models column of *Table 7.* In *Table 7,* the Bayes Factor (BF_{10}) indicates the evidence for how well each model fits the data compared to the null model. As seen below, the model which includes ethnic identity affirmation + national identity affirmation has the strongest evidence (BF_{10}=3.32). This Bayes Factors indicates moderate support for this model according to the classification scheme in *Table 6,* above. In plain language, the Bayes Factor here indicates that the data observed are 3.32 times more likely under the ethnic identity affirmation + national identity affirmation model than they are in the null model. The posterior summaries of coefficients in *Table 8* shows that ethnic identity affirmation is the only variable with a substantive change from the prior to the posterior inclusion odds ($BF_{\text{Inclusion}}$=2.89), suggesting that averaged across all the possible models, the data most support the inclusion of ethnic identity affirmation in predicting individual mobility. The large range of values included in the credible interval for ethnic identity affirmation indicates that we do not have a great level of certainty about the size of this effect.

Table 7

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Individual Mobility Strategies

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF $_M$	BF $_{10}$	R^2
EID_exploration + EID_affirmation + NID_exploration + NID_affirmation	0.200	0.187	0.920	1.000	0.340
Null model	0.200	0.125	0.573	0.670	0.000
EID_affirmation + NID_affirmation	0.033	0.104	3.357	3.329	0.310
EID_exploration + EID_affirmation + NID_affirmation	0.050	0.091	1.896	1.941	0.334
EID_affirmation + NID_exploration	0.033	0.090	2.877	2.896	0.299
EID_affirmation	0.050	0.089	1.864	1.911	0.192
EID_affirmation + NID_exploration + NID_affirmation	0.050	0.084	1.740	1.795	0.328
EID_exploration + EID_affirmation + NID_exploration	0.050	0.062	1.266	1.337	0.305
EID_exploration + EID_affirmation	0.033	0.036	1.068	1.140	0.226
NID_exploration	0.050	0.031	0.609	0.665	0.101
NID_affirmation	0.050	0.023	0.441	0.485	0.072
EID_exploration + NID_exploration	0.033	0.022	0.652	0.705	0.184
EID_exploration + NID_exploration+ NID_affirmation	0.050	0.017	0.333	0.369	0.191
EID_exploration	0.050	0.016	0.315	0.349	0.039
EID_exploration + NID_affirmation	0.033	0.013	0.375	0.410	0.134
NID_exploration + NID_affirmation	0.033	0.010	0.287	0.314	0.107

Note. EID = Ethnic Identity; NID = National Identity; P(M) = prior model probability; P(M|data) = posterior model probability; BF_M = change from prior to poster model odds; BF_{10} = Bayes Factor for this model

Table 8

Posterior Summary of Coefficients Table for Individual Mobility Strategies

Coefficient	Mean	*SD*	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	95% Credible Interval Lower	Upper
Intercept	5.704	0.468	1.000	1.000	1.000	4.822	6.766
EID_exploration	0.164	0.735	0.500	0.444	0.799	-1.477	2.189
EID_affirmation	-1.347	1.108	0.500	0.743	2.890	-3.428	0.045
NID_exploration	0.413	0.826	0.500	0.504	1.015	-0.792	2.504
NID_affirmation	0.470	0.739	0.500	0.528	1.118	-0.482	2.346

Note. P (incl) = prior inclusion probability; P(incl|data) = posterior inclusion probability; BF$_{\text{inclusion}}$= change from prior to posterior inclusion odds

To better understand the direction of this finding, we can look at the posterior distribution of the population correlation (*p)* for ethnic identity-individual mobility by running a Bayesian correlation pairs test. The two graphs below in *Figure 5* depict that ethnic identity is negatively associated with the use of individual mobility strategies, and that the population correlation *p,* is indeed different from zero -- it does not include values between .05 and +.05 (Worthy, 2017). The red area in the pie chart shows the likelihood of these data being observed under the current model, whereas the white area shows the likelihood of observing the data when the null hypothesis is true.

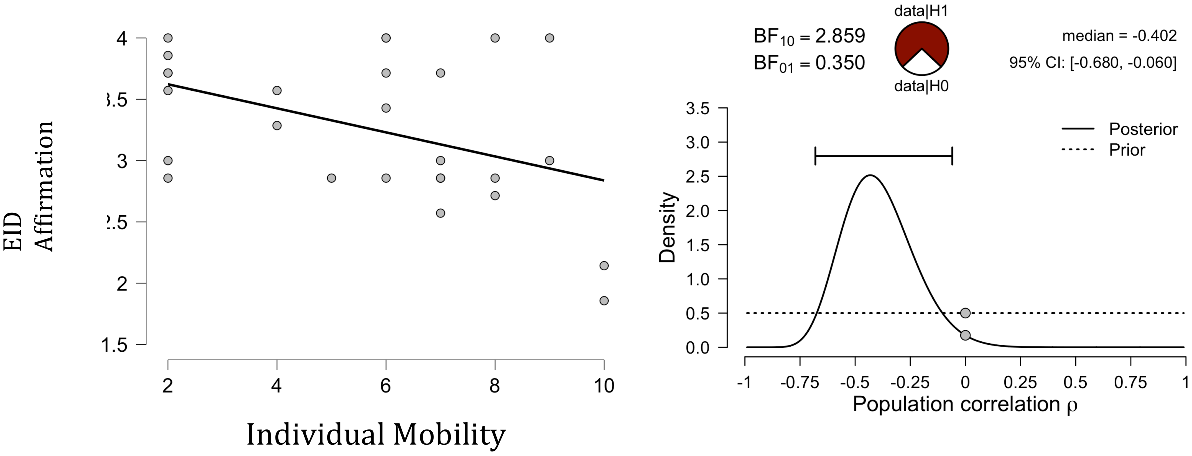

Figure 5. Visuals of Bayesian correlation pairs test for individual mobility – ethnic identity affirmation (scatterplot – *left*; posterior density of *p* – *right*).

Downward Comparison

Compared to some other immigrant groups (my ethnic group)…

- *Has good opportunities in Canada*
- *Are treated well by Canadians*
- *Live a pretty good life in Canada*

Concerning the prediction of endorsement of downward comparison strategies, the model which used national identity exploration + national identity affirmation had the strongest predictive capacity (BF_{10}= 2.67), see *Table 9.* This modest Bayes Factor indicates anecdotal evidence in support of this model. Looking at the posterior summary (see *Table 10* below), the data most strongly support the inclusion of national identity affirmation in the model ($\text{BF}_{\text{inclusion}}$ = 2.42), and there is little certainty about the size of the effect given the spread of values in the Credible Interval. The information from a follow-up Bayesian Correlation Pairs test (see *Figure 6*) gives insight into the direction of this relation—higher national identity affirmation is linked with increased endorsement of downward comparison strategies. Given that values between -.05 and .05 fall within the range of the 95% Credible Interval, there is not strong evidence that *p* is different from zero. Turning now to the pie chart of the Bayes Factor in the graph on the right in *Figure 6*, again, the red area indicates the likelihood of observing the data when the alternative hypothesis is true, and the white area the likelihood of observing the data when the null hypothesis is true. Looking at the pie chart we can see that there is a 1/3 likelihood of observing these data when the null hypothesis is true. In other words, while there is moderate evidence in support of the hypothesis discussed above, it is not compelling.

Table 9

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Downward Comparison

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF_M	BF_{10}	R^2
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.200	0.225	1.159	1.000	0.324
Null model	0.200	0.184	0.901	0.818	0.000
NID exploration + NID affirmation	0.033	0.100	3.225	2.672	0.278
NID affirmation	0.050	0.098	2.062	1.743	0.168
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.050	0.089	1.861	1.588	0.303
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.050	0.067	1.363	1.191	0.279
NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.061	1.232	1.084	0.271
NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.033	0.041	1.230	1.087	0.205
EID affirmation	0.050	0.031	0.614	0.558	0.066
NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.033	0.027	0.815	0.730	0.169
EID exploration	0.050	0.017	0.322	0.296	0.001
NID exploration	0.050	0.016	0.318	0.293	0.000
EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.016	0.460	0.417	0.116
NID exploration + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.013	0.255	0.236	0.125
NID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.010	0.283	0.258	0.066
NID exploration + EID exploration	0.033	0.005	0.159	0.146	0.001

Table 10

Posterior Summary of Coefficients Table for Predicting Downward Comparison

						95% Credible Interval	
Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	$\text{BF}_{\text{inclusion}}$	Lower	Upper
Intercept	11.074	0.517	1.000	1.000	1.000	10.121	12.137
NID exploration	-0.718	1.110	0.500	0.526	1.109	-3.123	0.515
NID_affirmation	1.377	1.202	0.500	0.708	2.421	0.000	3.575
EID_exploration	-0.269	0.774	0.500	0.431	0.757	-2.258	1.039
EID_affirmation	0.518	0.915	0.500	0.485	0.943	-0.602	2.754

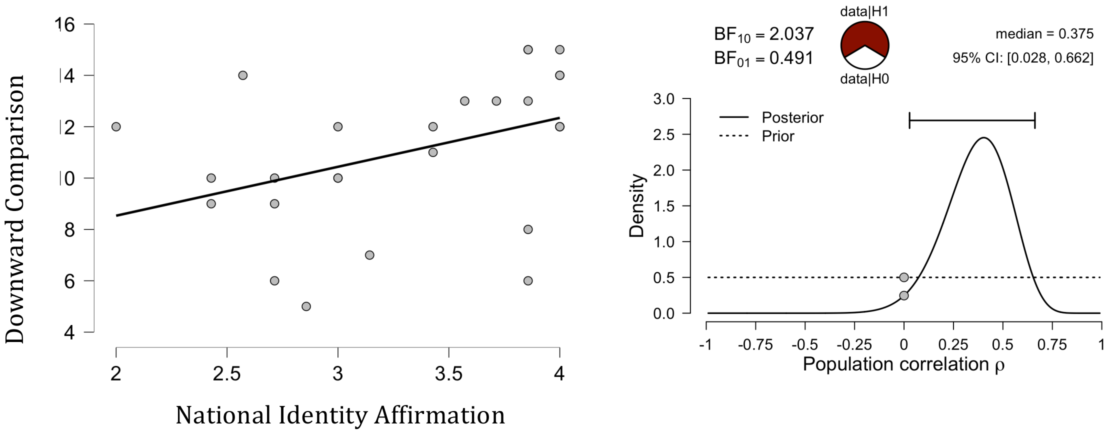

Figure 6. Visuals of Bayesian correlation pairs test for downward comparison – national identity affirmation (scatterplot – *left*; posterior density of *p* – *right*).

Upward Comparison

Canadians may have some advantages, but (ethnic group) immigrants

- *Are happier*
- *Have closer family relationships*
- *Are more resilient*

In the regression model predicting the endorsement of upward comparison strategies, there was very weak (anecdotal) evidence in support of the National Identity Exploration + Ethnic Identity Affirmation Model (BF_{10} = 1.72). There was the most (though still relatively weak) support for National Identity Exploration in the model ($BF_{Inclusion}$=1.26). This evidence (see *Tables 11 and 12*) is not substantive enough to interpret.

Table 11

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Upward Comparison

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF_M	BF_{10}	R^2
Null model	0.200	0.258	1.394	1.000	0.000
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.200	0.143	0.669	0.554	0.253
NID exploration	0.050	0.083	1.721	1.285	0.125
NID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.074	2.326	1.723	0.227
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.050	0.069	1.408	1.068	0.253
EID affirmation	0.050	0.062	1.249	0.954	0.098
NID exploration + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.052	1.044	0.806	0.227
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.050	0.052	1.036	0.800	0.227
NID exploration + EID exploration	0.033	0.043	1.313	1.006	0.180
NID exploration + NID affirmation	0.033	0.040	1.198	0.921	0.172
EID exploration	0.050	0.028	0.541	0.429	0.019
NID affirmation	0.050	0.024	0.468	0.372	0.004
EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.022	0.654	0.512	0.116
NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.033	0.021	0.624	0.489	0.111
NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.019	0.369	0.295	0.127
NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.033	0.010	0.281	0.223	0.027

Table 12

Posterior Summary of Coefficients Table for Predicting Upward Comparison

Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	95% Credible Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Intercept	7.444	0.350	1.000	1.000	1.000	6.598	8.105
NID exploration	-0.631	0.765	0.500	0.556	1.254	-2.293	0.163
NID affirmation	0.138	0.448	0.500	0.377	0.606	-0.796	1.417
EID exploration	0.053	0.430	0.500	0.369	0.584	-0.943	1.310
EID affirmation	0.320	0.562	0.500	0.462	0.860	-0.386	1.789

Other Social Identity Management Strategies

There was no evidence supporting any of the models in the prediction of temporal comparison strategies, social competition strategies, individualization strategies, or new comparison strategies (all Bayes Factors were 1 or less), indicating that there is no predictive capacity for ethnic and national identity in determining the endorsement of these social identity management strategies. Full results of these findings are available in *Appendix I.*

Integrated Identity

Bayesian Regression was also used to investigate how ethnic and national identity (affirmation and exploration dimensions) predicted endorsement of *integrated* dual identity and *conflicted* dual identity on the Dual Identity Scale. Concerning the prediction of an integrated dual identity, there was moderate support for the National Identity Affirmation + Ethnic Identity Affirmation Model (BF_{10}=5.95), see *Table 13*. The posterior summary of the data supports the inclusion of national identity affirmation ($BF_{Inclusion}$ =3.87) and ethnic identity affirmation in the model ($BF_{Inclusion}$=2.29) (see *Table 14*). In other words, the odds in favor of models that include national identity affirmation and ethnic identity affirmation have increased by factors of 3.87 and 2.29, respectively. The wide range of the credible intervals for both these variables indicates uncertainty about the true size of these effects.

A follow-up analysis with Bayesian Correlation Pairs (see *Figures 7* and *8)* indicated that ethnic and national identity affirmations are both positively linked with *integrated* dual identity. The 95% Credibility Interval for the posterior density of both of these variables provides good evidence that *p* is distinct from zero. This evidence is particularly robust for national identity affirmation.

None of the variables predicted *conflicted* dual identity (all Bayes Factor were less than 1.1). These results are displayed in full in *Tables 15-26*, located in *Appendix I.*

Table 13

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Integrated Dual Identity

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF_M	BF_{10}	R^2
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.200	0.183	0.896	1.000	0.422
NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.033	0.181	6.431	5.948	0.419
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.050	0.107	2.268	2.330	0.422
NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.101	2.142	2.214	0.419
NID affirmation	0.050	0.088	1.829	1.919	0.274
NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.033	0.070	2.191	2.302	0.360
NID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.046	1.399	1.508	0.331
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.050	0.043	0.853	0.939	0.361
Null model	0.200	0.041	0.171	0.223	0.000
EID affirmation	0.050	0.037	0.738	0.817	0.211
NID exploration + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.030	0.593	0.661	0.335
NID exploration + NID affirmation	0.033	0.021	0.628	0.695	0.275
EID exploration	0.050	0.017	0.321	0.362	0.145
NID exploration	0.050	0.013	0.260	0.295	0.127
NID exploration + EID exploration	0.033	0.010	0.304	0.340	0.217
EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.010	0.299	0.335	0.215

Table 14

Posterior Summary of Coefficients Table for Predicting Integrated Dual Identity

						95% Credible Interval	
Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	Lower	Upper
Intercept	16.667	0.532	1.000	1.000	1.000	15.647	17.786
NID exploration	0.269	0.924	0.500	0.454	0.832	-1.530	2.579
NID affirmation	1.523	1.131	0.500	0.795	3.872	-0.003	3.529
EID exploration	0.181	0.846	0.500	0.465	0.869	-1.343	2.338
EID affirmation	1.210	1.170	0.500	0.696	2.294	0.000	3.595

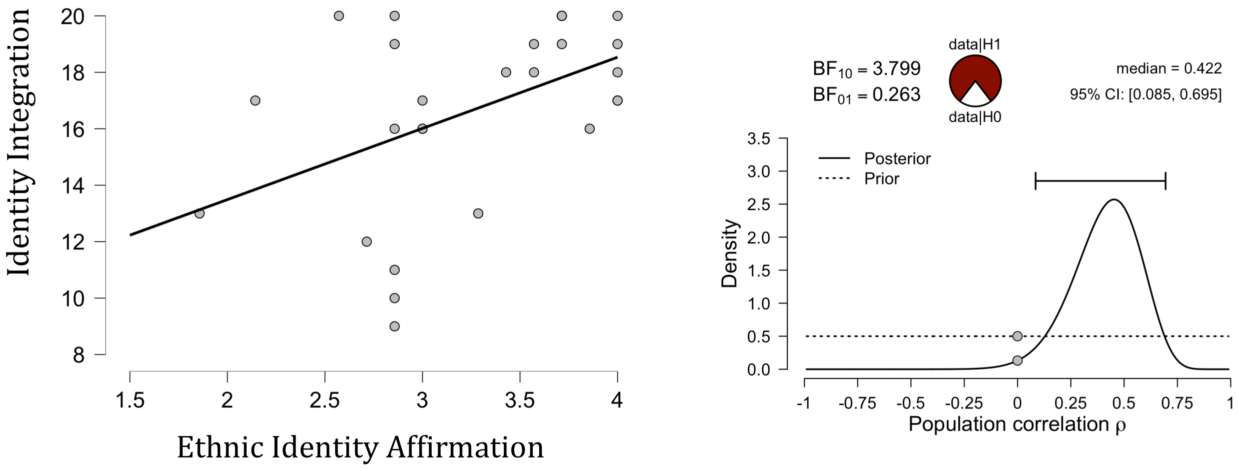

Figure 7. Visuals of Bayesian correlation pairs test for integrated dual identity – ethnic identity affirmation (scatterplot – *left*; posterior density of *p* – *right*).

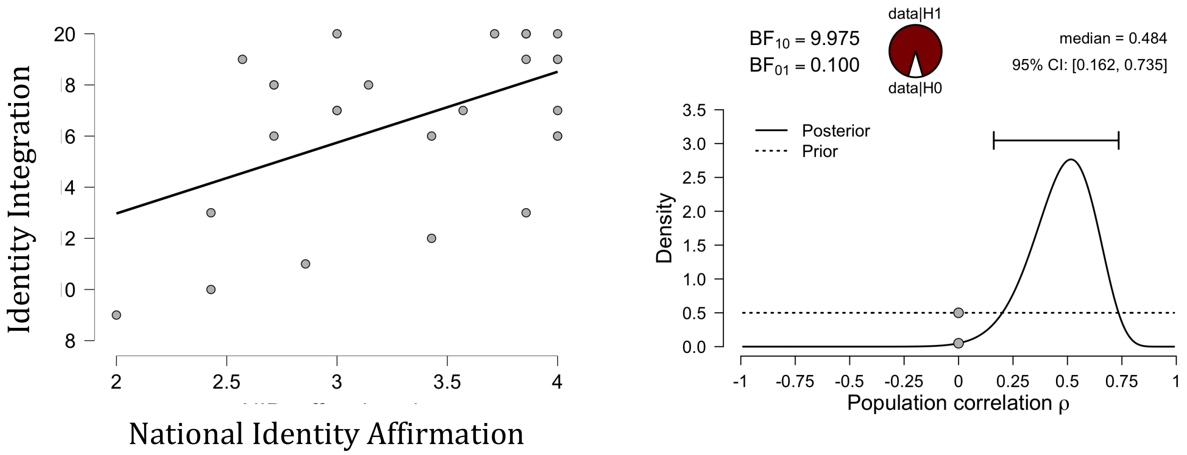

Figure 8. Visuals of Bayesian correlation pairs test for integrated dual identity – national identity affirmation (scatterplot – *left*; posterior density of *p* – *right*).

In sum, though the small sample size was a significant limitation, the Bayesian regression analyses provided some insight into the prediction of social identity management strategies. First, there were a number of social identity management strategies that were unrelated to the strength of ethnic and national identity -- in particular, the social creativity strategies: temporal comparison, individualization, and new comparison. Interestingly, social competition (collective action) was also unrelated to ethnic and national identity exploration and affirmation. This is a divergent finding from the literature proposing that group affirmation and commitment positively influences engagement in collective action (i.e., Ellemers, Spears, & Doojse, 2002). However, the open way in which these identity management strategies were posed in the survey (i.e., asking about identity management strategy use generally, rather than when experiencing discrimination specifically), may account for this difference. This distinction between identity management in general and identity management under threat is consistent with the biculturalism research previously reviewed in this dissertation (i.e., Wiley & Deaux, 2010.

Nonetheless, *identity affirmation* did play a key role in predicting some social identity management strategy endorsement. Higher ethnic identity affirmation predicted fewer physical or psychological efforts to leave or disassociate oneself from one's ethnic group (individual mobility). Stronger national identity affirmation was linked with greater use of the downward comparison social creativity strategy—favorably comparing oneself to a lower status social group. In other words, the more one felt a sense of belonging and commitment to Canadian society, the more likely one may be to elevate their own social status through considering their power relative to others in perceived subordinate social groups (e.g., other ethnic minority immigrant groups).

Both ethnic and national identity *affirmation* were linked with a stronger integrated sense of dual identity. By comparison, interestingly, the exploration dimensions of these identities had no predictive value for integrated dual identity. Together, these results point to the key role that identity affirmation plays not just in protecting one from psychological and discrimination-related distress (as discussed in the summary for research question #1), but also in influencing the specific cognitive strategies that individuals use to manage their social identities in day to day life. Next, we turn to the qualitative data to better understand how these aspects of identity influence social identity management when identities are under threat—that is, in the context of discrimination.

Qualitative Results (Research Question # 3):

How are social identities managed when under threat (within the context of discrimination)?

Participant Approaches to Qualitative Questions

Participant responses to the qualitative questions were generally quite brief. Participants provided text in the form of single phrase up to nine sentences. The number of words in participant responses ranged from 1 to 157. Only a handful of participants provided three or more sentences addressing multiple aspects of one's experience. Typically one to two themes were coded from each brief response.

Methodological Considerations

Throughout data analysis, emerging findings were tested through a process of triangulation. Triangulation occurred by researcher action (i.e., use of external reviewers to independently sort ground-up codes into researcher-created categories), by theory (i.e., use of both biculturalism and social identity management theories to analyze data in the top-down coding process), and by data type (i.e., use of quantitative and qualitative questions concerning identity, discrimination, and social identity management).

Qualitative data analysis involved a two-pronged approach. The first pass on the data employed a data-driven coding approach to identify ground-up themes, which may not be captured in the existing social identity management and biculturalism frameworks. These codes were descriptive in nature, staying as close to the actual text of participant responses as possible. These codes were then sorted into ground-up thematic categories. In the second pass of data analysis, the raw data were reviewed again while using a code manual developed from a template organizing style (i.e., Crabtree & Miller, 1999). This manual was based on the literature reviewed on social identity management and biculturalism and included broad descriptions of the different strategies previously discussed (e.g., superordinate categorization, individual mobility, etc.). In sum, the analytic process involved 1) descriptive coding of all participant responses 2) thematic categorization of these responses 3) top-down coding of participant responses based on how well they matched the social identity management and biculturalism strategy descriptions in the coding manual. Results from these two approaches are discussed in succession. *Figure 9* provides a visual depiction of this process. The overlap in descriptive codes used in both the thematic analysis and the top-down coding process are indicated with the ✪ symbol in *Figure 9*.

This two-pronged approach to data analysis was used to provide a clear account of the ways that ethnic and national identities are implicated in the experience of discrimination. While the ground up approach alone may have provided interesting insights into the natural ways that individuals navigate discriminatory experiences, the comparison of the ground-up and top-down data was a necessary step to arrive at a precise identification of the conceptual gaps in the biculturalism and social identity management frameworks (i.e., through highlighting the natural strategies participants identified in the ground up data that have yet to be conceptualized within these two approaches).

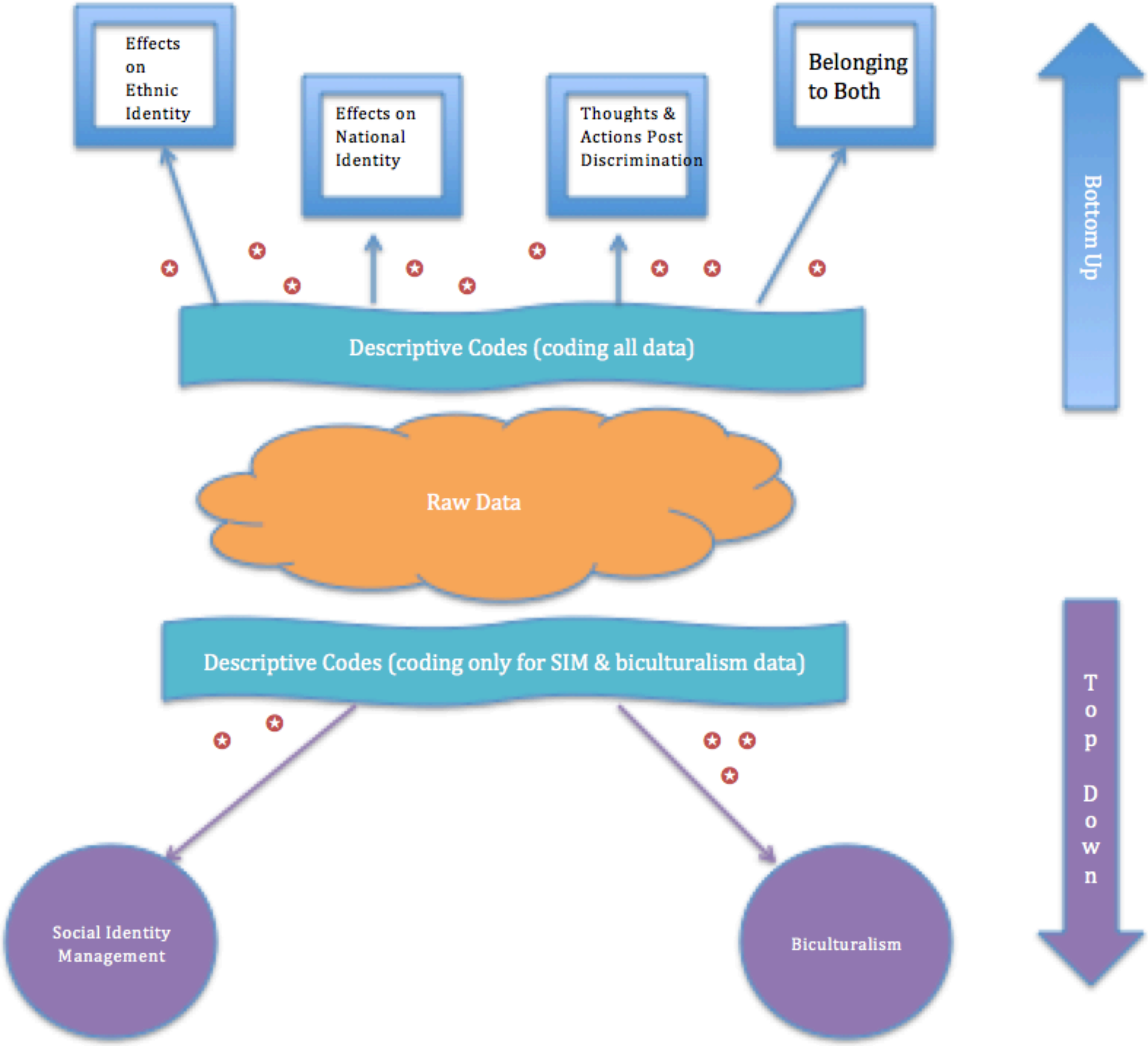
Effects on Ethnic Identity
Effects on National Identity
Thoughts & Actions Post Discrimination
Belonging to Both
Bottom Up
Descriptive Codes (coding all data)
Raw Data
Descriptive Codes (coding only for SIM & biculturalism data)
Top Down
Social Identity Management
Biculturalism

Figure 9. Visual of inductive thematic analysis and deductive social identity management (SIM) and biculturalism-based analytical approaches.

Qualitative Results: Ground-Up Analyses

Analysis Procedure

The data analysis approach began with coding all responses *across participants* and *within each discrete area of inquiry within research question #3*. Thus, four large categories --corresponding to the four areas of qualitative inquiry -- were created at the outset of analyses. These included: 1) The effects of discrimination on ethnic identity, 2) The effects of discrimination on national identity, 3) Thoughts and actions after an experience of discrimination, and 4) Belonging to both (participant responses to the question asking what they do to try to feel like they belong to both ethnic and national groups).

Beyond these four categories, no other top-down organization was imposed on the data. Rather, coding proceeded in a ground-up fashion. Participant statements were coded descriptively, using small chunks of data -- a “splitter-style” coding approach (Saldaña, 2009) -- and staying as close to the original text as possible. This generated a long list of individual codes within each of the four categories. This list was systematically reviewed. Codes with shared content or those describing a similar process were grouped together. Slowly, a number of sub-categories were named to describe these code groupings. Sub-category definitions were subsequently developed (including the identification of inclusion and exclusion criteria for each sub-category). All categories were reviewed several more times and codes were moved, revised, and subcategory names and definitions changed to better capture the code contents. A few codes remained uncategorized after multiple iterations of this process. These were left independent, as a guiding rule for the data analysis was to ensure that no codes were forced into categories if there was not a smooth, intuitive, and easy fit. Reflexive memos were used throughout this process to track developing themes and interpretations of the data.

Once the final coding scheme and sub-categories were established (see *Appendix J* for sub-category definitions), they underwent external review by a team of eight researchers. Reviewers included Dr. Costigan and seven advanced psychology students (3 graduate and 4 undergraduate), all involved for one or more years with the University of Victoria Immigrant Families Studies Research Lab. These external reviewers worked in small groups. Each team consisted of one undergraduate and one graduate student/faculty member. Teams were each assigned one of the four large categories. The groups were presented with a list of all the individual codes developed for their category and a separate list of all the subcategories (with definitions and inclusion/exclusion criteria). The reviewers then independently sorted all the individual codes into the sub-categories, identifying any codes that did not fit and flagging any sub-categories that were problematic. Reviewers also provided feedback on the sub-category definitions and inclusion/exclusion criteria. At the conclusion of the review process, 83% of the codes were categorized in exactly the same manner. The remaining 17% of codes were re-reviewed. Some codes were moved in accordance with the external reviewers' decisions, and others were retained in their original sub-categories with modifications to the sub-category definitions to enhance clarity. The resulting coding scheme for each of the four large categories is provided in full in *Appendix L* and portrayed visually through the data displays in *Appendix K*. A brief summary of the coding scheme is provided in *Figure 10* below.

Bullet points below denote sub-categories within each large category. Each level of bullet point tabbing represents a smaller subcategory

Effect of Discrimination on Ethnic Identity

- Normalizing, "part of life"
- Actively keep it from affecting me
- Externalizing discrimination, "it's the perpetrator's problem"
- No effect on ethnic identity
- Emotional reactions
    - Pride
- Little to no discrimination

Effect of Discrimination on National Identity

- Discrimination is inevitable
- Effect on feeling Canadian/Feelings about Canada
    - Negative Effect
    - Still feed good, proud about being Canadian
- Motivations to act
- Emotional reactions
- It's their (discriminators') problem
- Generalizing to most Canadians' views (positively or negatively)
- Little to no discrimination

Thoughts and Actions Post-Discrimination

- External actions and reactions
    - Teach others
    - Connect with history, ethnic culture
    - Avoid certain ethnic groups
    - Confrontation, quest for justice
- Internal actions and reactions
    - Varied emotional reactions
    - Other-focused sympathy
    - Blame self or ethnic group
    - Focus on understanding
    - Focus on the positive
    - Renewed resolve to keep fighting, make improvements
- Considerations for how I act
- Not as affected due to minimal discrimination
- Not applicable

Belonging to Both

- Leaning Canadian
- Outsider to one community
- Fluid, combining approach
- No barriers to belonging to both
- Growth
- Strategies
    - Participate in both cultures
    - Canadian belonging strategies
    - Multicultural focused strategies
    - Share my culture with Canadians (and learn)

Figure 10. Summary outline of ground-up coding scheme.

Summary of Themes

Effects of Discrimination on Ethnic Identity

Participant responses to the question asking how experiences of discrimination affected one's feelings about being a member of their ethnic group varied greatly. Sometimes individuals provided pure emotional reactions to experiences of discrimination, whereas others identified mental strategies to keep one's self from feeling badly about discrimination. For other participants, responses focused on the specific links between the discriminatory event and the impact on ethnic identity.

Across the data, six subcategories (bolded below) were developed that captured nearly the full range of participant responses. See *Appendix L* for the full coding system. These responses included three cognitive strategies for understanding and managing the experience of discrimination. Specifically, **normalizing discrimination** (statements that indicate that discrimination is somewhat inevitable, *(e.g., "no big deal, part of life" – 56 year old, Sri Lankan man),* **efforts to keep discrimination from affecting oneself** (e.g*., "I try not be affected, just be the best I can be and move on" – 55 year old, Asian woman*), and **externalizing discrimination** (shifting the devaluing aspect of discrimination from the individual to the person perpetrating the discrimination—e.g., *"I'm sad for the perpetrator that they are lacking in education" – 63 year ol, Barbadian man).* A fourth sub-category included a full range of **emotional reactions** that occur in response to experiences of discrimination (most commonly continued pride in ethnic identity, as well as emotions like frustration, humiliation, and feeling degraded – e.g., *"…just makes me sad and somewhat angry" – 40 year old, Japanese man).*

A subgroup of participants explicitly indicated that **discrimination had no bearing on their feelings about their ethnic identity/ethnic group** (e.g*., "It (discrimination) doesn't affect being Japanese" – 40 year old, Japanese man)***,** and a handful of participants responded to this question stating that they have **experienced little or no discrimination** at all (e.g., *"Fortunately, I haven't had much experience being discriminated in Canada" – 46 year old Asian woman).*

An interesting aspect of the range of responses was the absence of responses that indicated any ill effect discrimination had on one's ethnic identity. Even when individuals reported experiencing negative emotions in reaction to discrimination, these were not connected with ethnic identity, suggesting that among these participants, ethnic identity was relatively protected from the deleterious effects of discrimination. Within Cross' Nigresence model, this is in line with the role of the *internalized* racial identity—an identity that effectively buffers psychological insults. The absence of this type of negative effect may also be due, in part, to the participants' developmental stage. Individuals in middle adulthood, with a more established understanding of and relationship with their ethnic identity, may have more resources to adaptively protect this sense of self. In essence, there was an absence of evidence of experiences of *internalized discrimination* that occur in reaction to discrimination from peers and adults in youth (Green et al., 2006) and by contrast active efforts to externalize discrimination. Further, there were ample codes indicating that experiencing discrimination actually enhanced or maintained one's pride in their ethnicity (e.g., *"I remain proud of my East Indian background"—42 year old, East Indian woman),* a real-life example of Branscombe's (1999) rejection-identification process in action.

Effects of Discrimination on National Identity

There were a number of interesting parallels in participant responses between the question about the effects of discrimination on ethnic identity and the question about the effects of discrimination on national identity (core sub-categories for the effects of discrimination on national identity category are bolded in the text below). In particular, **statements that discrimination is inevitable** (normalizing discrimination) (e.g., *"Canada is a multi-cultural country, the population is made of of various races and ethnics, so discrimination seems to be inevitable due to cultural differences"—60 year old, Chinese woman),* strategies of externalizing discrimination **(It's their [discriminators'] problem –** *e.g., "The problem is with the person discriminating against me*"**—***42 year old, East Indian woman*), **experiences of little to no discrimination** *(e.g., "…it hardly ever happens" – 44 year old, Mexican woman),* and a full range of **emotional reactions** *(e.g., "disappointed" – 40 year old, Middle Eastern woman),* to the experience of discrimination were equally present in participant responses to this question. Additionally, there were three subcategories unique to national identity. First, there were responses that explicitly discussed the **impact** of discrimination **on one's feelings about Canada or being Canadian**. Generally, these responses indicated either a *negative effect* –discrimination triggers feeling as though one doesn't belong in Canada/a decline in positive feelings about being Canadian *(e.g., "…skin colour still* *matters in Canada"—40 year old, Pakistani woman),* or, more commonly, *a maintenance of pride in being Canadian* (e.g., "*[despite discrimination] I am still proud to be Canadian" – 63 year old, Barbadian man*). While this maintenance of pride in being Canadian is, on the surface, the same process observed for ethnic identity (discrimination leads to a maintenance or enhancement of ethnic identity affirmation), it seems conceptually distinct. Consider again Branscombe's process of rejection-identification. Within the rejection-identification model (i.e., Branscombe et al., 1999), one protects their threatened ethnic identity through enhanced ethnic group affirmation when they experience discrimination. Substituting national identity into this model, the explanation is illogical. Ethnic minority immigrants would not enhance their Canadian group affirmation *as a strategy to protect the attacked ethnic self* when experiencing discrimination (likely from a Canadian). Individuals may indeed align with the national group when the ethnic identity is attacked, but this would likely be done within the context of psychologically leaving the ethnic group (individual mobility) or foregoing this aspect of identity (assimilation). While the result may be the same, these latter concepts (individual mobility, assimilation) seem more fitting explanations for the process at play.

Within the Canadian context of the national cultural mosaic, Canadian identity itself may be considered a composition of a multitude of cultural identities. Nonetheless, the majority Canadian culture still carries weight, and these identity mangment strategies (assimilation, individual mobility) are still apparent -- particularly when affiliation with the ethnic group presents a threat to being accepted within the majority cultural national group. As one example, in response to the question about the effect of discrimination on his thoughts and actions, a 40 year old Japanese male participant in the current sample responded, "…I try to stay away from the Japanese community." This is a clear example of individual mobility from the Japanese ethnic group in response to discrimination.

In other responses, participants varied in the extent to which discriminatory experiences led to **generalizations about the views** (or biases) **held by most Canadians.** Some participants seemed to employ a purposeful distancing strategy—(e.g., "*It's not how the majority of the Canadian population thinks, so therefore I can remain proud of being Canadian" – 46 year old, Asian woman*.) Indeed, this approach to protecting national identity has been seen throughout history and at a broad scale in recent years. The #NotmyPresident social media movement adopted by many Americans following the election of Donald Trump in the 2016 US Presidential Election is a recent example of this process. In this movement, Americans recast national pride as compatible with rejecting the elected leader, indicating that he does not share the values of most Americans and is not representative of the US as a whole. For other participants, experiences of discrimination were more readily linked with fears of widespread bias (e.g., "*I believe that while that person does not represent all Canadians, I do wonder how much their overt actions reflect a hidden feeling by other Canadians" – 42 year old, East Indian woman).*

Finally, there were also responses that described discriminatory events as a catalyst for one's **motivations to act,** to fight discrimination or promote racial equity (e.g., "*I feel we should educate more our host culture (Canadian) about different cultures this beautiful country has been made of" – 60 year old, Brazilian* *woman*) This type of response is interesting in that it holds the individual being marginalized responsible for rectifying society's inequities. Simultaneously, discrimination spurring collective action is a well-established idea in the area of group consciousness theory (i.e., Sanchez, 2006), and was apparent in a number of participant responses discussed in the next section.

Thoughts and Actions Following an Experience of Discrimination

Codes, sub-subcategories (italicized below), and sub-categories (bolded below) for this research question are only briefly overviewed here as they are more fully discussed in coordination with the related top-down data analysis findings at the conclusion of the qualitative results section. At the highest level, participant responses to this question were intuitively grouped into sub-categories of **external actions and reactions to discrimination** and **internal actions and reactions to discrimination.** External actions captured actions individuals take outside of themselves including: *teaching others* about their prejudiced misconceptions *(e.g., …generally think of ways I can use the event as a teachable moment – 60 year old, Jamaican Canadian woman), connecting with one's history or ethnic culture* (e.g., *"I try to act with dignity and stay connected to my culture" – 40 year old, Pakistani woman)* (another example of rejection-identification)*, avoiding certain ethnic groups* (either the Canadian group or one's own ethnic group) (e.g., *"…I started to avoid contacting Canadians" – 64 year old, Latina woman),* or *confronting* the discriminator/*pursuing justice* (e.g., *"… If the discrimination directly affects me and/or I think that is beyond the boundary, I assertively indicate their wrong-doing and ask them to apologize." – 47 year old, Korean woman)*

By contrast, the internal actions and reactions sub-category included all personal thoughts and feelings that may occur following discrimination (none of which involved actually taking action outside of the self). These internal actions included mini categories of: *varied emotional reactions (*e.g.*, "I become irritated and emotional" –51 year old, Filipina woman)*, *other-focused sympathy (*expression of sympathy or solidarity with others who have experienced discrimination) (e.g., *"I sympathized to other people who had similar experiences I had" – 40 year old, Asian woman)*, blaming *(onus on) the self or ethnic group* for the experience of discrimination (e.g., *"I will reflect the reasons why the Chinese (Hong Kong) are being discriminated instead of putting the blame to others" – 60 year old, Chinese woman),* maintaining one's *focus on understanding* why the discrimination occurred, (e.g., *"…I will never understand why I was discriminated only by my accent, or for not speak a good English at that time" – 64 year old, Latina woman),* and developing a *renewed resolve to keep fighting or make improvements* without any direct indication of actually acting (e.g., *I should… encourage myself to be a more powerful person to improve the status of Korean community" – 54 year old, Korean woman*). This is similar to the motivations to act sub-category described in the previous paragraph.

Looking more closely at these internal action subcategories, there are connections with some of the personal identity development theories. In particular, the responses focused on wanting to understand why the discrimination occurred and blaming one's self or one's ethnic group; these responses seem less adaptive than some of the others. Recall that in the description of the MAMA cycles (Stephen et al., 1992), individuals without achieved identities can experience disequilibrating events (i.e., discrimination) as shattering and a true barrier to moving forward in life. From this perspective, focusing on trying to understand why a prejudiced event occurred or blaming the self or ethnic group for the event may indicate this type of personal identity fracture. Similarly, discrimination as a trigger for blaming one's ethnic group for experiences of discrimination, could also be considered an accommodation strategy within Whitbourne and colleagues' *identity process theory*—changing (and destabilizing) a piece of one's identity in response to the experience of discrimination. The use of this type of accommodation strategy in the context of discrimination seems likely to produce the same identity disruption effect as expected from the identity achievement perspective.

It is notable that participant responses did not exclusively fall into the internal or external actions sub-categories. Some participants had responses that included both of these elements. In addition to these two large categories, a number of codes described particular **individuals' considerations for how to** (or whether or not to) **act.** That is, these codes described, thought processes that occur prior to taking (or not taking) an action in response to an act of discrimination. For example, one individual stated, *"If I may think the situation is dangerous, I just ignore it" – 44 year old, Mexican woman.* As we have seen with the other research questions, a subgroup of participants also indicated that they were **not as affected due to minimal discrimination** experiences (e.g., *"Discriminatory events have been isolated. That makes it easier to focus on a person, not at an ethnic or cultural group – 64 year old, Mexican man*).

Belonging to Both

Codes, sub sub-categories (italicized below), and sub-categories (bolded below) within the *Belonging to Both Category* are only briefly overviewed here as they are more fully discussed in coordination with the related top-down data analysis findings at the conclusion of the qualitative results section. Codes about what one does to feel like one belongs to both ethnic and national cultures were grouped into six subcategories. The first subcategory, **leaning Canadian,** included statements where participants described their cultural orientation as predominantly Canadian, (e.g., *"I am freely Canadian Citizen, who chose to live in this country as my own!"—60 year old, Brazilian woman*). The second subcategory, feeling like an **outsider to one community,** included statements about being either an outsider to one's ethnic group (assimilation within an acculturation view) or to the Canadian group (separation within an acculturation view), (e.g., *"Although I recognize I had assimilate some Canadian culture traits, I don't feel I am part of them" – 64 year old Latina woman*). The third subcategory, adopting a **fluid, combining approach** to life included statements about actively working to try to fit two cultures together and skillfully using the resources of each culture to one's advantage (*e.g., "My East Indian roots are important because India is where I spent my formative years…at the same time, Canada is a beautiful country which has given me many opportunities….There are many common values between my Indian roots and my Canadian reality." – 42 year old, East Indian woman).* The fourth subcategory included statements indicating that there are **no barriers to belonging to both** cultures**.** In other words, a complete absence of conflict between cultures and thus no effort needed to belong to both cultures (e.g., *"…I don't see why you can't belong to* *both" –44 year old, Mexican woman*). Fifth, there was a **growth** statement**,** describing movement from a feeling of not belonging to both cultures towards dual belonging (measured as integrated dual identity in the quantitative section) (e.g, "*At first I felt I am not completely belong to Asian neither Canadian a few year after I immigrated in Canada" – 40 year old, Asian woman).* Finally, a number of specific **strategies** for creating dual belonging were described by participants. These strategies included, *participating in both cultures* (e.g.*, "Eastern meditation and Canadian practical views" – 62 year old, East Indian man*)*, Canadian belonging strategies* (e.g., *"speak English more" – 51 year old, Filipina woman*)*, Multiculturally focused strategies* (e.g., *"I have been an active volunteer for many organizations with a multicultural background" – 64 year old, Mexican man),* and *sharing one's culture* with Canadians (e.g., *"I share my culture with my Canadian friends and colleagues" –54 year old, Korean woman*)*.* Applying Whitbourne's identity process theory, we can see how some of these *Belonging to Both* responses demonstrate maintenance of identity through striking a balance between identity assimilation and accommodation strategies. The participant response "*I freely choose each culture based on the context*" *– 47 year old, Korean woman*, nicely exemplifies this balanced approach.

Qualitative Results: Top-Down Analyses

Analysis Procedure

Complementing the ground-up procedures previously discussed, the data were analyzed a second time using a set coding manual (see *Appendix M*). The purpose of this second pass on the data was to evaluate how well these data map onto the established strategies for identity management identified within the social identity management and biculturalism literatures. The manual in *Appendix M* consists of definitions of the key social identity management and biculturalism strategies overviewed in the literature review section of this dissertation. ***Background factors*** that theoretically are believed to influence the social identity management strategies one may use (e.g., level of commitment to the ethnic group, sense of stability or capacity for changing the ethnic group's subordinate status in society, feelings of private regard about the ethnic group) were considered, as were the ***definitions of specific identity management strategies*** (e.g., social creativity strategies such as downward comparison, superordinate re-categorization; collective action). *Figure 11* below provides a visual depiction of these components.

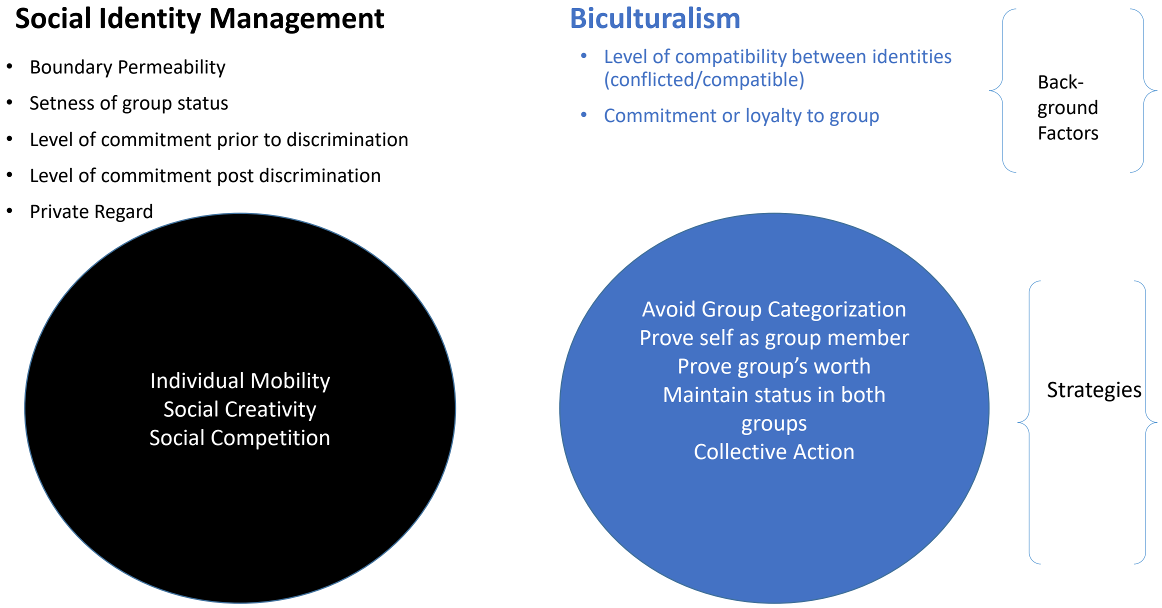
Social Identity Management
Boundary Permeability
Setness of group status
Level of commitment prior to discrimination
Level of commitment post discrimination
Private Regard
Biculturalism
Level of compatibility between identities (conflicted/compatible)
Commitment or loyalty to group
Back-ground Factors
Individual Mobility
Social Creativity
Social Competition
Avoid Group Categorization
Prove self as group member
Prove group's worth
Maintain status in both groups
Collective Action
Strategies

Figure 11. Visual depiction of background factors and strategies coded for from the social identity management and bicultural perspectives.

With this coding manual as a point of reference, the raw data were again analyzed. Only responses that fit within one of the defined categories were coded. When a data chunk that represented the content of one of the categories in the coding manual was observed, a descriptive code was developed, allowing for all coded data to have unique descriptive codes. In many cases these descriptive codes mirrored those developed in the ground-up procedure. The organization of these codes within the categories defined in *Appendix M* can be seen in the full coding system provided in *Appendix N.*

Following development of the full coding scheme, a subset of categories—identity conflict, identity compatibility, prove self as valued group member, prove group's worth, individual mobility, upward comparison, collective action (social competition)-- were randomly assigned to three reviewers (two graduate students in the Immigrant Family Studies Research Team and Dr. Costigan). In total these reviewers evaluated 55% of the codes. Each reviewer was provided with category definitions for the categories they reviewed and a list of codes that had been assigned to each category. Reviewers were then asked to evaluate whether each code fit within the previously identified category based on their understanding of the category definition. No codes were deemed to be misplaced and broader reviewer commentary on their overall impression of these categories was integrated into the interpretation of these data.

Findings: Background factors influencing the use of social identity management and biculturalism strategies

As summarized in *Appendix M*, several conditions thought to theoretically influence the likelihood of using a particular identity management strategy were coded (e.g., level of commitment to the ethnic group, sense of stability or capacity for changing the ethnic group's subordinate status in society, feelings of private regard about the ethnic group). The process for coding involved assessing each descriptive code to determine whether it is an example of these specific conditions (see *Appendix M*). Some of them were well-represented in the data. In particular, **boundary permeability** statements from the social identity management framework (e.g., *"that skin colour still matters in Canada" –40 year old, Pakistani woman; "I don't feel like I'm Canadian – outsiders" –40 year old, Asian woman*) and **level of commitment to the ethnic/national groups** were viewed as conditions governing identity management/identity performance within both the social identity management and biculturalism perspectives. This latter category included statements about general group commitment *outside of the context of discrimination* (e.g., *"I am freely Canadian Citizen, who chose to live in this country as my own!"—60 year old, Brazilian woman*), and feelings of group commitment *following an experience of discrimination* (e.g., "*I still feel proud of my ethnicity" – 46 year old, Asian woman*). Of note, it was difficult to tease apart aspects of private regard from group commitment in these codes. Indeed, private regard and commitment have often been considered to occur in tandem, as is the case in Phinney's oft cited conceptualization of the dimensions of ethnic identity: exploration and affirmation/commitment (Phinney, 1992). However, within the biculturalism literature these two constructs are teased apart. Wiley and Deaux (2010) even note that the use of identity performance strategies may be unrelated to one's private feelings about their ethnic group (private regard). Yet, the conditions under which identities are performed (Wiley & Deaux, 2010) and which social identity management strategies are selected (e.g., collective action vs. individual mobility; Ellemers, Spears, & Doojse, 2002) are governed by levels of group commitment within both frameworks, thus drawing these two elements as distinct. Within the current data set, statements of private regard frequently had an implied level of group commitment (e.g., *"(experiences of discrimination) makes me feel stronger and more resilient as a Black person*" – *60 year old, Jamaica Canadian woman*). Thus the two were coded together, and seemed conceptually embedded within this data set.

Private regard statements concerning both *ethnic and national identities* were coded. While private regard has more frequently been used within the ethnic identity literature, importantly private regard was equally ascribed to national identity in this study. In some cases, participants indicated that experiences of discrimination had *no effect on their private regard* about one or both social groups (e.g., *"(discrimination) should not affect how I feel about being Canadian" – 55 year old, Asian woman).* For other participants, experiences of discrimination were linked with maintenance of or increase in positive ethnic identity (e.g., *"I remain proud of my East Indian background"—42 year old, East Indian woman*). A parallel was present for maintenance or increase in positive national identity (e.g., *"I am still proud to be a Canadian" – 60 year old, Jamaican Canadian woman).* There were also responses representative of what has been discussed elsewhere in the literature as *national dis-identification* (i.e., Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), or disassociation from and complete rejection of the national identity. This concept is well illustrated through this participant quote: *"I ordered a latte in a Starbucks in USA while I was travelling. The clerk completely ignored my order and picked me and made me fool. After I had this event, I hate Americans, I hate and against any USA policies and people without reason. I just doesn't want to get along with them and sometimes I felt I am angry to them because they are US people. I try not to support US products and try not to use it. Having say that, if I experienced ethnic discrimination from Canadian, I would feel the same way." – 40 year old, Asian woman.* Interestingly, this complete rejection of a national group also seems to embody Cross' description of fixation at the immersion phase of Nigresence—where the focus is on hating the oppressor's larger social group (white people in Cross model; Americans in the quote above), in lieu of developing a positive ethnic identity or in Cross' frame "pro-Black perspective."

There were also statements indicating the level of **identity compatibility** (e.g*., "…I do belong to both groups" – 42 year old, East Indian woman*) **vs. identity conflict** (e.g., *"At first, I felt I am not completely belong to Asian neither Canadian"— 40 year old, Asian woman)***.** Identity compatibility versus conflict is a key element influencing identity performance in the research on biculturalism. As also seen in the ground-up coding, within the identity compatibility domain, two types of participant responses were apparent—those that indicated that the identities were naturally compatible (as illustrated in the sample quote above), and those which provided an example of intentional bicultural actions taken to support the maintenance of both identities (e.g*., "participate in activities of both communities*" – *42 year old, Mexican woman*).

Within the biculturalism perspective, it is notable that **strict group membership criteria** for one social group may keep other salient group memberships from being recognized (e.g., those based on sexual orientation, gender identity, religion). In such cases, these other salient components of one's identity are marginalized (Wiley & Deaux, 2010). There was one participant response that clearly spoke to this phenomenon, *"I'm gay and in a same-sex relationship, and I think my extended family in Canada (most of whom are people who immigrated to Canada from Indonesia as adults) might be prejudiced against me because I'm openly gay" – 48 year old, Indonesian man of Chinese descent.*

Not apparent in the data were any statements speaking to participants' impressions of **how fixed or set their group status was**. However, while there were no responses that spoke to this explicitly, participants did provide **collective**

action responses (a strategy central to both social identity management and biculturalism approaches), which represented efforts to improve the status of the ethnic group (e.g., "*If the discriminatory event can be publicized or communicated to people that can do something about it, I think of those types of actions. E.g., sending a note to applicable authorities or relevant groups, like the Human Rights commission, my MP, the police, store owner, etc." –46 year old, Asian woman).*

Findings: Social identity management and biculturalism strategies

In addition to the **collective action** strategy responses discussed in the preceding paragraph, a number of social identity management and biculturalism strategies were also observed. Concerning the biculturalism strategies, there was clear evidence of participants taking actions intended to **prove oneself as a valid member of the national group** (e.g., in response to the question about what thoughts one has after an discriminatory experience, one participant stated, *"I must improve my English proficiency so that I can communicate with Canadian or other ethnic groups effectively*" – *60 year old, Chinese woman*. Additionally, participants took actions to **prove their ethnic group's worth**. This latter category took the form of participants stating their sense of responsibility to educate Canadians in service of changing prejudiced attitudes, presumably in efforts to gain greater acceptance for the ethnic group (e.g., *"I feel we should educate more our host culture about the different cultures this beautiful country has been made of"* – *60 year old, Brazilian woman*). This link between offering education as a remedy for biased attitudes and proving the ethnic group's worth is logical, but more tenuous than some of the other categories previously described. In other words, there may be reasons for wanting to educate an oppressive group other than to prove the worth of one's ethnic group to the oppressor.

Also apparent were statements that fit within the biculturalism strategy of trying to **maintain status in both social groups** (e.g., *"I maintain a neutral approach" – 42 year old, Mexican woman; " I can't shut down because my kids are Canadian" – 40 year old, Asian woman),* thought to be a particularly crucial strategy for individuals with lower status in both social groups (Dovidio et al., 2008). Not present in these data were any statements indicating efforts to **avoid group categorization**. This is not unexpected, given that this strategy is most effective with less visible aspects of identity, which often is not the case for race and ethnicity.

Shared by both biculturalism and social identity management perspectives is the strategy of **individual mobility,** physically or psychologically leaving a group when an aspect of one's identity is under threat. Statements describing processes of individual mobility were not common, but were present in the data (e.g., *"Try to stay away from Japanese community" – 40 year old, Japanese man).*

Under the umbrella of social identity management strategies, there was evidence for three different types of **social creativity strategies:** *upward comparison, superordinate re-categorization*, and *maximizing intragroup variability*. Upward comparison is defined as identifying a dimension where the subordinate social group under threat (e.g., ethnic minority group being discriminated against) is superior to the higher status social group typically invoking the identity threat. For example, one of the upward comparison items given to participants in the quantitative portion of this work was “Canadians may have some advantages, but immigrants are more resilient.” In the qualitative data, responses that fit within the domain of *upward comparison* all involved a more personal comparison between the participant and the person committing discrimination. These responses typically indicated that the person discriminating was intellectually and/or emotionally inferior given their ignorant discriminatory remarks (e.g., *“I felt sorry for the other party who is insecure”—47 year old Korean woman; “…I have more education than the ones who discriminates me…” – 64 year old, Latina woman*).

*Superordinate re-*categorization responses, though not very common, were varied. Some involved placing oneself in a broader group. For example, one participant’s response involved shifting the identity threat (discrimination) from a smaller ethnic group (Korean) to a broader racial group (Asian): *“I thought discrimination is not specialized in Korean but more to Asian” – 47 year old, Korean woman*. Other responses spoke to the mental processes behind superordinate re-categorization (e.g., *“I try to look similarities than differences so I can avoid getting upset” – 40 year old, Asian woman).* The multiculturally-focused strategies that emerged in the ground-up analysis of the “belonging to both” category could also be considered a form of superordinate re-categorization, as the individual is focused on embedding themselves within a higher order multicultural community rather than focused on enhancing belonging to either the national or ethnic groups.

Statements that described instances of *maximizing intragroup variability* were particularly interesting. In the social identity management literature, maximizing intragroup variability has been described as a process of creating distance between oneself and lower status members of the group under threat (e.g., the ethnic group in the context of discrimination). Certainly, there were responses that matched this traditional understanding of maximizing intragroup variability (e.g., *"…the mentality of Chinese (Hong Kong) is totally different than Mainland Chinese" – 60 year old, Chinese woman from Hong Kong*). Additionally, there were responses that captured the process of maximizing intragroup variability within the national group. This variation on maximizing intragroup variability seemed to be used to protect one's status as an ethnic minority within the national group, typically through indicating that people who discriminate against the participant are not representative of the majority of Canadians (e.g., "*It's not how the majority of the Canadian population thinks" – 46 year old, Asian woman*). In this way, the social identity management strategy serves the same purpose (protects the threatened identity), but does so through distancing the person threatening the identity (the discriminator) from the national group rather than distancing the self from the threatened ethnic group. This seems more adaptive and ultimately protective of both ethnic and national identities. Additionally, considering this same action within the framework of Cross' Nigrescence model, the distancing of the problematic individual from the Canadian population as a whole seems representative of the difference between the immersion and emersion stages of the Nigrescence model. A healthy ethnic identity is developed in emersion and the black and white views of the world characteristic of the immersion stage (e.g., the ethnic group is good and the mainstream group is bad) are left behind.

Three social creativity strategies in the coding manual received no codes: *downward comparison, temporal comparison*, and *re-evaluating the comparison dimension.* There was evidence of downward and temporal comparison endorsement in the quantitative data (as these strategies were explicitly asked about). However, they were not freely generated by participants in these qualitative data.

Looking across the ground-up and top-down analyses, there were many ground-up codes that fit within an established social identity management or biculturalism concept (i.e., examples of superordinate re-categorization, maximizing intragroup variability). Further, the internal and external actions and reactions categories in the ground-up data paralleled the social creativity and social competition (collective) action strategies in the top-down data, respectively.

The benefit of using both data analysis procedures, however, is in discovering the pieces central to participant experiences that do not have a clear place within social identity management and biculturalism frameworks. One clear finding in this regard was the role of emotional reactions. A wide range of emotional reactions were described in participant responses to the questions about the effects of discrimination on ethnic and national identity. Emotional experiencing is essential to processing and ultimately working through difficult experiences, yet emotions do not have a place in social identity management and biculturalism frameworks.

Discussion

Central Questions and Findings

This dissertation addressed three key research questions: *what are the roles of discrimination and ethnic identity in predicting psychological distress; what are the roles of ethnic and national identity in predicting the use of different social identity management strategies; how do people naturally manage their social identities when they are threatened (i.e., within the context of discrimination)?* These questions were investigated within a particular developmental context– the understudied period of middle adulthood.

As a whole, this research has uncovered the varied ways in which immigrants in middle adulthood cope with discrimination and manage their sense of identity as members of their ethnic groups, and as Canadians. Using a mixed methods approach, this work provides are more holistic understanding of identity processes in midlife. For example, the qualitative work provides insight into organic identity management strategies not captured within the conceptual frameworks that informed this research (e.g., the use of emotional expression to manage identity). The quantitative work bolsters the critical role of *identity affirmation* in its own right. Ethnic identity affirmation was the most consistent protective factor against psychological distress across the analyses in the first research question. Further, both ethnic identity affirmation and the understudied construct of national identity affirmation were linked with the selection of adaptive social identity management strategies (i.e., less endorsement of individual mobility, stronger dual identity) in the second research question.

The quantitative data presented are correlational, and causality cannot be determined. Nonetheless, the relations between these variables, as described above, fit with existing research trends that support belonging and commitment to ethnic and national cultures as critical to supporting psychological well being and cultivating a positive sense of self. Leaders, families, and community members can all play a role in supporting identity affirmation within their respective contexts. Further, understanding how immigrants protect their sense of self when faced with discrimination is of particular importance in the current era in which perceptions of discrimination and identity threat are heightened due to the rise in right-wing nationalism in the global west (e.g., National Front in France, Alt-Right in the U.S.) and associated pervasive xenophobia.

Critically, this is work that remains important to fulfilling the multicultural ideals that Canadian society strives for, and those that are written into policy in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1985. This oft referenced Act includes, among other things, an explicit multiculturalism policy in Canada which holds as governmental policy the recognition of the importance of retaining and developing one's cultural heritage, promoting participation of all individuals in Canadian society, and upholding the values of diversity. This includes a commitement to enhancing the development of cultural communities, ensuring equal protection for all communities under Canadian law, and promoting language preservation (beyond French and English). The Multiculturalism Act holds federal institutions accountable to carrying out policies consistent with this definition of multiculturalism. The Minister of Multiculturalism and Citizenship (now within the domain of the Minister of Canadian Heritage, since 2015), is charged with coordinating and implementing the multiculturalism policy. Despite its 35 year legacy, the most recent evaluation of Canada's Multiculturalism Program (2011-2017) -- one key avenue through which the government implements the Multiulturalism Act -- revealed significant issues in its execution.

This evaluation by the Canadian Heritage Evaluation Services Directorate (2018) noted in particular: the absence of a national anti-discrimination plan, a lack of capacity to improve systemic concerns within the multiculturalism program, difficulty enacting objectives that are too broad to be effectively operationalized, and an absence of appropriate data to inform the program's continued development and policy advances. Thus, in keeping with the lived realities of discrimination and other identity threatening experiences for immigrants in Canadian society so clearly identified through the current research, Canada's multiculturalism policy (at least with respect to the multiculturalism program) suffers from an insufficient application of the policy goals. In this way, the idea of multiculturalism integral to the understanding of Canadian society is at an impasse where the manifestation of this ideal into tangible outcomes is largely unrealized, and thus critical work supporting identity affirmation must continue.

Theoretical Contributions

Identity Experiences of Immigrant Adults in Mid-life

On the level of theory, a major contribution of this work is the integration of multiple theoretical perspectives and empirical areas of inquiry: adult identity development (e.g., Berzonsky, 2011; Kroger, 2015; Marcia 2002; Stephen el al.,

1992; Whitbourne et al., 2002), racial/ethnic identity development (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1993; Cross, 1995; Nadal, 2004; Parham, 1989;), national identity development (e.g., Stangor et al., 2001), rejection-identification research (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Cronin et al., 2012; Giamo et al., 2012), social identity theory (including social identity management theories; Becker, 2012; Blanz et al., 1998), and biculturalism (Dovido et al., 2008; Wiley & Deaux, 2010), to conceptualize and interpret the research questions posed. This research systematically assessed the applicability of these frameworks to immigrants in middle adulthood. The findings have highlighted where and when distinct theories describe the same identity processes with different terminology, and have *clarified gaps where said theories have been developmentally out-of-step with the experiences of adults in mid-life.*

As a first example of this latter point, implicit in the research on biculturalism and identity performance is the idea that individuals with multiple social identities need to successfully perform these identities to in-group members in order to maintain their status in their key social groups. In this way, bicultural individuals are portrayed within these frameworks as continuously needing to fight to maintain group acceptance. Within this sample, however, there were some participant responses in the ground-up qualitative data that indicated that the individual was simply unwilling to "perform." Rather, these participant responses focused on rejecting the person threatening their Canadian group membership (the person discriminating) rather than on successful performance to maintain acceptance in the group (e.g., wanting to prove to the discriminator that they are a "good Canadian"). This represents empowerment and self-esteem. Quite possibly for these individuals, the greater life experiences and more established sense of self that come with middle age facilitated more confidence and agency in not construing experiences of discrimination as a potential threat to national group membership. Further, group acceptance may be less salient generally in this later developmental phase than it is in young adulthood. In Whitbourne's personal identity framework, we could describe this as an adaptive usage of assimilation strategies (as opposed to accommodation strategies). These experiences of identity threat do not result in changes to how one sees oneself. Indeed, a more rigid idea of the self, which is not malleable to integrating information from the discriminatory experience, proves quite adaptive in this context.

Canadian research on the importance of authenticity when defying norms is in line with these findings. In their 2013 study, Zhang and Noels underscored the importance of authenticity in immigrants' identity experience and expression. They found a positive link between authenticity in "counternormative identity situations" and well being. Authenticity acted as a buffer in mitigating the risks of expressing identity in a counternormative way. In other words, being true to one's self even if it defied the contextual norms of identity expression was linked with well being in their study. This seems a parallel proess to what occurred in this sample.

Relatedly, there were participant responses in the ground-up data that portrayed experiences of discrimination as "no big deal." This embodies an attitude of acceptance and self-confidence in weathering discriminatory experiences. This aspect of simultaneous acceptance of discriminatory experiences without permeation of one's sense of self-esteem does not have a clear fit within the social identity management and identity performance worlds where the focus is on proving oneself and one's group's value to a higher status group member. This may well be related to the participants' age, as well as other buffering factors such as higher socio-economic status and/or education level.

Expanding Conceptions of Identity Management into Coping

In addition to these developmental period contributions, the qualitative data offered a diversity of organic identity management strategies not captured in the existing theoretical frameworks that informed this study**.** Consider the use of emotional expression to mitigate the effects of discrimination on identity noted by participants. These responses, which were commonplace in the ground-up data, did not have a theoretical home within the social identity management or biculturalism literatures that informed the top-down coding. Importantly, these exact types of strategies have been investigated at length within the coping with racism literature.

As one example of this, Kim (2013) investigated the relations among emotion-focused engagement and disengagement strategies, discrimination, and depressive symptoms. Emotion-focused *engagement* coping strategies in Kim's study involved actions such as expressing emotions, talking with others, while emotion-focused *disengagement* strategies involved acts like self-criticism and social withdrawal. Kim found that emotion-focused engagement and emotion-focused disengagement coping strategies mediated the relation between discrimination and depressive symptoms among Asian American adults: engagement had a negative indirect effect resulting in lower depressive symptoms, while disengagement resulted in higher depressive symptoms.

Some participant responses in the ground-up qualitative data fit within the operationalization of these coping strategies as detailed by Kim. In this dissertation, emotions were conceptualized as identity-management strategies, but lacked an established label within the social identity management or biculturalism perspectives when the top-down coding was completed. Kim's work provides a different conceptual placement (emotion-focused coping) for these very same actions. The coping framework provides insight into the contrasting effects of emotional engagement versus disengagement in mitigating versus exacerbating discrimination's deleterious effects on psychological distress—depression symptoms in this case.

While the coping literature provides an appropriate framework for interpreting the group of responses not captured by the theories that guided the top-down coding, the addition of yet another framework equally complicates our overall conceptual understanding of identity processes. Indeed, integrating a coping perspective highlights the contrasts among different theoretical understandings of key constructs in this area of research. For example, consider the understanding of identity affirmation and collective action within the coping literature. In 2014, Forsyth and Carter developed the Racism Related Coping Scale with a sample of Black Americans. This measure, among other coping strategies, includes a dimension entitled **racially conscious action.** Forsyth and Carter define this as "efforts *to learn about* and *enhance one's sense of connectedness* with one's racial-cultural heritage and history…*and* to engage in *collective action* against racism geared toward education and consciousness-raising." Thus, they combine collective action and ethnic identity (exploration and affirmation) into one coping strategy within their framework of racism-related coping. Clearly, these very same elements are central to our key identity theories, yet they are packaged differently. First, ethnic identity exploration and affirmation are considered separate dimensions within the ethnic identity literature. Second, strong ethnic identity (particularly affirmation) may be compatible with engaging in collective action, but may also exist in the absence of collective action within the social identity management world. In essence, neither of these theoretical perspectives (ethnic identity literature, social identity management) combines these elements as one unit the way Forsyth and Carter package racially conscious action in their racism-related coping framework. This divergence in conceptual understandings and the tasks necessary to tackle this issue are further elucidated in the subsequent section.

Theoretical Imperatives

As these findings highlight, significant gaps remain in our capacity to conceptualize the relations among discrimination, identity, and psychological distress from the perspective of theory. The development of a more integrative theory has been hindered by a siloed approach that has not attended to the conceptual overalp between theories of adult identity development (e.g., Berzonsky, 2011; Kroger, 2015; Marcia 2002; Stephen el al., 1992; Whitbourne et al., 2002), racial/ethnic identity development (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1993; Cross, 1995; Nadal, 2004; Parham, 1989;), social identity theory (including social identity management theories; Becker, 2012; Blanz et al., 1998), and biculturalism (Dovido et al., 2008; Wiley & Deaux, 2010).

Researchers must step out of these different theoretical camps and look across to one another to build models that can adequately encapsulate the complexity of identity reactions to discrimination. Such models need to include the different perspectives noted above *and* allow room for flexibility to attend to the influence of intersecting social identities and their interplay. In particular, there is a need for models that can attend to individuals' multiple salient marginalized social identities, which may be the target of discrimination (e.g., gender identity, queer identity, religious identity, age status, etc.). Research that has investigated intersectional experiences of discrimination through the lens of gendered racism (i.e., Liang, Rivera, Nathwani, Dang, & Douroux, 2011; Szymanski & Lewis, 2016; Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008) provides some direction for how this line of inquiry could be expanded within all of these perspectives. For example, in their 2016 study, Szymanski and Lewis investigated the centrality of *gendered racial identity*—the importance of being an African American woman to one's self-concept—and the associated links with discrimination and coping strategy use.

Beyond different social identities, these expanded models will need to begin to consider the myriad of factors operating within the cultural and ecological context of the individuals being studied. The work in this dissertation has attended to the cognitive and affective experiences of identity within the context of discrimination and the specific strategies that individuals use to manage and preserve a sense of self when faced with threats to identity, like discrimination. However, the emotional experience, the actions taken, and the cognitions generated from discrimination on only one or two social identities (i.e., ethnic identity, national identity) is but part of the bigger picture. In addition, a more holistic model of the links among discrimination, identity, and psychological distress could account for responses outside of one's metacognition (e.g., physical stress responses to discrimination). Indeed, we know that discrimination is positively associated with with hypertension (Dolezsar et al., 2014) and sleep disturbance (Grandner et al., 2012), among other negative health outcomes. Research could look at the impact of discrimination on other key social identities as detailed above, and could examine the long-term effects (e.g., progressive shifts in how one understands and regards themselves following discrimination, changes to interpersonal interactions with people within and outside of one's ethnic group, even without conscious intention).

As all of these examples highlight, we need to loosen conceptual grips to be able to take in more of the data present in a bigger picture, to be able to inquire about identity experiences in such a way that our understandings are expanded and not just specialized. This will involve methods such as qualitative inquiry employing inductive methods, testing of the social psychology theories of identity management with observational data, and using longitudinal approaches with diverse samples with regards to ethnicity, immigration status, age, and other key factors. Much more research investigating the links amongst discrimination, identity and psychological distress across the lifespan, is greatly needed. The theories of adult identity development have much to offer in guiding this research. Collectively, these varied approaches may allow for a richer understanding of the underlying mechanisms of social identity and facilitate the development of a trans-theoretical understanding.

While complex, there is clear precedent in the literature to consider these myriad factors in one's life as part and parcel of identity itself. Recall, for example, the literature on longitudinal adult identity development by Pulkkinen and Kokko (2000), where religious beliefs, political identity, career, intimate relationships, and lifestyle were considered core domains of personal adult identity formation. Likewise, Parham's (1989) conceptualization of racial identity development in midlife aligns racial identity in the emersion phase with actions such as involvement with Black organizations. Embracing the complexity of identity research and allowing a wide range of data to inform our evolving theoretical understanding of these relations is strongly indicated. Ultimately this may provide us with a more integrative framework within which to situate specific theoretical contributions.

Clinical Implications

The results of this dissertation highlight the importance of considering and evaluating the effectiveness of individual identity management strategies for dealing with discrimination. Clinicians can enhance the ways they support clients coping with discrimination by aiding clients to consider how these experiences affect one's sense of self as a member of ethnic and national groups, and by looking for opportunities to help marginalized individuals strengthen their sense of belonging in these key social groups. Clinicians trained in cognitive approaches may be easily able to use the framework of social creativity strategies (social identity management) to explore the cognitions that underlie clients' experiences of ethnic identity in and out of the contexts of discrimination. This, in turn, provides rich material about thought processes that can become a point of intervention.

Employing some social creativity strategies as an intervention may also help clients to reconcile conflicting identities and develop a new narrative about their belonging within multiple communities. As one example, it is possible that superordinate recategorization could be used as a point of intervention. Clients struggling with conflicting ethnic and national identities may benefit from considering their belonging within a superordinate category (e.g., a multicultural society that supersedes ethnic and national groups). Additionally, individuals could be prompted to engage in developing and rehearsing alternative self-messaging when experiencing discrimination. This is discussed as re-evaluating the value of the intergroup comparison dimension within the social identity management framework through re-appropriating negative labels or flipping negative beliefs (e.g., Black is beautiful). Clinically, this strategy could be easily applied to the development of "cognitive coping cards," as a part of Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (e.g., Wright, 2006). Cognitive coping cards are used as a clinical intervention that individuals can self-deploy when faced with negative thoughts about the self. For example, when a client has self-loathing thoughts they may be directed to review a cognitive coping card with positive and powerful counter messaging that they have previously developed with their clinician.

Clinicians working with adults in midlife can also consider their clients' sense of ethnic and national identities within the context of normative adult identity development. Recall that Marcia (2002) proposed that as adults navigate through new life phases they reconstruct their identities to be appropriately responsive to "the demands and rewards of each developmental era." Thus, identities are naturally fluid: constructed and reconstructed over the life course in response to the "identity-disequilibrating events" or changes in life phase and context. In this way, clinicians may benefit from situating their client's identity challenges within this normative developmental frame. Parham's work on racial identity development in adulthood equally indicates that although the behaviors associated with identity change may differ in older age vs. younger age, racial identity itself is subject to continued development across the life course.

Cutting across all the quantitative findings of this dissertation, clinicians can support ethnic minority immigrant clients in reducing psychological distress and buffering the negative impacts of discrimination on the self through strengthening ethnic identity affirmation. This may be particularly important for adult immigrants. Youth of color often have benefited from life long processes of ethnic/racial socialization, whereby parents have prepared them for experiences of discrimination and supported them in developing a positive ethnic identity in spite of this problematic reality. By contrast, many adult immigrants, particularly those from largely mono-cultural countries of origin, may not experience life as an ethnic minority until they arrive in Canada as an adult. Thus they may not have benefited from these protective processes. Therefore, explicit focus on bolstering ethnic identity affirmation as an important psychological resource is warranted. This is work that can occur in both clinical and community spaces. Clinicians can work with clients individually and can provide therapy groups for patients with shared marginalized identities to address the psychological consequences of identity wounds. Proactively, in the community, ethno-cultural organizations can promote a strong sense of ethnic affirmation by welcoming new immigrants and developing programming for ethnic group members to gather and show pride in their heritage, as many organizations regularly do. The role of clinicians, therefore, may be in part to help clients connect with the individuals and groups in the local community that can help strengthen identity affirmation.

Policy and Community Implications

The results of this study indicate that despite the overall low levels of discrimination experienced within this largely middle class and highly educated sample, discrimination's association with psychological distress is both real and harmful. Additionally, these data show that discrimination impacts one's sense of identity and belonging to ethnic and national cultures. Thus, continued efforts to combat discrimination at interpersonal, institutional, community, and national levels are needed. Although some Canadians may agree that discrimination is both wrong and an ongoing problem within Canadian society, responsibility for addressing discrimination is often diffuse. Who is responsible for addressing discrimination in each context? The growth in training in allyship and bystander interventions in recent years, particularly within educational settings, is a strong contribution towards combatting interpersonal discrimination. However, truly systemic efforts to combat discrimination necessitate both individual understanding and buy-in as well as government involvement in the form federal funding for efficacious anti-racism initiatives and local and national leadership that prioritizes anti-racist work in Canadian communities.

A national plan to address racism, hate speech, and hate crimes, named *Canada's Action Plan Against Racism (CAPAR)* was developed in 2005 and was funded until 2010. During its tenure, the plan resulted in numerous inclusivity initiatives, training on culturally-competent policing, and diversity training across sectors, amongst other endeavors. While a number of the proposed initiatives did not come to pass, and the success of others was difficult to quantify, there was some agreement concerning the efficacy of select plan targets. These outcomes included increased knowledge of hate crimes and increased organizational use of diversity and inclusion tools developed through the CAPAR plan funding, according to a 2010 evaluation of CAPAR (Statistics Canada, 2010). However, after funding for this plan concluded in 2010, no comparable initiative has been reinstated, despite ongoing and recent calls to do so (e.g., Fry, 2018). Government-led initiatives can, and should, be reinstated and complemented by grass roots efforts to welcome newcomers and explicitly reject incidents of discrimination.

In these efforts, everyday citizens can help through joining in collective action, promoting positive perspectives about the contributions of newcomers, recognizing their basic humanity and worth as residents in Canada, and combatting discrimination with education. One such high profile example of supporting marginalized identities within larger community spaces is the grassroots #itooamharvard photo campaign led by Black Harvard students in 2014. The campaign worked to call out and address racism on campus and show clear examples of Black excellence and positive Black identity to the larger university community. Locally, the Intercultural Association of Greater Victoria's "I've Not

Always Been a Canadian" exhibition on the evolution of Canadian identity amongst newcomers highlights the varied ways immigrants experience belonging and processes of integration. Welcoming initiatives for immigrants expressed through positive yard signage (e.g., the "All are welcome here" campaign), or photo campaigns that show Canadian society as racially and ethnically diverse, can indicate public acceptance of the ethnic and national identities of immigrants in Canada.

Limitations

Given the small sample comprised of generally middle class, well-established, highly educated adult immigrants, the generalizability of these findings may be limited on the basis of educational attainment, English proficiency, length of residence in Canada, and socioeconomic status. Indeed class intersects with race, nationality, immigration pathway, educational status, gender, and a number of other critical factors that can lead to distinct intersectional identity experiences of immigrants to Canada. Consider, for example, that 90% of individuals who immigrate to Canada through the Live-in Caregiver Program are Filipina women (Bonifacio, 2015). This has become gendered and racialized work in Canadian society. The interaction of these factors makes this experience very distinct from that of, for example, an individual from an affluent family who came to Canada to pursue graduate studies. Future research that can more fully attend to class and these important intersections is certainly needed.

Further, many participants were recruited through cultural organizations, which indicates a high baseline level of connection with organizations rooted in ethnic identity promotion or in the least ethnic group cohesion. Additionally, only one refugee participated in this study. Thus the applicability of these findings to those who have experienced forced displacement as opposed to voluntary migration is unknown. Additionally, individuals who live life in Canada with precarious migration statuses (e.g., asylum seekers, undocumented immigrants) may well experience national identity in distinct ways. For these individuals, discrimination may also be perceived as a threat of greater magnitude, given the possibility of losing one's new home in the adopted country and/or being deported to the country of origin where one's safety and hopes for the future may be at tremendous risk.

The small sample size put a significant limitation on the quantitative portion of this study. Indeed, some of the research questions were simplified out of necessity, and the analyses adjusted to appropriately accommodate these changes. Further, the qualitative section of the study, which consisted of open-ended questions, provides a strong opening for exploring these constructs with immigrants in mid-life. Nonetheless, using this format as opposed to an individual interview or focus group format limited both the quantity of information gathered and the depth of interpretation of the data in an absence of additional context.

Additionally, it is noteworthy that the majority of the literature on ethnic identity has been ethnic-group specific. Certainly, one of the contributions of this dissertation is the pattern of findings about social identity management that transcends ethnic groups. Nonetheless, there are unique aspects of ethnic identity development that exist within specific groups. Indeed, this is why group-specific ethnic identity models have been developed (e.g., Nadal's 2004 Model of Pilipino

American Identity Development). Thus, the findings of this dissertation are not intended for application to understanding processes of identity, discrimination, and psychological well being within any one ethnic group, but rather to understand the overall common processes and strategies that transcend ethnic minority immigrant groups. This research has also investigated ethnic and national identity as a dichotomy, precluding an understanding of the experiences of individuals with multiple salient ethnic and national identities.

Finally, this study, like much of the research on immigrants, has focused on individuals who have migrated to the global west. Given the dearth of research on the experiences of immigrants in other regions (e.g., South-South migration), it is unclear whether these findings would fit dissimilar receiving contexts. Additionally, increased global movement has created new receiving contexts where local and national cultures become less distinct in the face of increasing ethnic diversity (i.e., in cities like Singapore, Dubai). Across global receiving societies, there is some empirical data that suggests that the very experience of biculturalism, and the capacity to feel a sense of high dual belonging (to both ethnic and national cultures) may only be possible in societies where immigrants do not perceive "cultural discordance" between their ethnic and national cultures (Mähönen et al., 2011). Findings in countries that maintain more assimilationist immigration policies (i.e., Denmark, France) than Canada's multiculturalism policy may therefore be quite different from what was found in this study.

Future Directions

In addition to the call for diverse approaches to inquiry that will support theoretical development in this area, overviewed in the first part of this discussion, there are a number of other interesting future directions for this work.

Most proximal to the research questions addressed in this dissertation, future work could continue to investigate the roles of the different dimensions of ethnic (and national identity) in the discrimination-distress relation, particularly within multi-ethnic and immigrant samples, and particularly in understudied developmental periods and across different socioeconomic groups. Much more exploratory work investigating the process of managing identity under the threat of discrimination in also warranted. These studies could leverage qualitative methods and in-depth interviews to provide insight into the breadth and efficacy of strategies people naturally use to protect that crucial aspect of the self.

Looking across disciplines, it would be exciting to expand this area of research to include conceptualizations of national identity rooted in nationalism. For example, Anthony Smith, sociologist and founder of "nationalism studies," identified a nation as " a… named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members," (Smith, 1991, p. 14, as cited in Triandafyllidou, 1998). Considering national identity not as a parallel of ethnic identity within psychology but rather through this conception of nationalism or as a construct deeply intertwined with civic engagement (as held in some political science conceptualizations (i.e., Conover, Searing, & Crewe, 2004), may expand and enrich our understanding of the interplay of these identities with experiences of discrimination and psychological distress.

Use of a nationalism lens more broadly may also be useful in understanding identity and discrimination experiences within the current context of a rise in populism and right-wing nationalism. Right-wing nationalism has been on an upswing over the last decade -- marked by the elections of Donald Trump in the US, Boris Johnson in the UK, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Hindu-Nationalist in India, among others. As part of this shift, immigration and other dimensions of "otherness" have become increasingly politicized. For example, Poland endured a sharp rise in anti-immigrant discourse fueled by the PiS (Law and Justice Party) in 2015, a marked shift from Poland's long history of immigration as a largely apolitical issue (Krzyzanowski, 2018). Relatedly, some Canadian scholars have argued that Doug Ford's election in 2018 in the Ontario Provincial Election demonstrated a resurgence of Canada's right-wing nationalism rooted in "economic and anti-cosmopolitan discourses centered upon middle class taxpayers and opposition to urban elites," (Budd, 2020, p.171).

Finally, media, and in particular social media, currently have a critical role to play in influencing people's attitudes towards and day-to-day interactions with immigrant individuals. Future research informed by the analytical frameworks of critical media studies (e.g., ecological analysis) that can investigate the ways in which social media is implicated not just in experiencing discrimination and perpetuating hate speech (e.g., Ben-David & Fernández, 2016), but also in shaping the ways in which people define, understand, and experience national and ethnic identities will be timely.

Conclusions

In conclusion, mid-life is a time of dynamic identity experience for immigrant adults in Canada. Ethnic and national identities are deeply connected to experiences of discrimination. Further, one's sense of belonging to one's ethnic group and to Canadian society plays a crucial role in buffering psychological distress and guiding the selection of social identity management strategies. This dissertation has integrated a number of disparate theoretical frameworks and areas of empirical research to capture the depth of immigrant adult identity experiences across a very diverse sample. Yet, as these pieces have been integrated, areas of conceptual disagreement in the field have also become clearer. Diverse methodological approaches to social identity-discrimination research are warranted to fuel the continued development of this important, and timely, area of research.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Demographic Questions

1. What is your gender? ________________
2. What is your age? ____________________
3. What is your ethnic background? ___________________
4. What is your country of origin? ___________________
5. Where do you currently live (city, province) ______________
6. What languages do you speak?
   1st language ______ 2nd language________ Additional languages _____
7. How long have you lived in Canada? ________________
8. How old were you when you immigrated to Canada? _________________
9. What was your immigration class when you came to Canada?
   ☐ Family Class ☐ Business Class ☐ Skilled Worker Class
   ☐ Refugee Class ☐ International Student ☐ Other __________
10. How many people are in your family?________________
11. What is your relationship status?
    ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐ Single ☐ Living with partner
12. Are you currently employed?
    ☐ Full time ☐ Part time ☐ Unemployed
13. What is your annual family income?
    ☐ less than 15,000 ☐ 15,000 – 35,000 ☐ 35,000 – 50,000
    ☐ 50,000 – 75,000 ☐ 75,000 – 100,000 ☐ more than 100,000
14. What is your highest level of education?
    ☐ Some school (but did not complete high school)
    ☐ Completed high school (grade 12)
    ☐ Vocational school or college
    ☐ University (3-4 years)
    ☐ Graduate or Professional School (e.g., medical school, law school)

Appendix B: Schedule of Racist Events-General (SRE-G; Lang, 2001)

We are interested in your experiences with racism. As you answer the questions that follow, please think about your ENTIRE LIFE, from when you were a child to the present. For each question, please choose the number that best captures the things that have happened to you. Answer each question TWICE, once for what has happened to you IN THE PAST YEAR, and once for what YOUR ENTIRE LIFE HAS BEEN LINK. Use these numbers:

1. = If this has **NEVER** happened to you
2. = If this has happened **ONCE IN A WHILE (less than 10% of the time)**
3. = If this has happened **SOMETIMES (10-25% of the time)**
4. = If this has happened **A LOT (26-49% of the time)**
5. = If this has happened **MOST OF THE TIME (50-70% of the time)**
6. = If this has happened **ALMOST ALL OF THE TIME (more than 70% of the time)**

1. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your **employers, bosses, and supervisors** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
   Not at all *Extremely*
   1 2 3 4 5 6

2. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your **co-workers, fellow students, and colleagues** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
   Not at all *Extremely*
   1 2 3 4 5 6

3. How many times have you been treated unfairly by **people in service jobs (by store clerks, waiters, bartenders, bank tellers and others)** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
   Not at all *Extremely*
   1 2 3 4 5 6

4. How many times have you been treated unfairly by **strangers** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6

   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
      Not at all *Extremely*
      1 2 3 4 5 6

5. How many times have you been treated unfairly by **people in helping jobs (by doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, case workers, dentists, school counselors, therapists, social workers and others)** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
      Not at all *Extremely*
      1 2 3 4 5 6

6. How many times have you been treated unfairly by **neighbors** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
      Not at all *Extremely*
      1 2 3 4 5 6

7. How many times have you been treated unfairly by **institutions (schools, universities, law firms, the police, the courts, Ministry of Community and Social Services/ Ministry of Social Development, Employment Insurance Office, and others)** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
      Not at all *Extremely*
      1 2 3 4 5 6

8. How many times have you been treated unfairly by **people that you thought were your friends** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   c. How stressful was this for you
      Not at all *Extremely*
      1 2 3 4 5 6

9. How many times have you been **accused or suspected of doing something wrong (such as stealing, cheating, not doing your share of the work, or breaking the law)** because of your race or ethnic group?
   a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
   b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6

   c. How stressful was this for you
      Not at all *Extremely*
      1 2 3 4 5 6

10. How many times have people **misunderstood your intentions and motives** because of your race or ethnic group?
    a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    c. How stressful was this for you
       Not at all *Extremely*
       1 2 3 4 5 6

11. How many times did you **want to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything?**
    a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    c. How stressful was this for you
       Not at all *Extremely*
       1 2 3 4 5 6

12. How many times have you been **really angry about something racist that was done to you?**
    a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    c. How stressful was this for you
       Not at all *Extremely*
       1 2 3 4 5 6

13. How many times were you **forced to take drastic steps such as filing a grievance, filing a lawsuit, quitting your job, moving away, and other actions)** to deal with some racist thing that was done to you?
    a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    c. How stressful was this for you
       Not at all *Extremely*
       1 2 3 4 5 6

14. How many times have you **been called a racist name?**
    a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
    c. How stressful was this for you
       Not at all *Extremely*
       1 2 3 4 5 6

15. How many times have you **gotten into an argument or a fight about something racist that was done to somebody else?**

a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
c. How stressful was this for you
Not at all *Extremely*
1 2 3 4 5 6

16. How many times have you been **made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm** because of your race or ethnic group?
a. How many times in the past year? 1 2 3 4 5 6
b. How many times in your entire life? 1 2 3 4 5 6
c. How stressful was this for you
Not at all *Extremely*
1 2 3 4 5 6

17. How **different** would your life be now if you **HAD NOT BEEN** treated in a racist and unfair way?

In the Past Year?

The same as it is now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally different
1	2	3	4	5	6

In your Entire Life?

The same as it is now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally different
1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix C: Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992)

In this country, people come from many different countries and 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 Hispanic or Latino, Black or African Canadian, Asian Canadian, Chinese, Filipino, First Nations, Caucasian or White, Italian Canadian and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be ___________________

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

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

Appendix D: Canadian Identity Measure
(adapted from Phinney, 1992)

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

Appendix E: DASS-21 (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995)

Please read each statement and circle a number 0, 1, 2 or 3 which indicates how much the statement applied to you ***over the past week.*** There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

The rating scale is as follows:

0 Did not apply to me at all
1 Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time
2 Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time
3 Applied to me very much, or most of the time

1	I found it hard to wind down	0	1	2	3
2	I was aware of dryness of my mouth	0	1	2	3
3	I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all	0	1	2	3
4	I experienced breathing difficulty (e.g., excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)	0	1	2	3
5	I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things	0	1	2	3
6	I tended to over-react to situations	0	1	2	3
7	I experienced trembling (e.g., in the hands)	0	1	2	3
8	I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy	0	1	2	3
9	I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself	0	1	2	3
10	I felt that I had nothing to look forward to	0	1	2	3
11	I found myself getting agitated	0	1	2	3
12	I found it difficult to relax	0	1	2	3
13	I felt down-hearted and blue	0	1	2	3
14	I was intolerant of anything that kept me from getting on with what I was doing	0	1	2	3
15	I felt I was close to panic	0	1	2	3
16	I was unable to become enthusiastic about anything	0	1	2	3
17	I felt I wasn't worth much as a person	0	1	2	3
18	I felt that I was rather touchy	0	1	2	3
19	I was aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (e.g., sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)	0	1	2	3

20	I felt scared without any good reason	0	1	2	3
21	I felt that life was meaningless	0	1	2	3

Appendix F: Usage of Social Identity Management Strategies

(Including some questions adapted from Blanz and colleagues' (1998) Taxonomy of Identity Management Strategies and Becker's (2012) series of experimental studies on social identity management)

1. What is your cultural background? (e.g., Chinese, Indian, Assyrian, Ghanaian) ___________________________________ *(piped text was used below to fill in the blank so that respondents saw their own cultural background wherever a ______ appears)*

Please indicate how much you agree with each of the following items using the scale below.

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I do not agree at all		*I neither agree nor disagree*		*I fully agree*

2. Individual Mobility
   - I try hard to be considered Canadian
   - I try to live as a Canadian, rather than as a ______________
3. Individualization
   - I do not consider myself as belonging to any group
   - I regard myself as a single person rather than a member of a certain group of people
4. Downward Comparison
   - Compared to some other immigrant groups _____________ have good opportunities in Canada
   - Compared to some other immigrant groups ______________ are treated well by Canadians
   - Compared to some other immigrant groups ______________ live a pretty good life in Canada
5. Upward Comparison (changing comparison dimension)
   - Canadians may have some advantages, but ___________ immigrants are happier
   - Canadians may have some advantages, but ___________ immigrants have closer family relationships
   - Canadians may have some advantages, but ___________ immigrants are more resilient
6. Maximizing Intragroup Variability
   - Compared to other _________ immigrants, I am living a good life in Canada

7. Superordinate re-categorization
   - I consider myself ____________
   - I consider myself an immigrant to Canada
   - I consider myself Canadian

8. Temporal Comparison (Agree/Disagree)
   - Compared to how things used to be, _____________ immigrants are treated more respectfully in Canada these days
   - Compared to how things used to be, _____________ immigrants have more opportunities in Canada these days
   - Compared to how things used to be, things are overall better for ______________ immigrants in Canada these days

Please indicate how relevant the following statements are to you using the scale below.

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Not relevant		*Could be relevant*		*Quite relevant*

9. New Comparison Group
   - How relevant is it for ________ immigrants to compare themselves with each of the following groups?
     - Canadians
     - Other immigrants
     - __________ people who have not immigrated to Canada

Please indicate how likely you are to take the following actions using the scale below.

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Very unlikely		*I might*		*Very likely*

10. Social Competition

When it comes to the rights and equitable treatment of _____________ immigrants, how likely are you to:

- Participate in a demonstration
- Attend a discussion meeting
- Attend a rally
- Educate other people about the issue (in person, over social media, etc.)

Appendix G:
Integrated and Conflicted Dual Identification
(adapted from Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016)

Please indicate how much you agree with each of the following items using the scale below.

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
I do not agree at all				*I fully agree*

(Integrated Dual Identity)

1. I feel ______ Canadian
2. It's not difficult for me: in one situation I feel _________, in another Canadian
3. I feel at home with both ______ people and Canadians
4. I can really be myself with both ________ people and Canadians

(Conflicted Dual Identity)

5. I feel I live between two cultures and neither of them understands me
6. I feel very different inside when I am with ___________ people or with Canadian people
7. I am torn between two cultures: the ____________culture and the Canadian culture

Appendix H: Open Ended Questions

- When you experience racial/ethnic discrimination how does it make you feel about being __________?

- When you experience racial/ethnic discrimination how does it make you feel about being Canadian?

- After an experience of discrimination people can think and act in all sorts of different ways. For example, some people want to distance themselves from other ________ people. Other people might think about the ways that _________ have it better off than other immigrant groups. Some people might want to take action and fight for more just treatment for _______ people.

    - What do you notice about your own **thinking** after a discriminatory incident?
    - What do you notice about your own **actions** after a discriminatory incident?

- What do you do to try to feel like you belong to both ___________ culture and Canadian culture?

Appendix I: Tables of Results for Non-significant Bayesian Regression Analyses (Research Question #2)

Table 15

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Individualization

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF_M	BF_{10}	R^2
EID exploration	0.050	0.196	4.630	1.000	0.241
Null model	0.200	0.146	0.683	0.186	0.000
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.200	0.107	0.481	0.137	0.280
EID affirmation	0.050	0.095	1.995	0.485	0.185
NID exploration + EID exploration	0.033	0.071	2.200	0.540	0.269
NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.033	0.067	2.068	0.510	0.265
EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.056	1.716	0.428	0.251
NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.051	1.031	0.263	0.277
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.050	0.049	0.987	0.252	0.273
NID exploration + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.049	0.985	0.252	0.273
NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.033	0.032	0.950	0.243	0.204
NID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.026	0.783	0.201	0.187
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.050	0.024	0.459	0.120	0.207
NID affirmation	0.050	0.014	0.261	0.069	0.004
NID exploration	0.050	0.013	0.254	0.067	0.001
NID exploration + NID affirmation	0.033	0.004	0.129	0.034	0.004

Table 16

Posterior Summaries of Coefficients for Predicting Individualization

						95% Credible Interval	
Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	Lower	Upper
Intercept	5.630	0.463	1.000	1.000	1.000	4.622	6.562
NID_expl_subscale	0.122	0.582	0.500	0.344	0.524	-1.011	1.755
NID_aff_subscale	0.136	0.496	0.500	0.348	0.534	-0.837	1.543
EID_expl_subscale	-0.956	0.965	0.500	0.646	1.827	-2.971	0.158
EID_aff_subscale	-0.366	0.801	0.500	0.441	0.787	-2.573	0.997

Table 17

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Temporal Comparison

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF_M	BF_{10}	R^2
Null model	0.200	0.498	3.976	1.000	0.000
EID affirmation	0.050	0.079	1.619	0.630	0.058
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.200	0.061	0.262	0.123	0.091
NID affirmation	0.050	0.051	1.013	0.406	0.014
EID exploration	0.050	0.047	0.933	0.376	0.005
NID exploration	0.050	0.045	0.886	0.358	0.000
EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.031	0.913	0.367	0.082
NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.026	0.513	0.211	0.091
NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.033	0.026	0.767	0.310	0.064
NID exploration + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.025	0.487	0.201	0.085
NID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.024	0.724	0.293	0.058
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.050	0.022	0.427	0.176	0.070
NID exploration + NID affirmation	0.033	0.018	0.529	0.216	0.024
NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.033	0.017	0.495	0.202	0.016
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.050	0.016	0.301	0.125	0.029
NID exploration + EID exploration	0.033	0.015	0.451	0.184	0.006

Table 18

Posterior Summaries of Coefficients for Predicting Temporal Comparison

Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	95% Credible Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Intercept	10.259	0.542	1.000	1.000	1.000	9.217	11.335
NID exploration	-0.024	0.499	0.500	0.226	0.292	-1.549	0.864
NID affirmation	0.084	0.451	0.500	0.236	0.310	-0.870	1.054
EID exploration	-0.074	0.531	0.500	0.238	0.312	-1.541	1.155
EID affirmation	0.289	0.701	0.500	0.294	0.416	-0.645	2.166

Table 19

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Social Competition

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF $_M$	BF $_{10}$	R^2
Null model	0.200	0.513	4.219	1.000	0.000
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.200	0.080	0.349	0.156	0.119
NID exploration	0.050	0.062	1.262	0.485	0.032
EID affirmation	0.050	0.050	1.008	0.393	0.010
EID exploration	0.050	0.046	0.923	0.361	0.001
NID affirmation	0.050	0.046	0.920	0.360	0.001
NID exploration + NID affirmation	0.033	0.028	0.824	0.323	0.068
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.050	0.026	0.511	0.204	0.087
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.050	0.022	0.434	0.174	0.068
NID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.022	0.638	0.251	0.041
NID exploration + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.021	0.398	0.160	0.058
NID exploration + EID exploration	0.033	0.020	0.588	0.232	0.032
EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.017	0.498	0.197	0.014
NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.033	0.017	0.491	0.195	0.012
NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.033	0.015	0.451	0.179	0.002
NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.014	0.277	0.112	0.015

Table 20

Posterior Summaries of Coefficients for Predicting Social Competition

						95% Credible Interval	
Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	Lower	Upper
Intercept	12.407	0.915	1.000	1.000	1.000	10.559	14.270
NID exploration	0.491	1.251	0.500	0.281	0.390	-0.802	4.507
NID affirmation	-0.240	0.913	0.500	0.249	0.331	-2.635	1.314
EID exploration	-0.129	0.870	0.500	0.236	0.309	-2.681	1.486
EID affirmation	0.255	0.975	0.500	0.247	0.327	-1.201	2.804

Table 21

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting New Comparison (Comparison to Canadians)

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF_M	BF_{10}	R^2
Null model	0.200	0.574	5.400	1.000	0.000
EID_aff_subscale	0.050	0.054	1.079	0.374	0.005
NID_aff_subscale	0.050	0.053	1.062	0.369	0.003
EID_expl_subscale	0.050	0.052	1.036	0.360	0.001
NID_expl_subscale	0.050	0.051	1.029	0.358	0.000
NID_expl_subscale + NID_aff_subscale + EID_expl_subscale + EID_aff_subscale	0.200	0.044	0.186	0.077	0.031
EID_expl_subscale + EID_aff_subscale	0.033	0.020	0.582	0.205	0.018
NID_aff_subscale + EID_aff_subscale	0.033	0.018	0.540	0.191	0.010
NID_expl_subscale + EID_aff_subscale	0.033	0.018	0.518	0.183	0.005
NID_expl_subscale + NID_aff_subscale	0.033	0.018	0.517	0.183	0.005

Table 22

Posterior Summaries of Coefficients for Predicting New Comparison (Comparison to Canadians)

Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{inclusion}$	95% Credible Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Intercept	3.111	0.273	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.536	3.655
NID_expl_subscale	0.013	0.231	0.500	0.195	0.242	-0.566	0.542
NID_aff_subscale	-0.025	0.200	0.500	0.198	0.247	-0.639	0.465
EID_expl_subscale	-0.029	0.222	0.500	0.198	0.248	-0.790	0.350
EID_aff_subscale	0.043	0.241	0.500	0.203	0.254	-0.289	0.824

Table 23

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting New Comparison (Comparison to other Immigrants)

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF_M	BF_{10}	R^2
Null model	0.200	0.484	3.750	1.000	0.000
EID_expl_subscale	0.050	0.068	1.397	0.566	0.048
NID_expl_subscale	0.050	0.062	1.255	0.512	0.038
NID_expl_subscale + NID_aff_subscale + EID_expl_subscale + EID_aff_subscale	0.200	0.061	0.260	0.126	0.093
EID_aff_subscale	0.050	0.056	1.124	0.462	0.027
NID_aff_subscale	0.050	0.044	0.877	0.365	0.001
NID_expl_subscale + EID_expl_subscale	0.033	0.026	0.770	0.321	0.068
NID_expl_subscale + NID_aff_subscale + EID_aff_subscale	0.050	0.025	0.496	0.210	0.091
NID_expl_subscale + EID_aff_subscale	0.033	0.025	0.739	0.308	0.064
NID_expl_subscale + NID_aff_subscale + EID_expl_subscale	0.050	0.025	0.478	0.203	0.086

Table 24

Posterior Summaries of Coefficients for Predicting New Comparison (Comparison to other Immigrants)

Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	95% Credible Interval Lower	95% Credible Interval Upper
Intercept	2.654	0.256	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.118	3.144
NID_expl_subscale	0.099	0.298	0.500	0.268	0.366	-0.256	1.120
NID_aff_subscale	-0.033	0.216	0.500	0.236	0.309	-0.778	0.323
EID_expl_subscale	0.061	0.250	0.500	0.263	0.357	-0.346	0.761
EID_aff_subscale	0.042	0.248	0.500	0.246	0.327	-0.341	0.861

Table 25

Bayesian Regression Model Comparison for Predicting Dual Identity (Conflicted)

Models	P(M)	P(M|data)	BF $_M$	BF $_{10}$	R^2
Null model	0.200	0.365	2.295	1.000	0.000
NID affirmation	0.050	0.100	2.118	1.100	0.111
NID exploration	0.050	0.089	1.850	0.973	0.099
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.200	0.086	0.374	0.235	0.165
EID affirmation	0.050	0.040	0.793	0.439	0.022
NID exploration + NID affirmation	0.033	0.035	1.047	0.573	0.127
NID exploration + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.035	0.680	0.379	0.154
EID exploration	0.050	0.034	0.667	0.372	0.004
NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.033	0.032	0.965	0.530	0.120
NID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.032	0.960	0.527	0.119
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID affirmation	0.050	0.030	0.589	0.330	0.139
NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.033	0.029	0.880	0.485	0.111
NID affirmation + EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.050	0.027	0.527	0.296	0.128
NID exploration + NID affirmation + EID exploration	0.050	0.027	0.526	0.295	0.128
NID exploration + EID exploration	0.033	0.026	0.788	0.435	0.100
EID exploration + EID affirmation	0.033	0.013	0.392	0.220	0.026

Table 26

Posterior Summaries of Coefficients for Predicting Dual Identity (Conflicted)

						95% Credible Interval	
Coefficient	Mean	SD	P(incl)	P(incl|data)	BF $_{\text{inclusion}}$	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.407	0.581	1.000	1.000	1.000	5.172	7.532
NID exploration	-0.392	0.857	0.500	0.359	0.560	-2.981	0.616
NID affirmation	-0.327	0.734	0.500	0.366	0.578	-2.444	0.556
EID exploration	0.110	0.613	0.500	0.277	0.384	-1.492	1.550
EID affirmation	-0.214	0.687	0.500	0.295	0.418	-2.257	0.683

Appendix J: Ground Up Coding Category Definitions and Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

Effect of Discrimination on Ethnic Identity

All codes in this section were developed from participant responses to the question: *When you experience racial/ethnic discrimination (targeted or unjust treatment based on your race or ethnicity) how does it make you feel about being (ethnic group label)?*

- **Normalizing, "part of life"** -- Codes related to an attitude that discrimination is somewhat inevitable or just "a part of life."
  This category is parallel to the ***Discrimination is inevitable subcategory* within the National Identity Codes Category

- **Actively keep it from affecting me** -- These codes refer to strategies or efforts to keep one from being affected by discrimination. *Statements that speak about someone not being affected by experiences of discrimination (without any explicit mention of any effort to keep themselves from being affected) should not be coded here, and rather these belong in the* ***no effect on ethnic identity subcategory*** *or* ***the little to no discrimination subcategory****, depending on the context.*

- **Externalizing discrimination, "it's the perpetrator's problem"** -- This category includes any statement that shifts the devaluing aspect of discrimination from the participant to the perpetrator of the discrimination. These statements may include the participant's feelings towards the discriminator (e.g., I pity them), or any negative statements about them (e.g., they are ignorant, insecure, etc.) Statements that include one's own personal emotional reactions to experiencing discrimination or other effects on the self should not be coded here.
  This category is a direct parallel to the* ***It's their (discriminator's) problem *subcategory of codes within the National Identity Codes Category.*

- **No effect on ethnic identity --** Codes that indicate that discrimination has not had any effect on one's ethnic identity.

- **Emotional Reactions --** This category includes a full range of emotional reactions that one may have as a result of experiencing discrimination. Any statements that are primarily about the internal emotions one experiences should be categorized here.

  - *Pride -- is* a subcategory used within this category for emotional reactions that primarily focus on that emotion*.*

- **Little to no discrimination --** Statements that indicate that one has had limited or no personal experience with discrimination
  *** There is a parallel category of* ***the same name*** *in the National Identity Category Codes***

Effects of Discrimination on National Identity

All codes here were developed from participant responses to the question: *When you experience racial/ethnic discrimination how does it make you feel about being Canadian?*

- **Discrimination is inevitable** -- Codes here describe the inevitability or ubiquitous nature of discrimination. Seeing discrimination as an unavoidable reality of life.
  Parallel to the* ***Normalizing, "part of life" *subcategory within the Ethnic Identity Category*

- **Effect on Feeling Canadian/Feelings about Canada** – Any statements about the effect that discrimination has on one's feeling about Canada as a nation, or about being a Canadian themselves. These effects may be positive or negative (see subcategories).

    - *Negative Effect* **--** Statements that indicate that the experience of discrimination has had a negative effect on one's views of Canadian society, one's sense of acceptance in Canada, or one's sense of pride or happiness with being Canadian.

    - *Still feel good, proud about being Canadian* **--** Statements that indicate that experiences of discrimination have not taken away from one's positive feelings about Canada or about being Canadian, (e.g., I am still proud to be Canadian).

- **Motivations to Act** -- Codes that indicate that the experience of discrimination has motivated someone to think about (or act on) addressing issues of discrimination.

- **Emotional Reactions** -- Full range of emotional reactions in response to experiences of discrimination.
  These occur in response to this question about what the effect of discrimination on national identity is and a direct parallel of the* ***emotional reactions sub-category *within the Ethnic Identity Codes Category.*

- **It's their (discriminators') problem** – Codes that indicate that the experience of discrimination has affected one's opinions or feelings about the person committing the discrimination. This discriminator is the primary focus in these codes.
  ****This is a direct parallel to the* ***Externalizing, "it's the perpetrator's problem"*** *subcategory of codes within the Ethnic Identity Codes Category.*

- **Generalizing to most Canadians' views (+/-)** -- Codes that link the experience of discrimination with the participant's perspective (whether positive or negative) on the national society more broadly (e.g., discrimination has resulted in holding more negative views about Canadians in general; believing that the person discriminating is not representative of the majority of people in Canada, etc.).

- **Little to no discrimination** -- Statements that indicate that one has had limited or no personal experience with discrimination
  *** There is a parallel category of the same name in the Ethnic Identity Category Codes***

Thoughts and Actions Post-Discrimination

All codes here were developed from participant responses to the question: *After an experience of discrimination people can think and act in all sorts of different ways. For example, some people want to distance themselves from other (ethnic group label) people. Other people might think about the ways that (ethnic group label people) have it better off than other immigrant groups. Some people might want to take action and fight for more just treatment for (ethnic group label) people.*

- *What do you notice about your own thinking after a discriminatory event?*
- *What do you notice about your own actions after a discriminatory event?*

- **External Actions and Reactions –** Actions that occur in response to an experience of discrimination. These involve the participant taking some type of action outside of themselves. These codes may include:

  - Efforts to educate people outside of the ethnic group about their misconceptions of the ethnic group **(teach others subcategory**)
  - Efforts to connect with the ethnic or national culture more deeply (**connect with history, culture subcategory**)
  - Efforts to avoid one or more groups of people (**avoid certain ethnic groups subcategory**)
  - Efforts to right a wrong or pursue the injustice of discrimination (**confrontation, quest for justice subcategory**).

  While these codes (and their parent subcategories) are varied, they hold common the element of outward action in response to discrimination. *Codes that refer to any type of internal reactions (thoughts or feelings about the self, another group, or what one should do, that are not articulated to another person or directly acted upon) should not be coded here. Rather, these should be categorized under the **Internal Actions and Reactions Category**.*

- **Internal Actions and Reactions –** Reactions to experiences of discrimination, which are internal in nature (personal thoughts and feelings). These may include:
  - A range of emotions (**varied emotional reactions subcategory**)

  - Sympathy for or solidarity with others who have experienced discrimination -- **other focused sympathy subcategory**
  - Thoughts related to blaming the self or one's ethnic group (e.g., I must improve my English (so I don't experience discrimination) (**blame self or ethnic group subcategory)**
  - Thoughts focused on understanding why this experience occurred (**focus on understanding subcategory**)
  - Thoughts focused on protecting the self from experiences of discrimination by maintaining positive thinking (**focus on the positive subcategory**)
  - Thoughts about what one does or what one should do to fight for equality (**renewed resolve to keep fighting, make improvements subcategory**).

*Of note, this last subcategory includes only thoughts about taking these actions. Any actual action taken (outside of the self) should be categorized in **the external actions and reactions category**.*

- **Considerations for how I act --** This small category includes codes that tap into the thinking processes of participants that occur prior to taking any action in response to an experience of discrimination. These codes identify factors that participant's consider prior to acting.

- **Not as affected due to minimal discrimination --** Codes in this small category all get at the idea that limited experiences of discrimination have protected the individual from negative personal effects and prevented the development of negative beliefs about other ethnic groups. These codes have a sense that participants were not as affected as they could have been if discrimination were worse.

- **Not applicable**

Belonging to Both

All codes here were developed from participant responses to the question: *What do you do to try to feel like you belong to both (ethnic group label) culture and Canadian culture?*

- **Leaning Canadian** -- Statements in which participants describe their cultural orientation as Canadian.

- **Outsider to one community** -- Statements in which participants indicate that they feel on the outside of one of their cultural groups (either an outsider to the ethnic group or to the Canadian group).

- **Fluid, Combining Approach --** Codes here describe participant attitudes or personal philosophies that highlight the ways in which their two cultures fit together, or give some sense that one approaches life in such a way that they can freely choose amongst their cultures as needed.

- **No barriers to belonging to both** -- *In contrast to the* ***fluid, combining approach category****, these codes to not have the same sense of intentionally fitting two cultures together*. Rather, these codes describe the complete absence of conflict between cultures or barriers to belonging in both cultures. For these participants, there is no conflict, and therefore no effort is needed to belong to both cultures, one just simply does.

- **Growth** -- *Emerging category* -- describing changes in one's ability to belong to both cultures over time. (Movement from not belonging in both cultures towards dual belonging).

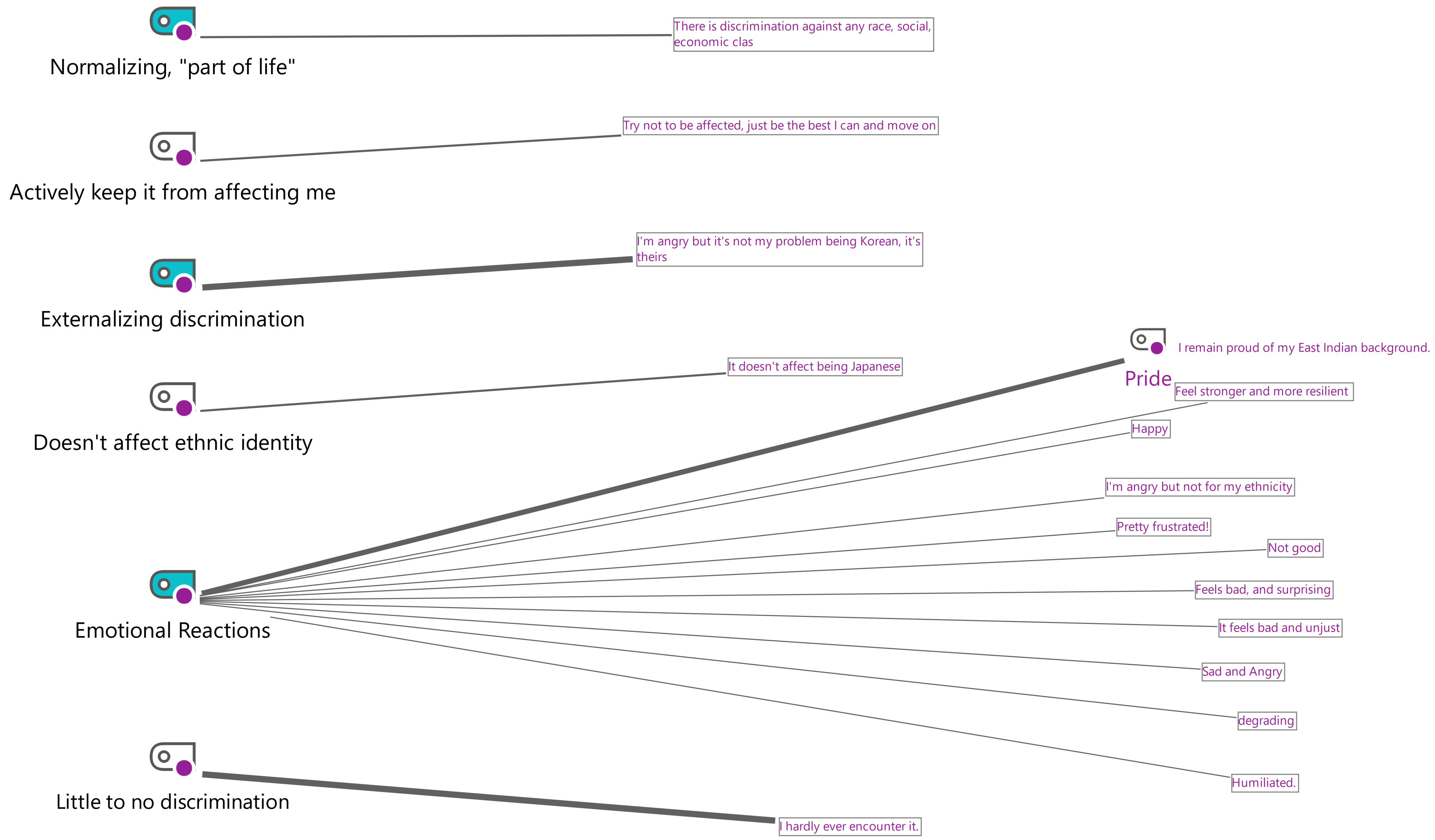
- **Strategies** -- These codes include the specific strategies that participants use in order to be able to belong to both cultures. This category is home to a number of *subcategories* (described below). Some codes may just fit loosely within the strategies category and not within one of the subcategories below.

    - ***Participate in both cultures*** **--**examples of efforts to participate in **both** one's ethnic and national culture
    - ***Canadian belonging strategies***-- concrete strategies participants use to create a stronger sense of belonging in Canada (e.g., speak more English). *These codes can be differentiated from codes falling under* ***the share my culture with Canadians (and learn) subcategory****, given the focus on ways to better adopt aspects of the Canadian culture, rather than on sharing about one's own culture with Canadians*.
    - ***Multicultural focused strategies (Connect with people of varied backgrounds)*** -- these strategies are distinct from the prior to two subcategories in that they are not about participating in the ethnic or national culture, but rather about seeking out experiences and contexts where one can connect with a diverse multicultural group of people and thus a multitude of different cultures.
    - ***Share my culture with Canadians (and learn)*** -- these codes describe efforts by participants to create a sense of belonging through sharing one's culture with Canadians. For some of these codes there may also be a component of interest in learning about Canadian culture simultaneously -- a process of mutual sharing and cultural exchange. *These codes can be differentiated from codes falling under the* ***Canadian belonging strategies*** *subcategory, given the focus on sharing the ethnic culture as opposed to adopting the Canadian culture.*

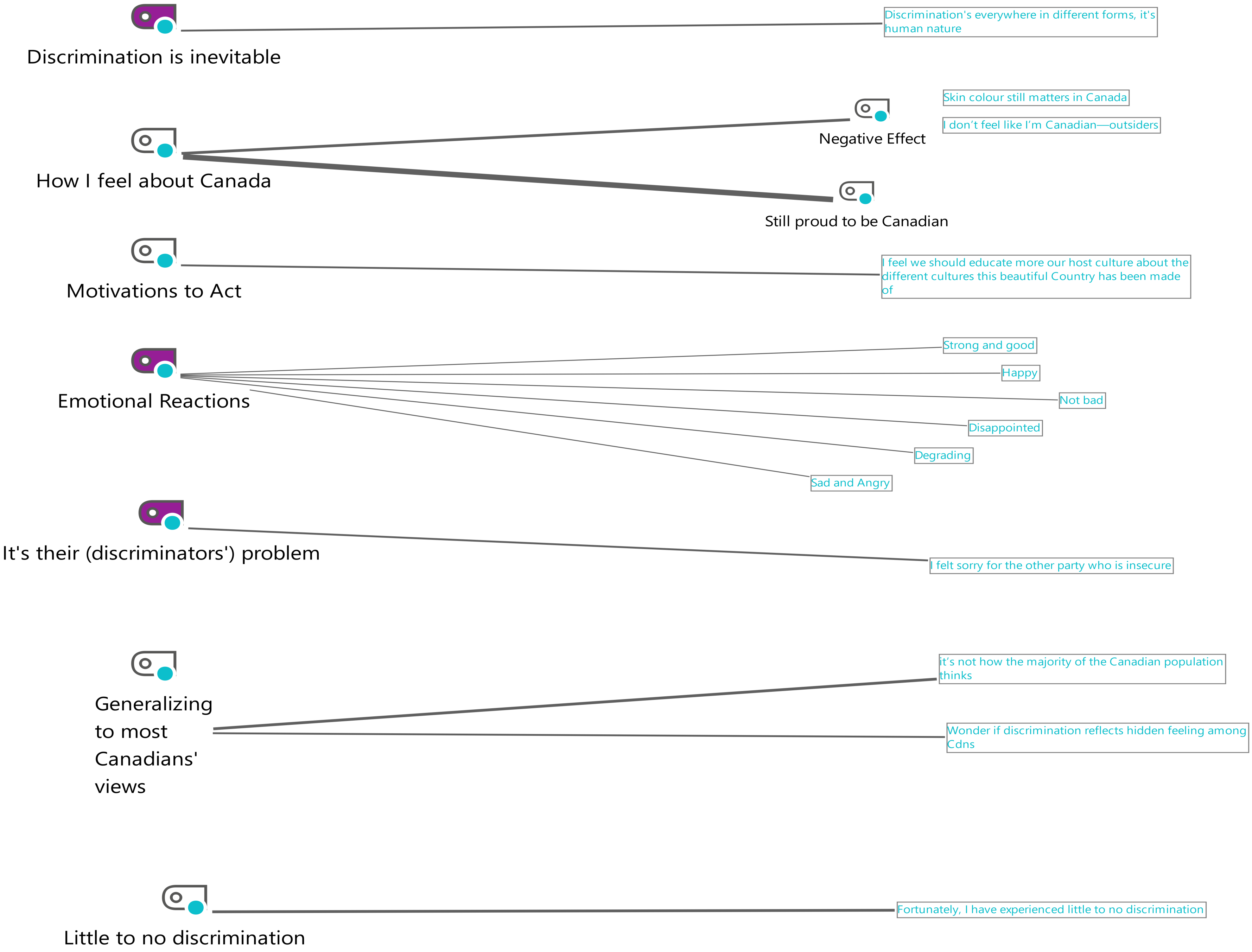
Appendix K: Ground Up Coding Graphics

In the graphics that follow, the tabs on the left represent the highest order qualitative categories for codes pertaining to the research question noted at the top of the page. Shaded tabs on the first figure (effects of discrimination on ethnic identity figure) correspond with the shaded tabs on the second (effects of discrimination on national identity figure). These indicate parallel categories across these two research questions. The small boxes on the right side contain a code representative of each category. The weight of the line running from category to code represents that robustness of the category (i.e., the thicker the line, the more codes in that category). Subcategories are represented through use of tabs on the right hand side of the diagram and larger text (i.e.,*"Pride")* in the first figure below.

Effects of Discrimination on Ethnic Identity


Normalizing, "part of life"
There is discrimination against any race, social, economic clas
Actively keep it from affecting me
Try not to be affected, just be the best I can and move on
Externalizing discrimination
I'm angry but it's not my problem being Korean, it's theirs
Doesn't affect ethnic identity
It doesn't affect being Japanese
Pride
I remain proud of my East Indian background.
Feel stronger and more resilient
Happy
Emotional Reactions
I'm angry but not for my ethnicity
Pretty frustrated!
Not good
Feels bad, and surprising
It feels bad and unjust
Sad and Angry
degrading
Humiliated.
Little to no discrimination
I hardly ever encounter it.

Effects of Discrimination on National Identity



Discrimination is inevitable
Discrimination's everywhere in different forms, it's human nature

How I feel about Canada
Negative Effect
Skin colour still matters in Canada
I don't feel like I'm Canadian—outsiders
Still proud to be Canadian

Motivations to Act
I feel we should educate more our host culture about the different cultures this beautiful Country has been made of

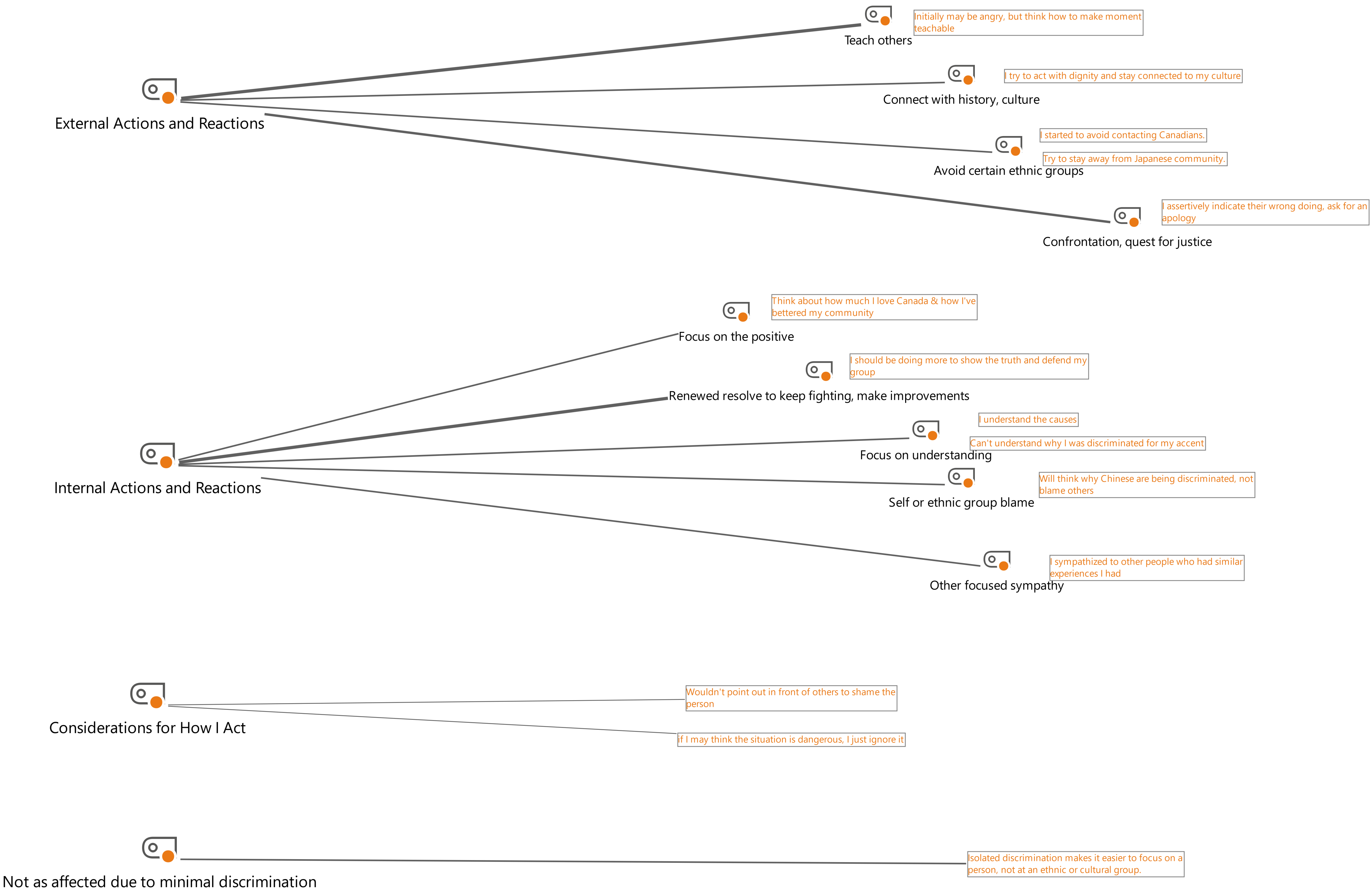
Emotional Reactions
Strong and good
Happy
Not bad
Disappointed
Degrading
Sad and Angry

It's their (discriminators') problem
I felt sorry for the other party who is insecure

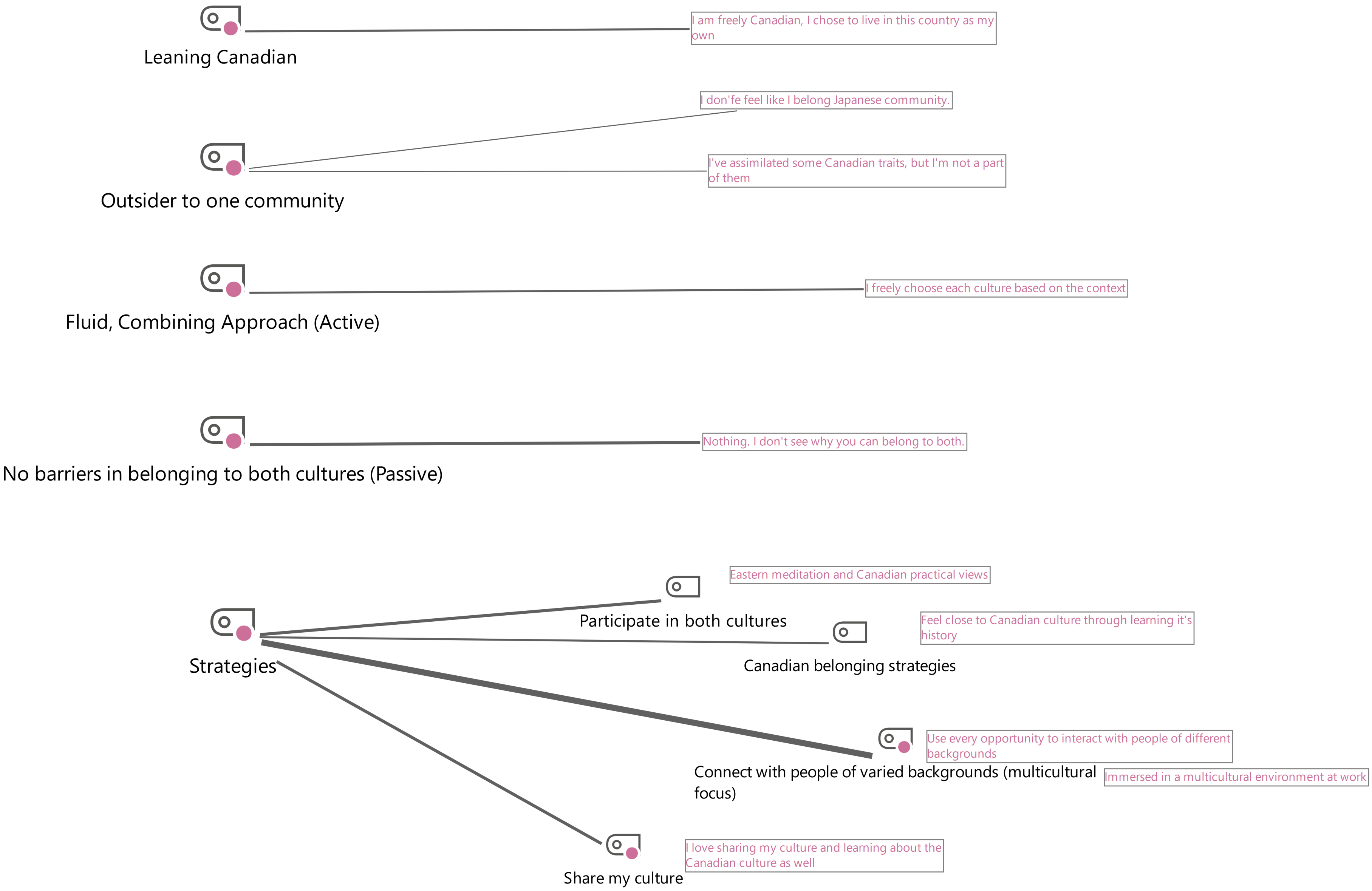
Generalizing to most Canadians' views
it's not how the majority of the Canadian population thinks
Wonder if discrimination reflects hidden feeling among Cdns

Little to no discrimination
Fortunately, I have experienced little to no discrimination

Thoughts and Actions Post Discrimination


External Actions and Reactions
Teach others
Initially may be angry, but think how to make moment teachable
Connect with history, culture
I try to act with dignity and stay connected to my culture
Avoid certain ethnic groups
I started to avoid contacting Canadians.
Try to stay away from Japanese community.
Confrontation, quest for justice
I assertively indicate their wrong doing, ask for an apology
Internal Actions and Reactions
Focus on the positive
Think about how much I love Canada & how I've bettered my community
Renewed resolve to keep fighting, make improvements
I should be doing more to show the truth and defend my group
Focus on understanding
I understand the causes
Can't understand why I was discriminated for my accent
Self or ethnic group blame
Will think why Chinese are being discriminated, not blame others
Other focused sympathy
I sympathized to other people who had similar experiences I had
Considerations for How I Act
Wouldn't point out in front of others to shame the person
If I may think the situation is dangerous, I just ignore it
Not as affected due to minimal discrimination
Isolated discrimination makes it easier to focus on a person, not at an ethnic or cultural group.

What do you do to belong to both cultures?



Leaning Canadian

I am freely Canadian, I chose to live in this country as my own

Outsider to one community

I don'fe feel like I belong Japanese community.

I've assimilated some Canadian traits, but I'm not a part of them

Fluid, Combining Approach (Active)

I freely choose each culture based on the context

No barriers in belonging to both cultures (Passive)

Nothing. I don't see why you can belong to both.

Strategies

Participate in both cultures

Eastern meditation and Canadian practical views

Canadian belonging strategies

Feel close to Canadian culture through learning it's history

Connect with people of varied backgrounds (multicultural focus)

Use every opportunity to interact with people of different backgrounds

Immersed in a multicultural environment at work

Share my culture

I love sharing my culture and learning about the Canadian culture as well

Appendix L: Ground Up Coding Scheme

Ground Up Code System		
Unsorted Codes		
I'm gay and I'm in a same-sex relationship, family rejects me		
Hong Kong Chinese mistaken for Mainland Chinese, totally different mentality		
Research Question	**Categories**	**Subcategories**/Codes
Effect of Discrimination on Ethnic Identity		
	Normalizing, "part of life"	
		no big deal. part of life.
		There is discrimination against any race, social, economic class
	Actively keep it from affecting me	
		I try to look similarities vs. differences 2 avoid getting upset
		Try not to be affected, just be the best I can and move on
	Externalizing discrimination, "it's the perpetrator's problem"	
		Sad for the perpetrator, they are lacking education
		discrimination= about being Asian generally, from insecure people
		I'm angry but it's not my problem being Korean, it's theirs
		Don't internalize, injustice is influenced by ignorance
	No effect on ethnic identity	
		doesn't affect my pride of being Korean
		Others' bias has no bearing on my personal feelings
		I wouldn't care, that depends on the personality
		Feel ok about being Latino, not well about discrimination
		It doesn't affect being Japanese
	Emotional Reactions	
		Language discrimination

			felt shame, a fool, wrong; now know I shouldn't feel that way
		Pride	
			I still feel proud of my ethnicity
			Proud
			I remain proud of my East Indian background.
			Proud
		Injustice from ignorance; Feel stronger, resilient Black person	
		Feel happy	
		Pretty frustrated!	
		degrading	
		Humiliated.	
		Feels bad, and surprising	
		I'm angry but not for my ethnicity	
		Been discriminated, not well	
		Just makes me sad and angry.	
		It feels bad and unjust	
	Little to no discrimination		
		I haven't experience any sort of discrimination	
		I have not had the experience of ethnic discrimination so far	
		I am lucky so far, don't have racial discrimination experience	
		Fortunately, I haven't had much experience being discriminated	
		Fortunately, I have experienced little to no discrimination	
		I hardly ever encounter it.	
	I should be doing more to bring awareness, swim against media *(unsorted code for this Research Question)*		
Effect of Discrimination on National Identity			
	Discrimination is inevitable		
		Discrimination is inevitable b/c of cultural differences	
		Discrimination's everywhere in different. forms; It's human nature	

- **Effect on feeling Canadian/feelings about Canada**
  - **Negative Effect**
    - That skin colour still matters in Canada
    - I'm Canadian as well. I 'm not proud to be Canadian.
    - I don’t feel like I’m Canadian—outsiders
  - **Still feel good, proud about being Canadian**
    - Proud
    - Still proud to be Canadian, everyone's entitled to their views
    - I remain proud of being Canadian.
    - I feel confident of being part of a multicultural country
    - Still proud to be Canadian
    - I am still proud of myself being Canadian.
- **Motivations to Act**
  - hopeful that as a country we aspire to do better over time
  - This beautiful country made of different cultures, educate Canadians
- **Emotional Reactions**
  - discrimination makes me sad & angry, no matter my background
  - degrading
  - Disappointed
  - Not bad
  - Happy
  - Strong and good
- **It's their (discriminators') problem**
  - Affects feelings about discriminators, not about being Canadian.
  - Has no bearing on my personal feeling, depends on people's own bias
  - The problem is with the person discriminating against me
  - discrimination done by people who don't know about other cultures
  - I don't care about that, depends on the personality
  - I felt sorry for the other party who is insecure

	Generalizing to most Canadians' views (+/-)		
		Hate Americans, angry & against all US people after discrimination event	
		Wonder if discrimination reflects hidden feeling among Canadians	
		generally people in Canada are open & welcoming	
		it’s not how the majority of the Canadian population thinks	
		I don't link the person to the overall Canadian	
	Little to no discrimination		
		It doesn’t apply	
		Good, because it hardly ever happens.	
		Fortunately, I have experienced little to no discrimination	
Thoughts & Actions Post Discrimination			
	External Actions and Reactions		
		I maintain a neutral approach *(external action code not further categorized)*	
		Teach others	
			Initially may be angry, but think how to make moment teachable
			I share more, gain confidence, people need to hear about my roots
			Try to educate this not understanding
		Connect with history, ethnic culture	
			Research history and learn about the humanities. Educate myself
			I try to act with dignity and stay connected to my culture
		Avoid certain ethnic groups	
			I started to avoid contacting Canadians.
			Try to stay away from Japanese community.
		Confrontation, quest for justice	
			I may try to set the person straight,
			I assertively indicate their wrong doing, ask for an apology
			I think of denouncing through social media channels.
			Send note to authorities, HRC, my MP, police, store owner

Internal Actions and Reactions		
	Varied emotional reactions	
		I regret coming to Canada many times
		I feel pity of that person who gave me a discrimination
		I become irritated and emotional
		Hurt, but forgiveness to ignorance
	Other focused sympathy	
		what is happening is awful, don't wish on anyone or any group
		I sympathized to other people who had similar experiences I had
	Self or Ethnic Group Blame	
		I must improve my English
		Will think why Chinese are being discriminated, not blame other
	Focus on understanding	
		I understand the causes
		Can't understand why I was discriminated for my accent
	Renewed resolve to keep fighting, make improvements	
		Makes me happy to keep working to see e/o as human beings
		I should be better person, improve my life contribute 2 society
		I should fight for just treatment, improve status of Korean comm.
		I should be doing more to show the truth and defend my group
	Focus on the positive	
		(Think about) how I love Canada, how I've bettered my community
		life is hard. just move. be optimistic. tomorrow would be better
Considerations for how I act		
	Wouldn't point out in front of others to shame the person	
	if I may think the situation is dangerous, I just ignore it	
Not as affected due to minimal discrimination		
	It doesn’t apply	
	So far no discrimination	

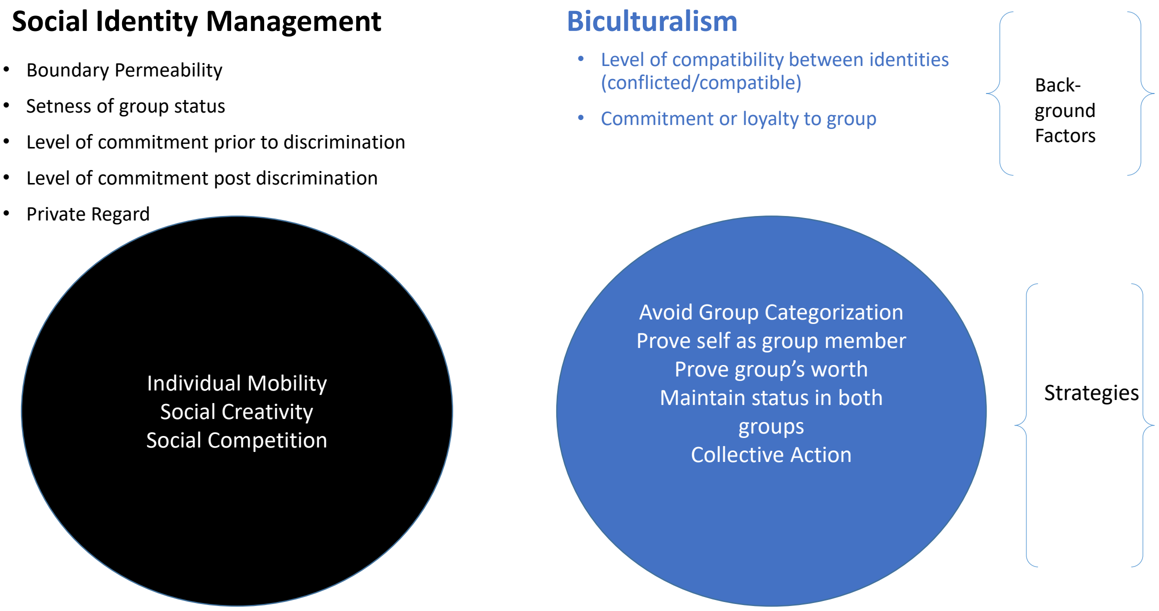
  - limited discrimination, so not put off by others stupidity
  - isolated discrimination, makes easier to focus on person not whole group

What do you do to belong to both cultures

- **Leaning Canadian**
  - I am freely Canadian, I chose to live in this country as my own
  - Immigrating 20+ years ago, I'm more inclined to Canadian culture
- **Outsider to one community**
  - Again, I don't feel like to belong Japanese community.
  - I've assimilated some Canadian traits, but not a part of them
- **Fluid, Combining Approach**
  - India's well being important to me; Canada where my kids future is
  - I do belong to both, Indian roots & Canadian reality share values
  - I freely choose each culture based on context
- **No barriers to belonging to both**
  - it's all around us. we chose to live here. I feel comfortable
  - Nothing. I don't see why you can’t belong to both.
  - There is no contradiction between these two cultures
  - Nothing extra
  - My ethnicity isn't a barrier
- **Growth**
  - At first felt couldn't completely belong to Asian nor Canadian communities
- **Strategies**
  - Participate in both cultures
    - I have friends and belong to different groups Latino and Canadians
    - seeking a job where both cultures are mixed
    - Eastern meditation and Canadian practical views
    - Attend public events, celebrate both cultures at home
    - participate in activities of both communities

		Canadian belonging strategies	
			speak English more
			learn Canadian history & understand deeply, close to Canadian culture
		Multicultural focus (connect w/people of varied backgrounds)	
			Participate in cultural events
			immersed in multicultural environment at work
			active volunteer in multicultural orgs
			Multicultural meet
			Meeting people from various backgrounds, being open w/new ideas
			use every opportunity to interact w/people from different backgrounds
		Share my culture w/ Canadians (and learn)	
			pride for my culture, curious to learn about others
			Share my culture with my Canadian friends and colleagues
			Love sharing my culture & learning about Canadian culture
		I am very active within the Barbadian Canadian community.	
		Try to live my life in comfort, accept others who accept me	
	I can't shut down b/c my kids are Canadian *(unsorted code for the research question)*		

Appendix M: Social Identity Management Coding Manual



Social Identity Management

- Boundary Permeability
- Setness of group status
- Level of commitment prior to discrimination
- Level of commitment post discrimination
- Private Regard

Individual Mobility
Social Creativity
Social Competition

Biculturalism

- Level of compatibility between identities (conflicted/compatible)
- Commitment or loyalty to group

Avoid Group Categorization
Prove self as group member
Prove group's worth
Maintain status in both groups
Collective Action

Back-ground Factors

Strategies

**Social Psychology (in black text) and Biculturalism Perspectives (in blue text)

Background Factors: Boundary and group status rigidity vs. flexibility

- Boundary Permeability – any statements about permeability of group boundaries
- "Setness" of group status – any statements about whether or not one's group status is changeable and the range of changeability (completely unchangeable and set vs. changeable) **(no codes)**
- Level of commitment to group prior to discrimination (or out of context of discrimination)
- Level of commitment to group post-discrimination – any statements about how the commitment to the group was related to the action taken and any statements about changes in group commitment or loyalty as a result of the discriminatory event or the actions/thoughts that occurred in response

- Private Regard group commitment – any statements about one's private feelings about their ethnic group or national group or statements about one's sense of commitment towards these groups. (Separated into private regard/commitments towards national identity, ethnic identity, following a discriminatory event; private regard outside of the context of discrimination, statements indicating no effect of discrimination on private regard in the coding system).

- Perceived level of compatibility between identities
    - Identities compatible – including statements that the two identities are *naturally compatible*, and statements that include actions (i.e., *bicultural actions*) in service of maintaining compatible identities
    - Identities conflicted – any statements indicating that the ethnic and national identity are in conflict with one another

Strategies

- Avoid group categorization – any statements indicating effort to avoid categorization as a member of their ethnic group (or entirely) **(no codes)**

- Prove oneself as a valued member of one or both groups – any statements that describe efforts to prove oneself to the ethnic group or national group members

- Efforts to maintain status in both groups (particularly important for members of lower status ethnic groups) – any statements that indicate this may be in service of maintaining this person's position to both groups

- Prove group's worth – could be through trying to educate the person discriminating about the value of one's ethnic group in society

- Individual mobility – leave group for higher status group (physically or psychologically)

- Social Creativity
    - Downward comparison – comparison to lower status group **(no codes)**
    - Upward comparison – comparison to higher status group; identifying one dimension where one's group is doing better (they are rich, but we are happy)

  - Temporal comparison – favorable comparison about group's status in present time vs. historically **(no codes)**

  - Maximizing intragroup variability – I am better than some other members of my ethnic group (we are not all poor, I speak better English than other group members)

  - Superordinate categorization – positioning self within larger category that includes both conflicted identities

  - Re-evaluate the value of a comparison dimension: **(no codes)**
    - Re-appropriating negative labels, changing valence (Black is beautiful, gay pride)
    - Rejecting or downplaying importance of the comparison dimension (wealth is undesirable)

- Social Competition – collective action to improve group status

Other Notes

- Biculturalism and membership criteria – Strict group membership criteria may fail to recognize the importance of other group memberships (e.g., sexual orientation, religion), leaving these identity components marginalized. **(one participant describes an experience that matches this)**

Appendix N: Social Identity Management Code System

Categories move from large to small (subcategories), left to right; codes are in unbolded text

- **Background Factors**
  - **Social Identity Management Background Factors**
    - **Private Regard**
      - **Private Regard, commitment (following discrimination)**
        - **National Identity**
          - **Maintain or increase positive national private regard**
            - Still proud to be Canadian
            - Discrimination is inevitable, I'm still proud of being Canadian
            - I feel confident of being part of a multicultural country
            - Happy
            - Proud
            - I remain proud of being Canadian
            - How much I love Canada
            - I am still proud to be a Canadian
          - **National Dis-identification**
            - American Boycott
            - I'm Canadian as well. I'm not proud to be Canadian.
            - I regret coming to Canada many times
        - **Ethnic Identity**
          - I remain proud of my East Indian background
          - Don't hide East Indian roots, become more confident
          - Makes me feel stronger & more resilient as a Black person
          - Proud
          - So that doesn't affect my pride of being Korean
          - I still feel proud of my ethnicity

- Act with dignity, stay connected to my culture
- Been with Latino roots, ok

- **Private regard (not in context of discrimination)**
  - Felt close to Canadian culture
  - I am freely Canadian, chose this great country as my own
- **No effect on private regard**
  - It should not affect how I feel about being Canadian
  - Focus on a person, not at an ethnic or cultural group
  - Don't care about that a lot as it depends on the personality

- **Group boundary permeability**
  - I don’t feel like I’m Canadian—outsiders.
  - Skin colour still matters in Canada
  - It doesn't affect being Japanese
  - I don't feel a part of them (Canadian)

- **Biculturalism Background Factors**
  - **Identity Conflict**
    - At first felt didn't belong to Asian or Canadian cultures
    - Again, I don't feel like to belong Japanese community
  - **Identity Compatibility**
    - **Naturally compatible**
      - There is no contradiction between these two cultures
      - It is all around us. We chose to live here. I feel comfortable
      - Nothing extra (to belong to both cultures)
      - Belong to both groups, Canada & India have shared values
      - Nothing. I don't see why you can belong to both.
      - Ethnicity isn't a barrier to connect, engage in society
    - **Bicultural actions**
      - I am very active within the Barbadian Canadian community.

- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Show pride in my culture, be curious, interact w/other cultures
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Have friends, belong to Latino & Canadian groups
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Love sharing my culture and learning about Canadian culture
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Share culture with Canadian friends & colleagues
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Seeking a job where both cultures are mixed
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Participate in cultural events
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Freely choose each culture based on context
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Eastern meditation and Canadian practical views
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Celebrate both cultures just as equal
- 🟥🟧🟨🟩 Participate in activities of both communities
- 🟥🟧🟨 Multicultural org volunteer; multicultural environment @ work
- 🟥🟧 **Strict group membership criteria marginalizes other identities**
- 🟥🟧🟨 I'm gay and I'm in a same-sex relationship, Indonesian family rejects me

Biculturalism Strategies

- 🟥 **Prove self as valued group member**
- 🟥🟧 Speak English more
- 🟥🟧 Must improve my English
- 🟥 **Prove group's worth (through education)**
- 🟥🟧 Try to educate this not understanding
- 🟥🟧 Should educate host culture about different cultures in Canada
- 🟥🟧 Think of ways to use discrimination as teachable moment
- 🟥🟧 Share more about my roots
- 🟥 **Maintaining status in both groups**
- 🟥🟧 I maintain a neutral approach
- 🟥🟧 I can't shut down because my kids are Canadian

Social Creativity Strategies

- 🟥 **Superordinate re-categorization**
- 🟥🟧 Multicultural meet
- 🟥🟧 Discrimination to Asians (not just Koreans)

  - I try to look similarities than differences to avoid feeling upset
- **Maximizing intragroup variability**
  - I don't link the person to the overall Canadian.
  - Mentality of HK Chinese totally different from Mainland Chinese
- **Upward Comparison**
  - With discriminator (presumably of higher status group)
    - I am not put off by others' stupidity.
    - I have more education than discriminator
    - Hurt, but forgiveness to ignorance
    - The problem is with the person discriminating against me.
    - Sad for the person who is the perpetrator, they are lacking in education.
    - I feel pity of that person who gave me a discrimination
    - Discrimination from insecure people
    - Discrimination done by those who don’t know about other culture
    - It's not my problem being Korean, it's theirs
    - (Discrimination) influenced by ignorance
    - I felt sorry for the other party who is insecure

Collective Action (Social Competition)

- I should improve status of Korean community, fight for fair treatment
- Publicize discrimination, share with those who can do something
- I should be doing more to shed light on truth, defend my group
- Hopeful that as a country we aspire to do better over time
- Happy to keep working towards seeing each other as human beings
- (think about) How much I've done to better my community
- Should be doing more to bring awareness, swim against media

Individual Mobility

- I started to avoid contacting Canadians
- Try to stay away from Japanese community