# The Religious Identity of Filipinx Canadian Immigrants: Religious Expressions, Development, and Enculturation/Acculturation

by

Drexler Klein L. Ortiz
Honours Bachelor of Science, York University, 2015

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# Supervisory Committee

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**Supervisory Committee**

Dr. Catherine Costigan, Department of Psychology
**Supervisor**

Dr. Christopher Lalonde, Department of Psychology
**Departmental Member**

## Abstract

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The current study examined religious identity in a Filipinx Christian immigrant adolescent and emerging adult sample ($N$ = 197) in Canada. Religious identity was defined as the extent to which an individual has engaged in each of five processes of religious identity formation. A hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted to identify subgroups of participants based on their religious identity. Five subgroups were identified that represented different combinations of religious identity exploration and commitment, named Internalized, Ruminative Seeking, Indifferent, Externalized, and Undifferentiated. The study also examined whether participants in different religious identity clusters expressed their religiosity differently. It was found that participants with different religious identities differed in the level of religiosity expressed (i.e., some religious identity groups were more religious than others), but groups did not differ in the distinct ways religiosity could be expressed (i.e., all groups engaged in all dimensions of religiosity). There was also no evidence that religious identity differed based on participant age, contradicting expectations that religious identity would follow a developmental trajectory similar to other aspects of identity. Finally, the relations between religious identity clusters and enculturation and acculturation were examined to see if cultural change following immigration was related to the formation of religious identity. The findings suggested that Filipinx immigrants who were more oriented towards Filipinx culture were also more likely to be committed to their religious identity, and members of religious identities that were highly oriented towards Filipinx culture also expressed moderate to high levels of religiosity, suggesting

that Filipinx culture emphasizes the importance of religious commitment and expressions of religiosity. The importance of immigration becomes more nuanced in participants who engaged in similar levels of enculturation and acculturation. Filipinx immigrants who were highly oriented to both Filipinx and Canadian cultures equally tended to be members of religious identities that experienced distressful exploration of religion. Filipinx immigrants with different levels of enculturation and acculturation may have used differences in their orientation towards Filipinx and Canadian cultures to help navigate their religious identity. The current study highlights variations in how different Filipinx Christian immigrants view their religious identity, and the importance of considering how immigration may influence religious identity formation.

*Keywords:* identity development, religious identity, religiosity, immigration, enculturation, Filipinx/Filipina/Filipino

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## Dedication

For my mom and dad, as well as my greater Filipinx community, with whom I share this accomplishment.

## Introduction

Identity formation for immigrants is especially important, as certain aspects of their identity relate to their understandings of self in a multicultural context (Wan & Chew, 2013). Particular aspects of identity, such as cultural and ethnic identity, have been widely studied in an immigrant population (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Aspects of immigrant identities, such as national and ethnic identity, have been shown to impact family functioning and peer relationships (Sabatier, 2008), and therefore identity formation has clinical and social implications for immigrant populations.

One aspect of immigrant identity that has received less attention is religious identity. *Religious identity* is defined as an individual's exploration and commitment to a sociocultural group associated with a divine power (Low, 2018). This is in contrast to *religiosity*, which is the cognitive, spiritual, behavioural, or social embodiment of religious identity. One study has found that differences in *religiosity* within families have led to poorer relational quality between family members (Stokes & Regnerus, 2009). However, the role of *religious identity* in family conflicts and, more broadly, the social and clinical implications of religious identity, has not been studied very widely in immigrant populations. In fact, religious identity and religiosity are often conflated in the academic literature, and the differential influence of religious identity versus religiosity is poorly understood.

One way to distinguish religious identity from religiosity is to examine their relation to one another, such that a person's religious identity may be "expressed" as religiosity. In other words, two people who identify as Christian may or may not necessarily express their religious identity in the same ways. One person may pray and attend religious services, while another person may only sparsely attend church but have a strong spiritual connection with God. The

religious identity of individuals may or may not have similar expressions of religiosity, but this has not been studied in previous literature.

The formation of religious identity has been adapted from the classic theory of identity formation (i.e., Marcia, 1966), such that the processes of *exploration* and *commitment* produce various statuses of religious identity. Exploration refers to the different ways an individual seeks out information about religious groups and also deeply reflect on their alignment with a particular religious group. On the other hand, commitment refers to actions and thoughts an individual has to committing to a particular religious group, and it also includes the extent to which they think making a religious commitment is important to their life. The combination of exploration and commitment processes leads to four different identity statuses. For example, lower engagement in both exploration and commitment processes results in an Indifferent religious identity status, whereas higher engagement in both processes results in an Internal religious identity status (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015). Individuals with different religious identities formed by commitment and exploration may express different aspects of religiosity in various amounts. Although some research has examined the religious identity for specific groups such as Muslim immigrants (Peek, 2005) and Filipinx immigrants (Ricucci, 2010), no studies fully examine how religious identity processes relate to the multiple aspects of religiosity. The studies on religious identity usually focus on only a portion of religiosity, especially behavioural aspects such as attendance, prayer, and volunteerism, as well as beliefs such as belief in a divine, belief in the moral teachings of the religion, and belief in an afterlife. Religiosity, as described in certain frameworks, has multiple aspects that should be wholly examined in relation to religious identity.

Since most literature that investigates the role of religion on immigrants only examines portions of religiosity, such as behaviours and beliefs (Dollahite, Marks, & Goodman, 2004), two gaps in the literature arise. First, the experiences of immigrants with religion can only be conceptualized in select areas of religiosity (e.g., religious beliefs and behaviours), and rarely fully captures the range of religiosity. Second, the experiences of immigrants with religion has only been understood in terms of religiosity, and the role of religious identity is rarely taken into account. The current study takes a first step in filling these gaps of knowledge by examining the relation between religious identity and various aspects of religiosity.

Integral to further understanding how religious identity relates to immigrants is understanding whether religious identity has a developmental trajectory. Although multiple aspects of religiosity have been studied from a developmental perspective (e.g., Chan, Tsai, & Fuligni, 2015; Scarlett, 2006), the formation of a *religious* identity as defined by the processes of exploration and commitment has only recently been examined under a developmental lens (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015). Understanding developmental patterns in religious identity is a first step towards understanding how religious identity has clinical implications. For instance, in Korean immigrant families where parents reported high religious socialization behaviours, there was higher levels of reported family conflict when adolescents did not identify with their family's religion (Seol & Lee, 2012). Understanding how religious identity develops has clinical implications. Given that adolescence and emerging adulthood are key periods of identity development (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1994a), the current study focused on these two stages of the lifespan.

The religious trajectory of immigrants in Canada has been broadly studied (Connor, 2009), but investigations on the role of acculturative processes in shaping religiosity have only

begun. Given the many obstacles that accompany immigration, immigrant families are especially vulnerable to poor family functioning via religious discrepancy. Typically, among immigrants, religion is used as a context to stay associated with the ethnic heritage culture (Saroglou & Cohen, 2013), and therefore the degree to which adolescents and emerging adults subscribe to the values of their heritage culture (i.e., enculturation) may influence their religious identity formation. In contrast, the degree to which individuals subscribe to the new host culture to which they immigrated (i.e., acculturation) has generally been unrelated to immigrant religiosity and religious identity. The literature on the relation between religious identity and enculturation and acculturation is a small but emerging area. The need to study diverse populations in the psychology of religion has been long standing (Koenig, King, & Carson, 2012), and research on the Canadian immigrant population would decrease the knowledge gap within this area.

Although a bulk of the literature has examined Christian religiosity, and Filipinxs (i.e., Filipina/o/x) are largely Christian, Christian Filipinx immigrants have been a largely understudied population in the literature on religion. The majority of studies with Filipinx immigrants, in the field of psychology and beyond, address transnational parenting and employment (e.g., Asis, Huang, & Yeoh, 2004; Wolf, 1997), reflecting the narrative of Filipinxs abroad. However, religiosity is a major component of the experiences of Filipinx immigrants, given that 81% report a Catholic religious affiliation and 15% report a Protestant religious affiliation (Statistics Canada, 2001). Nonetheless, the study of religiosity has been largely neglected. Research on the religious experiences of this population would fill a large gap in the literature on Filipinx immigrants.

The current study added to the literature on the religious identity of immigrant adolescents and emerging adults by addressing three objectives. First, I examined how religious

identity processes related to different aspects of religiosity. Second, I identified whether there were developmental patterns in religious identity. Last, I examined whether religious identity processes varied by levels of enculturation and acculturation. In what follows, I review the construct of religious identity and religiosity. Next, I review developmental trends of religious identity, and the role of immigration (and associated cultural change) on religious identity. Finally, I focus specifically on the religious experiences of Filipinx immigrants.

## Key Constructs: Religious Identity and Religiosity

In order to examine the aspects of religiosity that are associated with religious identity, one major limitation in this area of research must be acknowledged. It has been well documented that research in religion is confounded by the many constructions of religion and religiosity, and associated constructs such as religious identity (Berry, 2005; Oman, 2013). A previous attempt to consolidate religious constructs was done by Hill and Hood (1999) by organizing 126 measures of religiosity into broad groups, as well as a recent review by Koenig (Koenig, Al Zaben, Khalifa, & Al Shohaib, 2015). However, neither of these influential resources have distinguished between measures of religiosity and religious identity, and only recently has religious identity been acknowledged as a separate but related construct to religiosity. It is important to establish the constructs as separate to address the major limitation that has historically clouded the psychological study of religiosity and religious identity.

The aim of this section, therefore, was to address the confound of religious identity and religiosity by presenting a separate framework for each construct. This section begins by defining *religious identity* and reviewing the classic theory of religious identity processes, followed by the framework that will be used for the current study. Next, *religiosity* is defined, followed by a framework of universal religious dimensions that was used for the current study to acknowledge how religiosity and religious identity are distinct but related constructs.

### Definitions of Religious Identity and Religiosity

**Religious Identity.** For the purpose of the current study, religious identity refers to individual's continuous search for and commitment to a sociocultural group associated with a divine power (Low, 2018). The search and commitment arises from the individual's interactions with the divine and/or the sociocultural group (i.e., the religion). This definition of religious

identity has three relevant features. First, religious identity is not stable or constant, but rather an ongoing state that may fluctuate over time. Second, religious identity is formed through the processes of search and commitment. Similar to process-oriented theories of identity formation such as Marcia (1966), the formation of religious identity involves exploration and commitment processes. Last, religious identity must be related to a divine power or religion. In other words, religious identity develops as an interaction between self and the divine and/or an interaction between self and the religious group associated with a divine power. Religious identity is an individual's personal understanding of self (i.e., a personal identity). This is in contrast to religious identity as a social identity, which places emphasis on how social structures, groups, and institutions holistically view and treat a group of people with the same religious identity, similar to how other social identities would operate such as ethnic identity, gender identity, and national identity. A framework for religious identity should address the three most relevant characteristics identified here: continuous, process-oriented, and personal.

The best framework that captures these characteristics of religious identity is a religious adaptation of Marcia's Ego-Identity Status Model (Marcia, 1966). Marcia's original model was an expansion of Erikson's psychosocial theory of development. Erikson states that during adolescence, a key developmental issue is the formation of a personal identity or conscious sense of self (1994b). Failure to develop an identity leads to role confusion in which the individual does not understand who they are due to the lack of a conscious sense of self. Successful formation of an identity, however, leads to a strong understanding of who one is in relation to the world.

Marcia disagreed with the extreme polarities of the outcome of identity formation, achieved identity versus identity crisis, and therefore proposed a model that introduced

intermediates between the extremes. Marcia's model proposes that identity formation contains two processes: exploration and commitment. Exploration is the process of actively questioning alternative possibilities of identity, whereas commitment is the process of committing to a chosen alternative possible identity. Exploration and commitment are separate, simultaneous processes, and the degree to which an individual engages in each process produces one of four identity statuses: diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure, and achievement.

Marcia's diffusion identity status and Erikson's identity confusion are synonymous; likewise, Marcia's achievement identity status and Erikson's identity achievement are synonymous. Using Marcia's processes, diffusion is an identity status that engages low exploration and low commitment. This individual has not given much thought to their identity and has also not committed to any personal identity. In contrast, an achievement identity status is reached after successfully navigating an identity crisis in which the individual engaged in both exploration of alternative identities, and committing to an identity that resonates with them. These two statuses describe extreme polarities of commitment and exploration, either both high or both low.

However, when commitment and exploration are opposing, moratorium and foreclosure identity statuses are formed. Moratorium is characterized by low commitment but high exploration processes. An individual in moratorium may currently be going through an identity crisis but has not yet chosen or committed an identity that resonates with themselves. Identity crises may not be as negative as Erikson originally proposed (Erikson, 1977). In moratorium, identity crises may represent an exciting time of exploration, searching for identification with multiple groups that resonate with the individual. For instance, exploration has been associated with openness and curiosity (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993; Luyckx, Soenens, & Goossens, 2006).

However, the crisis may also refer to the "dark and negative side of identity formation" (Erikson, 1977, p. 20) in which the individual must balance their own interests that are in disagreement with societal standards. For instance, high school students engaged in identity exploration were more likely to have elevated Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) scores in self-doubt, confusion, disturbed thinking, impulsivity, and conflicts with parents and other figures of authority (Kidwell, Dunham, Bacho, Pastorino, & Portes, 1995). In contrast, when commitment is high but exploration is low, an individual has a foreclosed identity status. Foreclosed individuals are likely not currently experiencing an identity crisis, but have not explored the personal significance of the identity to which they have committed. Often this might involve an individual who has complied to their ascribed identity, such as the identity intended for them by their parents (See Figure 1 for a review of Marcia's model of identity formation).

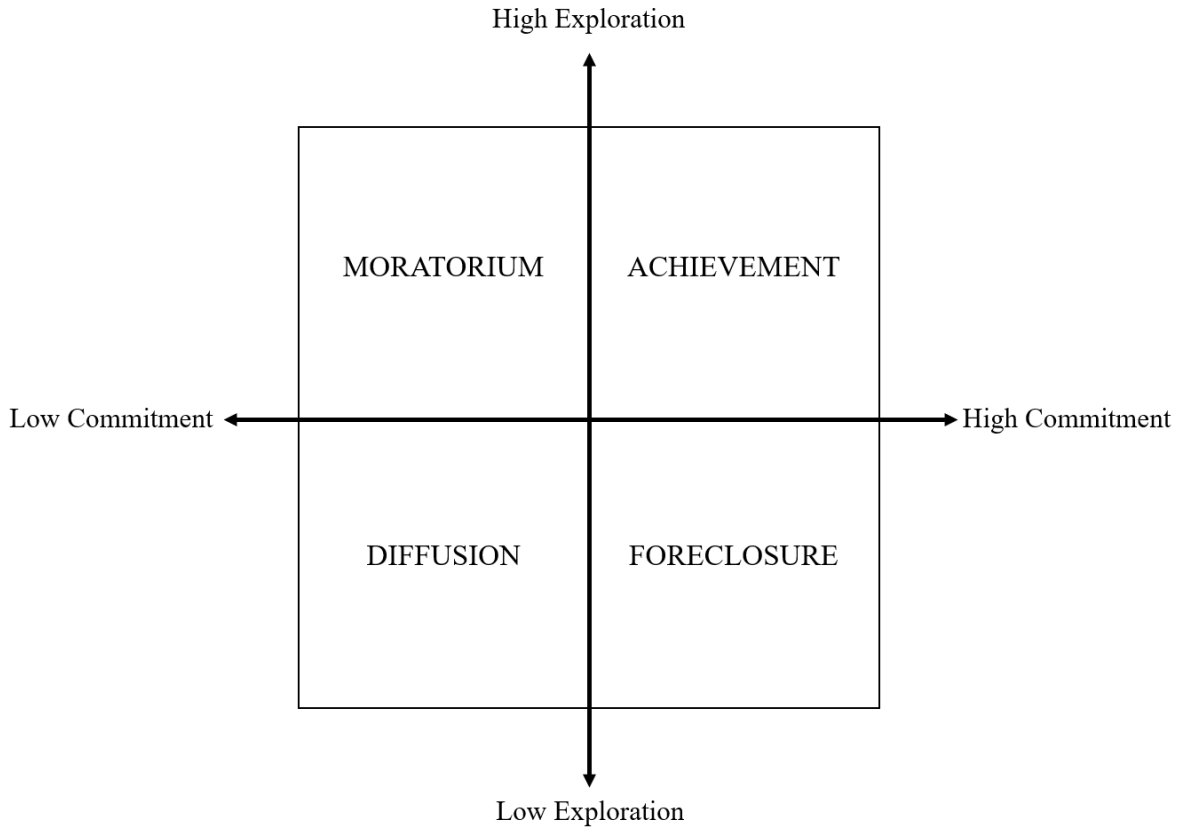

*Figure 1.* Marcia's Ego-Identity Status Model (Marcia, 1966).

***The Five Dimensional Model of Identity and The Religious Identity Scale.*** Relatively recent extensions in Marcia's model have found that there are three types of exploration and two types of commitment to create a Five Dimensional Model of Identity: (1) *exploration in breadth,* (2) *exploration in depth,* (3) *ruminative exploration,* (4) *commitment making,* and (5) *identification with commitment* (Luyckx et al., 2008). In a high school and college sample, Luyckx and colleagues identified six statuses of the five identity processes via cluster analysis. Only one study has examined the Five Dimensional Model in the context of religious identity. Using a Polish adolescent and adult sample, Wieradzka-Pilarczyk (2015) identified five clusters of religious identity statuses that emerged from these five processes. The study adapted Luyckx and colleagues' questionnaire for the Five Dimensional Model of Identity to create a measure for religious identity, called the Religious Identity Scale. Therefore, religious identity may be described through three exploration processes and two commitment processes.

*Exploration Processes of Religious Identity.* In Marcia's original model, the function of the exploration process is to facilitate construction of identity commitments by deliberating and reflecting alternative commitments. In other words, Marcia's original proposal of exploration is akin to the Five Dimensional Model of Identity's *exploration in breadth,* defined as the degree to which adolescents search for alternative goals, values, and beliefs of which to form commitments. In the context of religious identity, *exploration in breadth* refers to the extent to which an individual is looking for different possibilities of religious identification by evaluating, on the broad level, personal goals, beliefs, and values against the religious ideology. Individuals engaged in in-breadth exploration may think about their future religious development, and whether the religious ideology is compatible with their needs and lifestyle, without necessarily

committing to a one religious ideology. In the Religious Identity Scale, “I am interested in new religious systems” represents thoughts endorsed by those engaged in exploration in breadth.

In contrast, *exploration in depth*, a second type of exploration process identified by Luyckx and colleagues, refers to the process of examining one’s already determined commitments and choices to see if they continue to resonate with the individual. *Exploration in depth* re-evaluates commitments already made rather than evaluating alternative commitments, which is the process that describes *exploration in breadth*. Therefore, the relation between *exploration in breadth* and *exploration in depth* is that breadth is the construction of identity, whereas depth is the revision of identity. This is not to say that these two processes exclusively occur sequentially in a cyclical manner, such that *exploration in breadth* is followed by a commitment, which is followed by *exploration in depth*. These two processes may occur simultaneously as well. Exploration of alternative identities may occur as a foil to the exploration of the identity already committed. In Luyckx and colleagues sample of Belgian high school and college students, of the six clusters that emerged, *exploration in breadth* and *exploration in depth* are significantly different within only one cluster, Diffused Diffusion, covered later in this section. In the context of religious identity, *exploration in depth* refers to a re-evaluation of decisions regarding religious identity that have already been made in order to determine the extent to which these decisions currently meet personal standards. In depth exploration is a focused, specific exploration regarding religious identity. On the Religious Identity Scale, “I keep asking myself whether the way I practice my faith appeals to me” represents an item that would be endorsed by those engaged in exploration in depth.

Both *exploration in breadth* and *exploration in depth* are adaptive types of exploration that are correlated with openness and curiosity, but a third, maladaptive type of exploration

called *ruminative exploration* is correlated with anxiety and depression (Clancy & Dollinger, 1993; Luyckx, Soenens, & Goossens, 2006). *Ruminative exploration* is characterized by "negative, chronic, and persistent self-attentiveness motivated by fear and perceived threats, losses, or injustices to the self" (Luyckx et al., 2008, p. 61). In the context of religious identity, individuals engage in a ruminative or continuous exploration of religiosity that is not constructive or reflective. Individuals who engage in high ruminative exploration have difficulty feeling satisfied with their religious identity which result in anxiety or a sense of incompetence (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015). The item "I am anxious about realizing my resolutions connected with my faith" from the Religious Identity Scale is representative of ruminative exploration.

*Commitment Processes of Religious Identity.* The process of commitment has been divided into two types based on early research that found that the presence of a commitment and identification with that commitment are separate factors of identity (Bosma & Gerrits, 1985). *Commitment making* refers to same commitment process referred to Marcia's original model, which involves the decisions involved in making a commitment to an identity. In the context of religious identity, *commitment making* refers to the act of making choices and decisions in areas important to the development of their religious identity. *Commitment making* and *exploration in depth* are closely related in that once a commitment has been made about religious identity, the commitment is now subject to reevaluation via the process of *exploration in depth*. The item "I have made an ultimate decision about the religion that I identify with" from the Religious Identity Scale reflects the thoughts of an individual engaged in the process of commitment making.

On the other hand, *identification with commitment* refers to the salience and degree of certainty about an identity commitment. *Identification with commitment* represents the degree to

which a person's commitment actually represents the individual accurately, and therefore how important or relevant the commitment is to their life. As Luyckx and colleagues (2008) put it, *identification with commitment* is "the degree to which adolescents feel certain about, can identify with, and internalize their choices" (p. 59). High identification with the commitment an individual makes, such as towards a particular religious identity, leads to a sense of security, self-confidence, and purpose and meaning to life. There may be instances where a commitment made does not necessarily convey any personal relevance, that is, *commitment making* is separate from *identification with commitment* in this way. The item "I think that my system of values will be helpful in my life" from the Religious Identity Scale reflects an individual who is engaged in the process of identification with commitment. See Table 1 for a summary of The Five Dimensional Model of identity processes in the context of religious identity.

Table 1

*Summary of the Five Religious Identity Formation Process*

| Identity Process | Description |
|---|---|
| *Exploration in breadth* | Seeking personal values in the broad spectrum of religious ideologies. |
| *Exploration in depth* | Deep assessment and re-evaluation of previously made commitments towards a religious ideology. |
| *Ruminative exploration* | Continuous, disperse indecisiveness in choices towards religious ideologies. |
| *Commitment making* | The extent of choices made relevant to religious identity. |
| *Identification with commitment* | Importance and relevance of the religious commitments in life. |

*Note*. Wieradzka-Pilarczyk (2015) religious identity interpretation of Luyckx's Five Dimensional Model of identity formation.

*Religious Identification with Dominant Trends Versus Institutions.* Religious identity proposed and measured by the Five Dimensional Model of identity is more precisely a measure of an individual's identification with the dominant trends of a particular religious affiliation, as opposed to an individual's identification with the fundamental beliefs and values of the religious institution. For instance, the Vatican's website states that "The Church has always taught the intrinsic evil of contraception, that is, of every marital act intentionally rendered unfruitful. This teaching is to be held as definitive and irreformable" (Vatican, n.d.). However, qualitative studies have shown that not all Catholics have the same views towards contraceptives (Hoge, 2002), and people vary in their views towards core and peripheral Catholic teachings. Thus, an individual's identification with religion is less associated with the religious institution, but rather more associated with the dominant trends created by smaller religious groups affiliated with that institution. These smaller religious groups might be the church, a congregation, or a youth group that influence the interpretation of religion for the individual creating their religious identity. The current model does not provide a way to distinguish the variations of dominant religious trends or the interpretations of religion by the individual. Variations in the dominant religious trends of people's lives may confound the results retained by the Five Dimensional Model and Religious Identity Scale.

*Religious Identity Statuses and the Five Dimensional Model Statuses*. Both the original Five Dimensional Model of Identity (Luyckx et al., 2008) and Wieradzka-Pilarczyk's (2015) study of religious identity examined clusters of identity statuses (see Figure 2 for the religious identity clusters). The Five Dimensional Model identified six clusters of identity statuses whereas the religious identity study identified five clusters. Examining across these two studies, three of the statuses have similar profiles, and each study also found unique identity profiles not

found in the other. See Table 2 for a summary of the cluster comparisons found in these two studies.

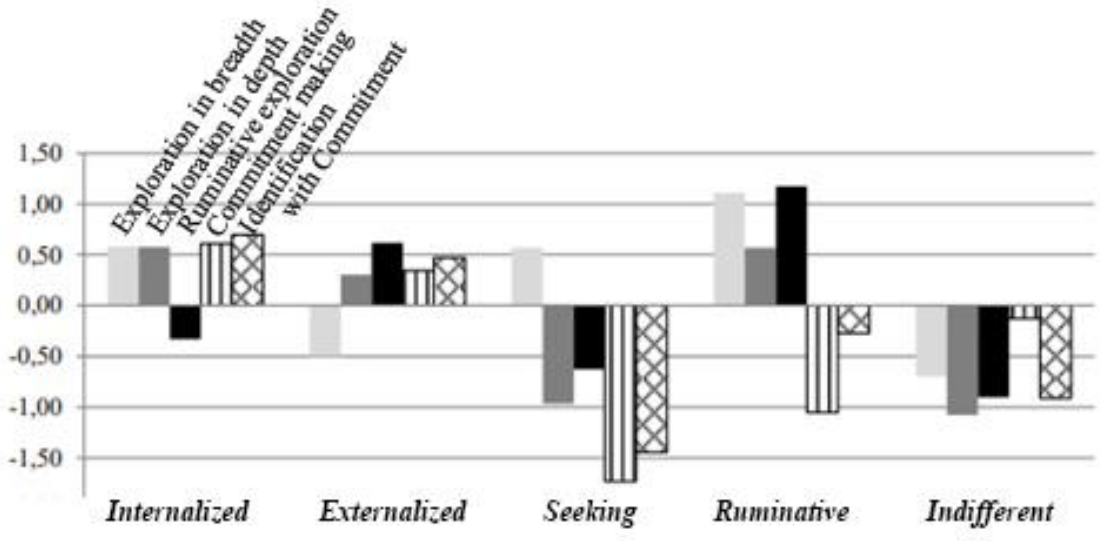


*Figure 2.* The five clusters of religious identity that emerged from Wieradzka-Pilarczyk's (2015) study using an adolescent and adult Polish population.

Table 2

*Comparisons of Personal Identity and Religious Identity*

| Religious Identity Status (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015) | Identity Status (Luyckx et al., 2008) | Identity Process |
|---|---|---|
| Internalized | Achieved | High on all processes except *ruminative exploration*. |
| Ruminative | Ruminative Moratorium | High on all exploration processes, especially *ruminative exploration*. Low on both commitment processes. |
| Indifferent | Carefree Diffusion | Low on all processes. |
| Externalized | no comparison | Low *exploration in breadth*, other processes moderate to high. |
| Seeking | no comparison | High *exploration in breadth*, other processes low. |
| | Foreclosed | Low exploratory processes, high commitment processes. |
| | Diffused Diffusion | Low on all processes except *ruminative exploration*. |
| | Undifferentiated | Moderate to high on all processes. |

*Note*. A comparison of the identity statuses identified in the Five Dimensional Model of Identity and Wieradzka-Pilarczyk's study of religious identity. Three of the identity statuses are similar between the two studies.

Three identity statuses were found in both studies. In the Wieradzka-Pilarczyk's (2015) religious identity study, the Internalized cluster had a similar identity process profile to the Achieved status found in the Five Dimensional Model study. An Internalized religious identity was characterized by engagement in four of the religious identity processes (*exploration in depth*, *breadth*, *commitment making*, and *identification with commitment*), but not *ruminative exploration*. The Internalized cluster is likely to appear as a result of successfully navigating a

religious identity crisis. Although the Achieved status in Luyckx and colleague's (2008) study and the Internalized cluster in Wieradzka-Pilarcyzk's Polish study had comparable profiles, the author of the Polish study chose a name more theoretically reflective of religious identity rather than a more general personal identity. Since a religious identity involves particular beliefs, values, and norms set out by the dominant religious trend, an individual who has explored and committed to a particular religion has "internalized" this religion's beliefs, values, and norms. In contrast to personal identity, an individual who seeks to understand themselves and commits to who they are do not necessarily "internalize" a set of beliefs, values, and norms, but rather "achieved" a point of self-understanding. The title chosen for high exploration-high commitment individuals in the study on personal identity is more akin to how Marcia (1966) conceptualized identity. Furthermore, calling an individual's religious identity "achieved" may imply an optimal or preferred orientation towards religious identity that is not necessarily reflected by the Polish culture.

The Ruminative religious identity cluster had a similar identity process profile as the Ruminative Moratorium cluster identified in the Five Dimensional Model study, characterized by high exploration processes, especially *ruminative exploration*, and low commitment processes. Individuals with a Ruminative religious identity are engaged in maladaptive search processes in which the continuous, unsatisfactory search for their religious identity results in feelings of anxiety and uncertainty. Finally, the Indifferent religious identity cluster shared a similar identity process profile with Carefree Diffusion that was identified in the Five Dimensional Model study. Characterized by low scores on all identity processes, including *ruminative exploration*, individuals with an Indifferent religious identity have not given much thought about their religious identity, nor have they made any commitments. The low *ruminative exploration*

indicates that individuals with an Indifferent religious identity are not bothered by their lack of engagement with forming a religious identity. Again, although Luyckx et al.'s (2008) Carefree Diffusion and Wieradzka-Pilarcyzk's (2015) Indifferent have similar profiles, Luyckx and colleagues' study on personal identity was closer to Marcia's (1966) conceptualization of identity, whereas Wieradzka-Pilarcyzk chose a title more fitting for a study on religious identity. The rubric *indifferent* provides more context about an individual than an individual described as "carefree diffused." A religious identity that is "indifferent" might imply that these individuals are not religious and do not care to be, and "diffused" does not carry the same meaning. Replication of these three identity statuses may be evidence that the Internalized-Achieved, Ruminative-Ruminative Moratorium, and Indifferent-Carefree Diffusion statuses represent clusters of identity processes that are commonly found in most populations.

In contrast, two of the identity process clusters were uniquely found in the religious identity study. First, a unique Externalized religious identity cluster emerged. Individuals with an Externalized religious identity were engaged in moderate to high levels of all religious identity processes except *exploration in breadth*. Externalized religious identity may be described as an unsatisfied in-depth exploration of a specific religious ideology to which an individual has already committed. For example, an adolescent who was raised within a certain religion such as Christianity may feel anxious or unsatisfied with their Christian religious identity, therefore continuously re-evaluates their current identity, but has not yet examined other religious identities more broadly. These individuals appear to be more concerned about their current religious commitment, and thus higher elevations on *exploration in depth* and *ruminative exploration* were reported. In contrast, the Seeking religious identity cluster had the opposite identity process profile. Individuals with a Seeking religious identity were engaged in high levels

of *exploration in breadth* and low levels of the other four identity processes. Therefore, the Seeking religious identity was very similar to that of Marcia's original moratorium identity status and an example of Erikson's identity crisis that was non-negative, as shown by low scores in *ruminative exploration*. Individuals appear to be searching for alternative religious ideologies, but not in such a way that is maladaptive.

Two reasons may explain the observation of two unique clusters of identity processes in religious identity that do not occur in the general identity study using the Five Dimensional Model. First, the particular cluster of identity processes that comprise the Externalized and Seeking religious identities are construct specific. That is, religious identity is a unique type of construct such that individuals may engage in religious identity formation by using the Externalized and Seeking identity process profiles which are not commonly found in individuals who engage in more general identity construction. More specifically, there is something distinct about religious identity formation such that groups of individuals are engaged in *exploration in breadth* and the other four identity processes in opposing manners (i.e., high *exploration in breadth* leads to low other four identity processes and low *exploration in breadth* leads to high other four identity processes).

A second reason these two clusters were uniquely observed may be due to the population sampled in the religious identity study. Polish adolescents and adults have different cultural ties with religion, especially Catholicism, such that their religious and national identity are strongly intertwined (Porter, 2001). If this study were replicated in another population, for instance, on a population where religious identity is not tied to national identity, it is possible that these clusters would not emerge. Overall, the two unique religious identity clusters observed may be replicated

if the clusters are construct specific to religious identity, or the identity clusters may not be replicated if they were population specific.

The Five Dimensional Model fits the three relevant characteristics of religious identity identified earlier that are necessary to accurately capture the construction of religious identity for the current paper: continuous, process-oriented, and personal. Adapting Luyckx and colleague's (2008) Five Dimensional Model into a model of religious identity would satisfy all three characteristics, and therefore be a good choice as a framework of religious identity. First, the Five Dimensional model is comprised of five separate processes, conceptualizing religious identity as an ongoing process that will change over time as the processes wax and wane depending on the individual's current engagement with identity processes. Second, although Luyckx and colleagues use the word dimension to describe each process, the model is nonetheless a process-oriented model that includes awareness (captured through exploration) and commitment to a religious identity. Last, the model describes an individual's personal choices and individualized processes towards an identity, which is consistent with a personal identity as opposed to a social identity.

In summary, the current study uses the Five Dimensional Model of Identity as interpreted in Wieradzka-Pilarczyk's (2015) study as a framework for religious identity. For the current study, religious identity refers to the degree of an individual's current engagement with the five processes described above: *exploration in breadth*, *exploration in depth*, *ruminative exploration*, *commitment making*, and *identification with commitment*. For the rest of the paper, the term religious identity will refer to a cluster of these processes unless otherwise specified.

**Religious Identity as Separate from Religiosity.** Two characteristics of the Five Dimensional Model allow religious identity to be distinctly separate from the construct of

religiosity. First, the five identity processes do not specifically reference aspects of religiosity, but instead refer to religious identity formation. Commitment and exploration processes are specific to religious identity, and therefore succinctly divide religious identity from religiosity. Second, the Five Dimensional Model is a measure of personal identity, not a social identity. The focus is on the personal choices one makes towards a personal religious identity. Therefore, the Religious Identity Scale, which is adapted from the measure used in the Five Dimensional Model, is a measure free of social identity, which allows the social aspect of religion to be part of religiosity, not personal religious identity.

**Religiosity.** Religiosity has been conceptualized and measured in numerous ways in the literature. Each definition has its own utility and origin, so it is important to select a definition of religiosity that is most useful for the current study. Given that one of the aims of the current study is to understand how religious identity is expressed as religiosity, a definition of religiosity should be multidimensional and universal.

A definition of religiosity should be multidimensional. Religiosity as the psychological construct is difficult to capture as one dimension unless a study is only focused on one aspect of religiosity. In fact, there is overwhelming evidence that there are at least two dimensions of religiosity, if not more, depending on the population being studied. For example, a classic theory of religiosity was proposed by Allport (1950). Allport proposed that religiosity may be captured through a unidimensional intrinsic-extrinsic scale. Allport's theory states that religiosity is guided by religious sentiments, which can be loosely thought of as motivations for religion. On one end, the extrinsic sentiment may use religiosity as a means to life, and on the other polarity, the intrinsic sentiment may use religiosity as an end or goal of life. In other words, extrinsic religiosity would "use religion," whereas intrinsic religiosity would "live religion" (Oman,

2013). However, opponents of this view criticized Allport's theory for polarizing extrinsic and intrinsic religiosity as unidimensional, equivalent to means and ends, when there are individuals along the intrinsic-extrinsic continuum that utilize religion as both a means and an ends to life (Pargament, 1992). In other words, religiosity engages in both spiritual and human behaviours that are intertwined, such that religious behaviours that appear unidimensional and self-serving are spiritually embodied to connect with the sacred, suggesting that religiosity has multiple dimensions. Furthermore, more recent research has supported the criticisms that means-end and intrinsic-extrinsic are orthogonal constructs in religiosity (Tiliopoulos, Bikker, Coxon, & Hawkin, 2007). The origins of a multidimensional approach in the psychology of religion began from this distinction. Since then, multidimensional theories of religiosity have proliferated. For example, Lenski's (1963) four-dimensional model, Glock and Stark's (1965) five-dimensional model, and Smart's (1971) seven-dimensional model of religiosity have been particularly popular. Each of these multidimensional models have been useful to understanding the dimensions of religiosity relevant for the groups from which they were created.

However, given that the bulk of these theories stem from Western and Christian ideologies, many scholars in the study of religion advocate for cultural and religious diversity in both theory and empirical data (Chen & Chen, 2012; Hill, 2013; Tarakeshwar, Stanton, & Pargament, 2003). Therefore, the field has increased its focus towards studying cross-culturally universal dimensions of religiosity. One major goal is to differentiate what aspects of religion are culturally specific, what aspects of religion are universal across cultures, and what is the overlap between culture and religion in the globalizing world. As constructs, it is difficult to separate religious processes from cultural processes (Karpov, Lisovskaya, & Barry, 2012). A universal

framework of religiosity would begin to add to the literature in understanding how religiosity functions across religions, above and beyond culturally specific processes.

Given the need for a definition of religiosity that is multidimensional and universal, for the current study, religiosity is defined as the multiple psychological dimensions that capture the experiences of the members of a religion that are related to a divine. These dimensions are related but separate aspects of a religion that serve its members a particular function. A framework of religiosity that fulfils the definition above is Saroglou's (2011) Model of Big Four Religious Dimensions.

***The Big Four Religious Dimensions.*** Of the contemporary frameworks of religiosity, the Big Four Religious Dimensions is particularly useful because it has summarized earlier research and frameworks on religiosity into four psychological dimensions: *believing, bonding, behaving,* and *belonging*. Saroglou's approach to the conceptualizations of religiosity was to examine the research from the lens of psychological processes. Saroglou made the assumption that since the research was essentially describing the same four specific psychological processes, these processes may be thought of as universal between humans, and thus should appear across religions. Although these four interconnected dimensions of religiosity are proposed to be universal across religions, the dimensions may be emphasized and interconnected differently depending on cultural processes. At the individual level, each psychological process may also have different emphasis. Therefore, this model defines religiosity as one construct comprised of four interconnected psychological dimensions that is influenced by individual and cultural forces. Furthermore, this model allows investigation into the trends of religiosity that occur within and between individuals, religions, and cultures, which is especially important as the religious landscape continues to shift through migration and globalization.

*Believing*. The *believing* dimension describes a "set of some or many beliefs" regarding a connection between humans and an external transcendent force. This force could take the form of one or several gods or an impersonal conception of transcendence such as a life force. People use these beliefs as part of their meaning-making process. In other words, the *believing* dimension functions as an individual's search for meaning and truth. In Saroglou's model, the presence of the believing dimension defines the difference between atheism and being religious and/or spiritual, whereas the two extremes of this dimension differentiate between holding religious beliefs in a literal and dogmatic way versus an interpretive and flexible way. Saroglou's definition of *believing* appears to exclude agnostics from expressing this dimension of religiosity.

*Bonding*. The *bonding* dimension describes how emotions affect the bonding experience with the higher transcendent force. *Bonding* usually occurs in the context of rituals, personal (e.g., meditation) or public (e.g., worship services). The two extremes of this dimension are negative (e.g., guilt, sadness, fear, anxiety, anger) or positive (e.g., awe, gratitude, joy) that would affect their relationship with religion.

*Behaving*. The *behaving* dimension describes norms and morals from the perspective of religious ideology that dictate attitudes. Therefore, the *behaving* dimension functions as a way of exerting self-control to behave morally. There are two kinds of religious behaviours: (1) following higher standards for followers such as altruism, humility, and self-control, and (2) avoiding taboos, religious absolutes that cannot be violated. Furthermore, the *behaving* dimension is polarized by interpersonal and impersonal morality, on one end interpersonal morals include principles such as empathy and kindness. In contrast, impersonal virtues include

authority, integrity, and purity. Other virtues may lie in between interpersonal and impersonal morality.

*Belonging*. The *belonging* dimension describes the affiliation with a group, community, or tradition to satisfy an individual's need to belong. The function of the *belonging* dimension is to "belong to a trans-historical group that solidifies collective self-esteem and in-group identification" (p. 1322). People may identify with a well-established denomination (e.g., Buddhism) or self-identify as a "spiritual person." On one end of the *belonging* dimension there is exclusive identity, where there are stricter requirements to be able to identify as part of that group (e.g., ethnic religions). On the other end is inclusive identity which extends membership to whomever wishes to identify (e.g., modern spirituality). Earlier it was discussed that religious identity is separate from religiosity in that religious identity is a personal rather than social identity. The *belonging* dimension of religiosity distinguishes the social aspect as part of religiosity rather than religious identity.

The Big Four proposes a simple universal framework of religiosity that will be useful for the proposed study (see Table 3). From this point, discussion of the construct of religiosity refers to the dimensions of religiosity as outlined here. Religious identity and religiosity are clearly separate but related constructs. No studies have examined the relation between these two specific frameworks presented here, but the relation between religiosity and religious identity have been examined to some extent in the literature. Using these frameworks, the next section reviews the limited amount of research that examines the relation between religiosity and religious identity.

Table 3

*Saroglou's Model of Big Four Religious Dimensions (2011)*

| The Big Four Religious Dimensions | Components | Function |
|---|---|---|
| *Believing* | Beliefs about the meaning of life as taught by the religion | Looking for meaning and truth |
| *Bonding* | Rituals and emotions that create a relationship with the divine | Experiencing self-transcendent emotions |
| *Behaving* | Norms, morals, and attitudes | Exerting self-control to behave morally |
| *Belonging* | Community or group | Belonging to a trans-historical group that provides in-group identification |

## Expressions of Religious Identity

This section reviews the few studies that have examined the relation between religious identity and religiosity using the Five Dimensional Model applied to religious identity and The Big Four religiosity framework. These studies give insight into how different religious identities express universal dimensions of religiosity. Since the Five Dimensional Model of religious identity and The Big Four framework of religiosity allow for separation of religious identity and religiosity as psychological constructs, the scope of the following review must distinctly look for a relation between religious identity processes and dimensions of religiosity that can be sorted into *believing*, *bonding*, *behaving*, and *belonging*.

### Religious Identity and Believing

Only one study has examined the relation between religious identity and the *believing* dimension of religiosity. In Wieradzka-Pilarczyk's (2015) study, the five religious identities that emerged were examined for their religious contents. The study used a measure of religious beliefs that contained a scale for symbolic affirmation (Bartczuk, Zarzycka, & Wiechetek, 2013) which measures the degree to which an individual accepts Christian beliefs. The symbolic affirmation scale roughly fits under the *believing* dimension of The Big Four framework because it is not Christian beliefs that teach moral rules (i.e., the *behaving* dimension), but rather it is the belief in the existence and relevance of God. Results indicated that individuals with an Internalized or Externalized religious identity are more likely to endorse symbolic affirmation, whereas the Seeking religious identity is the least likely to endorse this specific *believing* dimension. However, symbolic affirmation is only one specific aspect of the construct of *believing*, and it is premature to make strong conclusions about the relations between religious identities and the *believing* dimension of The Big Four.

**Religious Identity and Bonding**

Similarly, Wieradzka-Pilarczyk also examined how the five religious identities related to the *bonding* dimension of The Big Four. The study used a measure of theocentric spirituality (Jaworski, 2015) which is the extent to which an individual places the divine (in this case, God) as the centre of their life. For example, items such as "striving for union with God is the most important goal of my life" describes someone who is spiritual as described in this measure. Theocentric spirituality may be categorized under the *bonding* dimension of The Big Four framework since it places emphasis on the relationship with the divine. Results indicated that individuals who had an Internalized religious identity or Externalized religious identity were more likely to endorse theocentric spirituality. In contrast, Seeking and Indifferent religious identities were the least likely to endorse theocentric spirituality. The Seeking religious identity, in the search for alternate religious ideologies, may be the least likely to express the *bonding* dimension as they may need to commit to or explore more in depth these different religious ideologies before a sense of spirituality emerges. Unsurprisingly, individuals not engaged in forming a religious identity, the Indifferent religious identity, also do not express religiosity via *bonding* dimension. According to these findings, the *bonding* dimension is expressed in religious identities that are engaged in some sort of commitment processes and simultaneous exploration processes, even if it is *ruminative exploration*.

No study has examined religious identity and the *behaving* and *belonging* expressions of religiosity. The *behaving* dimension in the form of attendance at religious services and prayers are commonly studied (Koenig & Vaillant, 2009), as well as religious morals (Vitell, Bing, Davison, Ammeter, Garner, & Novicivec, 2009). Similarly, the *belonging* dimension is commonly studied, especially as qualitative studies of social identity (VanderWeele et al., 2017;

Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). However, neither of these two dimensions have been studied in relation to religious identity. Overall, although some preliminary evidence has examined religious identity expression, it would be premature to make assumptions of generality. The literature that examines religious identity expression is small, and more research needs to address this gap in literature.

## Religious Identity Development: Adolescence to Emerging Adulthood

Adolescence is a critical period for identity development, but religious identity may be relevant during emerging adulthood as well (Arnett, 2000). Although adolescents and emerging adults vary greatly in their individual religious experiences, certain trends of religious identity are observed in the body of research. As reviewed below, three general conclusions can be made: (1) adolescents tend to not engage in exploration processes, (2) religious doubt is one method of exploration during adolescence, and (3) religious behaviours decline from adolescence to emerging adulthood, but this may not change their level of commitment to their religious identity.

In a review of identity status and adolescent religiosity, Saroglou (2012) evaluated the results of 19 studies that represented different nationalities and religions and concluded that there was indeed a general trajectory of religious identity development from adolescence to emerging adulthood. The first pattern observed is that adolescents tend to fall into religious identities that endorse low exploration. It was found that adolescents formed a foreclosed identity status (i.e., low exploration, high commitment) in early to middle adolescence. Next, it was found that an increase in religious attendance from late adolescence to emerging adulthood was related to foreclosure status rather than achievement status. In other words, exploration processes did not occur in conjunction with the rise in religious attendance. A possible explanation is that adolescents often adopt the religiosity of their parents or other influences of authority undoubtingly rather than questioning or exploring this aspect of identity. Thus, religious identity in adolescence is most likely to resemble a foreclosed identity status because commitments are made without exploration.

Given the findings that adolescents tend to commit to a religion without exploration, one area of research that hints at religious exploration during adolescence is religious doubt. Puffer and colleagues (2008) found that individuals with identity statuses that have explored regardless of commitment to an identity (i.e., moratorium or achievement statuses) are more likely to have religious doubts. Additionally, commitment without exploration, that is, foreclosure status, was negatively associated with religious doubt. Taken together, exploration and religious doubt seem to co-occur. Furthermore, they found that foreclosure regarding religious identity was the most common identity status in adolescence, hence religious doubt and exploration are not common during this developmental period.

Finally, there is evidence that religious behaviours decrease as adolescents enter emerging adulthood, but the decrease in religious behaviours does not necessarily mean a change in religious identity. A longitudinal study found that from the period of late adolescence to emerging adulthood, there was a decrease in religious affiliation and participation (Chan, Tsai, & Fuligni, 2015). Similarly, findings from the National Youth Survey revealed that adolescents who lived with both parents had the highest rates of initial church attendance but also had the most rapid decrease in attendance as they matured into emerging adulthood (Desmond, Morgan, & Kikuchi, 2010). Further, another longitudinal study using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health found that by young adulthood, 70% had waned in religious attendance since adolescence (Uecker, Regnerus, & Vaaler, 2007). While these three studies reveal that religious attendance decreases when adolescents transition into early adulthood, two of these studies suggest that a decrease in religious attendance may not reflect a change in religious identity. Uecker and colleagues (2007) found that in comparison to the 70% with diminished religious attendance, only about 20% reported diminished religious salience, and

even fewer, about 17%, reported an overall disaffiliation from religion. Religious salience and disaffiliation refer roughly to the *identification with commitment* and *commitment making* processes in the Five Dimensional Model of Identity. Therefore, in the language of the Five Dimensional Model, religious behaviours ultimately decrease towards emerging adulthood, but the commitment processes are largely unaffected. Relating these conclusions to the foreclosed identity in adolescence, after adolescents unquestioningly take the religious identity of the authorities around them, emerging adulthood is the opportunity to explore whether the ascribed religious identity is truly congruent with their self-concept.

Taken together, the general trajectory of adolescent religious identity is that there is foreclosure or a commitment of religious identity (without exploration) in adolescence. Emerging adulthood is characterized by changes in religiosity that may not affect the commitment processes of religious identity formation. However, more information about exploration processes in emerging adulthood is needed because, although exploration has been theorized, it has not been empirically tested. Of course, these findings do not go unchallenged, with some research finding highly religious adolescents who explore their beliefs (Layton, Hardy, & Dollahite, 2012), as well as findings that have revealed a resurgence of religiosity in a college sample (Levenson, Aldwin, & D'Mello, 2005). These patterns during adolescence were observed in different cultures, ethnicities, and religions, and therefore the occurrence of these trends across contexts suggest a level of generalizability of religious identity development. However, Christian, Western, and Caucasian samples are heavily overrepresented in the literature, and patterns should be contextualized with these sample biases in mind.

## Religious Identity and Acculturation/Enculturation

Culture and religion are inextricably intertwined (Saroglou & Cohen, 2013). Values, beliefs, and attitudes that are implicitly or explicitly demonstrated by an individual's religion may also be supported by an individual's cultures to some degree. Sasaki and Kim (2010) found that certain aspects of religion are universal across cultures, but the degree to which these religious universals were expressed were more culture-specific. For example, religion universally affects social functioning across cultures, but individualistic societies tend to have religions that promote personal agency, whereas collectivist societies tend to have religions that promote maintaining social relationships between its members. Therefore, for ethnic groups in which religion is central to the culture, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine whether religion or ethnic culture influences religiosity.

Ethnoreligious groups are populations who place religion as central to their ethnic culture (Karpov, Lisovskaya, & Barry, 2012). They have religious beliefs, attitudes, and traditions that are embodied within their culture, such as Judaism and Islam for example (Safran, 2004). Furthermore, ethnoreligious groups are unique in that they tend to use their religion as a social identity to define themselves, and tend to participate in religious communities that are primarily composed of their own ethnic group (Karpov et al., 2012). Ethnoreligions are particularly prevalent in non-Western or Third World nations (Fox, 2004; Norris & Inglehart, 2011). In these ethnoreligious nations where the overlap of culture and religion is large, it may be a cultural norm to be religious such that religious identity is largely determined by the society rather than the individual. In other words, religious identity may depend on the societal context in which it takes place. Mayer and Trommsdorff (2012) found that highly developed and secular nations tend to have fewer religious families, and, conversely, less developed and religiously

homogeneous nations tend to have more religious families. In secular nations such as Canada and the United States (Beyer, 1997; Raman, 2007), family-level factors become more salient in the socialization of religion. In other words, in ethnoreligious nations, religion is normalized to the extent that family takes less of a role in socializing the individual, whereas in secular nations, families must play the main role in the socialization of religion.

Given the intertwined nature of culture and religion within ethnoreligious nations, immigration from an ethnoreligious nation to a secular nation introduces acculturation and enculturation processes that may affect immigrant religious identity. Enculturation is defined as the extent to which an immigrant individual associates with their heritage cultures, whereas acculturation is the extent an immigrant individual associates with their new, host cultures to which they immigrate (Weinreich, 2009). Generally, the religious identity of immigrants has been found to be associated with enculturation and unrelated or even negatively related to acculturation (Saroglou & Cohen, 2013). When immigrants from an ethnoreligious nation immigrate to a secular, Western nation, the ethnoreligious culture that previously had the most significant influence on religious socialization is lost. Family, particularly parents, newly carry the responsibility of religious socialization if they choose to continue the religious tradition in their new environment. In order to socialize a religious identity, parents must expose their children to the values and behaviours of their heritage culture, a process that has been called family ethnic socialization (Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009), where the familial ethnicity may include religiosity if it is particularly important to the ethnic group such as in ethnoreligious populations. Family ethnic socialization has been found to be positively associated with ethnic identity exploration and ethnic identity resolution (i.e., the degree to which individuals are certain about the significance of ethnic group membership in their lives,

similar to *identification with commitment*; Umaña-Taylor, Yazedijan, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). Within immigrant populations from highly ethnoreligious backgrounds, it is likely that religious identity processes may also be influenced through family ethnic socialization. In other words, religious identity may be influenced by enculturation of the ethnoreligious heritage culture after immigrating to a secular Western nation.

On the other hand, religious identity has been found to be generally unrelated or negatively associated to acculturation (Saroglou & Cohen, 2013). Since secular societies do not pressure their citizens to be religious, the absent relation between religious identity and acculturation is not surprising for two reasons. First, an immigrant who is adapting to the secular host society's cultural norms may begin to endorse the viewpoint of religious secularity, such that they may emphasize that religious identity is an individual choice. Second, current literature conceptualizes acculturation and enculturation as separate, independent processes (Costigan & Su, 2004; Miller, 2010; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), contrary to the previous belief that enculturation and acculturation were two ends of a unidimensional process in which immigrants either adopt the host culture or maintain the heritage culture, not both (Gordon, 1964). The independence of acculturation and enculturation supports the view that religious identity might be associated with enculturation but unrelated to acculturation. An individual immigrant's religious identity may only be related to their ethnic heritage culture but unrelated to the host culture in which the secularity allows religious choice.

There is also evidence that acculturation is negatively related to immigrant religious identity (Saroglou & Cohen, 2013). One hypothesis is that religious identity may emphasize perceived differences in the ethnic heritage culture and host culture, which may lead to distancing oneself from the host culture to create a more consistent religious and cultural identity

(Friedman & Saroglou, 2010). Of course, this hypothesis assumes that the ethnic heritage culture and host culture are incompatible enough that the formation of a religious identity would be in the direction of either the host or heritage culture. Furthermore, this hypothesis still maintains that acculturation and enculturation are separate processes, but perhaps may appear as a unidimensional process when the perceived difference between host and ethnic heritage cultures are too stark. In other words, this hypothesis is consistent with the separation of acculturation and enculturation as two different processes, but if the heritage and host cultures are incompatible (e.g., heritage culture values strong religious identity, host culture values religious secularity), then individuals with high acculturation may appear as if they have low enculturation because religious secularity may directly oppose the ethnic heritage cultural values. Other factors such as religious, racial, or ethnic discrimination may lead to disassociation with the host culture (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), therefore leading to a negative relation between religious identity and acculturation. Being a part of the religious, racial, or ethnic majority post-migration to the host culture may result in a more positive relation between religious identity and acculturation. Overall, interactions between the host culture and the immigrant's ethnic heritage culture are relevant aspects to consider in the formation of religious identity, especially if the immigrant's ethnic heritage culture is ethnoreligious. Furthermore, these studies suggest that enculturation is likely to have an impact on religious identity, whereas the impact of acculturation is still poorly understood.

**Low Enculturation and Low Exploration.** The religious identity processes of exploration and commitment have not been empirically studied in an immigrant context. However, there is be some preliminary evidence that low enculturation is associated with a foreclosed identity status, and high enculturation is associated with an achieved identity status

(high exploration and high commitment). A qualitative study using a sample of Muslim immigrants aged 18 to 33 found that there were three stages of Muslim religious identity development (Peek, 2005). Through interviews with these Muslim immigrant adults, the first stage of Muslim religious identity development was characterized by being raised in a Muslim household, which led to little evaluation regarding their Muslim identity. In other words, the first stage, labelled as ascribed identity, is similar to Marcia's original proposal of a foreclosed identity, commitment without exploration. An individual with an ascribed identity has not explored in depth their Muslim identity, but a commitment has been made due to being raised in a Muslim family. This is consistent with earlier findings that families take on a more influential role in religious socialization post-migration. Furthermore, these individuals would describe engaging in "American" traditions such as celebrating Christmas and Thanksgiving that are not typically a part of Muslim religion, as well as not associating themselves with Muslim religious beliefs and practices. Low affiliation with Muslim religious customs is indicative of low enculturation in ascribed identity Muslim adults. Therefore, low enculturation in Muslim immigrant adults is associated with a foreclosed identity.

**High Enculturation and Achievement.** As an individual's Muslim identity develops, they move from an ascribed religious identity to a chosen identity, which may then mature into a declared identity. The next two stages of Muslim identity from Peek's (2005) study are evidence that higher levels of enculturation practices are associated with an achieved identity status, or high exploration and high commitment. The second stage, chosen identity, was characterized by being exposed to new people, ideas, and cultures to explore as they entered college and left high school, and ultimately choosing to explore their previously ascribed identity. As one participant put their chosen Muslim identity, "In college you have more freedom. You're exposed to

different ideas and cultures. You're encouraged to experiment. I experimented with Islam. The importance of Islam, being a Muslim, is my main identity and prioritizing that in my life came after I came to college, when I was more integrated in the community here. I knew more Muslims and became more active, learned more about Islam and myself" (p. 228). In other words, a chosen Muslim identity engages in more exploration by engaging with the Muslim community and learning more about the Islamic religion. Exploration processes seem associated with enculturation.

Finally, the third stage of religious identity was called a declared identity. A declared identity develops in response to a crisis such as discrimination or harassment. It seems that a declared identity involves increasing one's religious practices and reaffirming an individual's belief and affiliation with being Muslim in response to the threat. As such, the declared identity may occur after an in-depth exploration process and a strengthening in commitment. Therefore, it seems that a declared identity is similar to that of an achieved identity and is parallel with high enculturation practices.

Interestingly, the study hints that Muslim immigrants are engaged in *exploration in depth*, not *exploration in breadth*. The lack of *exploration in breadth* may suggest that the Muslim immigrants that were studied did not examine other religious ideologies. In other words, Muslim immigrants may not convert to other religions and instead explore in depth the ascribed identity of their family. Research has shown that religious conversion for adolescents comes with a lot of stressors such as family conflict and integration into the new religious community (Petts, 2009). Therefore, *exploration in breadth* may not feel like a safe process to engage in. Furthermore, *exploration in breadth* may not be common for immigrant populations, since exploring alternative religious ideologies may threaten religious traditions within the immigrant family

(Chen, 2005). In other words, high levels of *exploration in breadth* may be associated with lower levels of enculturation. In contrast, *exploration in depth* of the immigrant family religion was emphasized in Peek's (2005) study, suggesting that exploration processes for immigrants only occur within the religion of their family. The relation between Muslim identity and enculturation may have aspects that Christian religious immigrants may not need to consider in a Western context, for instance, the stigmatization and discrimination of Muslim people in certain societies. Therefore, the generalizability of these relations should be further investigated.

**The Intersection of Multiple Identities**

To understand acculturation and enculturation processes and their relation to religious identity, the intersection of other identities in relation to the host cultures' attitudes should be considered. In a Western context, Muslim immigrants are an ethnic, religious, and racial minority, which may result in a different trajectory than immigrant populations that are not minorities in at least one of these categories. For example, development of a Muslim identity may be negatively related to acculturation and positively related to enculturation. Muslims experience prejudice from the majority religious, ethnic, or racial groups in America (Fekete & Sivanandan, 2009) which may lead to disaffiliation with the host culture (i.e., low acculturation) after feeling ostracized and shielding themselves by affiliating more strongly their ethnic heritage culture (i.e., high enculturation; Peek, 2005; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). For groups that experience discrimination on multiple accounts of their identity, both enculturation and acculturation may influence their affiliation with religion.

In contrast, Korean Christian immigrants may be more likely to preserve their ethnic religious identity since Christianity is not as widely discriminated. Korean Christians fall into the category of being a racial and ethnic minority, but part of the religious majority. The practices,

beliefs, and customs of Christianity do not appear as "foreign" and is more easily absorbed by the majority culture (Min, 1992). In terms of Korean Christian immigrants being an ethnic minority, there may be a better "fit" between Korean cultures and Western cultures in the (see Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Therefore, for Korean Christian immigrants, Christianity is related to preserving their ethnic heritage culture in the new host culture, implying that religious identity is related to enculturation for this particular group, and perhaps unrelated to acculturation.

On the other hand, Chinese immigrants who converted to Christianity after immigration to a Western context create their own religious symbols and practices (Ng, 2002). In this study, Ng argues that conversion to Christianity is part of learning the "American way" (p. 196) without completely assimilating to American Christianity. Rather than assimilation to the host culture or separation with their own ethnic group (Berry, 1997), Chinese Christian converts experience a "reidentification" (Ng, 2002, p. 2012). Therefore, the religious identity of Chinese Christian converts appears to be related to both enculturation and acculturation to some extent. Between these different religious immigrant populations, enculturation seems to consistently influence religious identity, whereas acculturation may depend on other contexts such as prejudice, religious minority status, other identities, and even other contextual factors such as history or national policies.

## Filipinx Religiosity and Immigration

One population that would uniquely contribute to the understanding of religious identity is Filipinx immigrants. In Canada, Filipinx immigrants are unique in that their intersection of ethnic and religious identities place them as part of the religious majority but simultaneously a part of an ethnic minority. Given that religion is intertwined with the ethnic heritage of Filipinx immigrants (i.e., an ethnoreligious group; Batara, 2015), the degree to which enculturation influences religious identity and whether acculturation is related to religious identity at all is poorly understood**.** In addition to the intersection of ethnic and religious identities, the colonial history of the Philippines is an additional historical context to consider that may affect the relation between religious identity and acculturation and enculturation within the Filipinxs population living in a Western society. To date, no study has examined the religious identity of Filipinx immigrants through the lens of identity processes. However, Filipinx immigrant religiosity has been studied to a limited extent. This section reviews the few studies that have examined Filipinx religiosity and Filipinx immigrant religious identity. The aim of the current section is to summarize what is known about Filipinx immigrant religiosity.

### Colonialism and Contemporary Filipinx Religiosity

**Historical Context.** During the colonial period, the lack of centralized power within indigenous Filipinxs made it easier for Catholicism to take over during the Spanish Inquisition between 16th and late 19th century, except for the Muslim groups in the southern islands which pushed some resistance (Guerrero, 2010). Unlike the “conquest by the sword” approach in Mexico and Peru, Spanish colonization in Philippines has been described as “conquest by the cross” (San Buenaventura, 2002). Traditional leaders of the indigenous peoples were removed by friars and other leadership from the colonizing nation to make the administration of the Catholic

belief system easier, as well as destroying any established leadership and kinship networks. Furthermore, the indigenous Filipinxs spiritual beliefs were utilized by reframing the spiritual beliefs from a Catholic perspective. In doing so, the conversion of one tribal member into Catholicism led to the spread of Catholic religious messages amongst members of the indigenous tribes. As a result of these processes, the indigenous Filipinxs lost their cultural identity, including their religion, and adopted a European worldview. Patterns of dependency and feelings of indebtedness characterized the relationship Filipinx peoples had with the Spanish colonizers (Nadeau, 2002).

Although some scholars suggest Christianity erased Filipinx culture and assimilated Filipinx natives (Rafael, 1993), Nadeau (2002) takes a slightly less aggressive standpoint in which "Christian religion took root because it was spread by select friars who successfully met some of the *precolonial* criteria of a qualified leader" (p. 81). Qualities such as indebtedness and community, as well as not prioritizing material resources or power, may have helped spread Christian ideologies. In fact, some literature has established that certain Spanish friars challenged the ethics of colonial approaches to assimilation. In other words, colonialism was not a completely negative experience of two warring cultures, but complemented each other in some respects. This view of colonial history reflects the idea of 'mixed blessing' also present during the American takeover.

When the Americans won the Philippines as territory in the Spanish-American War in 1898, the idea of a mixed blessing was present in the "benevolent assimilation" policy of US President McKinley (Diokno, 2002). It was announced that the US was to "come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and their religious rights" (p. 75), but within the same policy announced to establish a US military

base to fulfil “the rights of [American] sovereignty” which stayed until 1992. In other words, although the Spanish rule over the Philippines ended, the influence of America took over even though the President McKinley stated that America did not want to “conquer” the islands. From benevolent assimilation came Westernization and influence of American culture. Protestant denominations began to spread in Philippines (Clymer, 1986) alongside Catholicism that had already been well-established from the Spanish empire.

Under both Spanish Philippines and American Philippines, Filipinx culture was replaced with a new system of beliefs and values. Within the first half century of Spanish rule, Catholic Filipinxs would spread the message within their own ethnic group and convert members of their own ethnic tribe. Two and a half centuries later, during the American rule, Filipinx immigrants that spent time in the United States would bring back the religious and cultural ideals of American society to Filipinx society (San Buenaventura, 1996), ultimately assimilating Filipinxs to Western ideologies via Filipinxs themselves. In other words, Filipinx religiosity is rooted in a *colonial mentality*, the belief that the values, attitudes, and standards of the Western world are superior to one’s own non-Western culture (David, 2011).

A history of colonization in the Philippines highlight two related reasons to study Filipinx immigrant religiosity: remote acculturation and colonial mentality. Filipinx immigrants cannot be understood using the “voluntary immigrant” narrative (Espiritu, 2003) where acculturation begins in the moment of arrival to the new host country. Instead, Filipinx history is unique in that because of its three-century long influence of Catholicism and European/Western culture, acculturation began even before they set foot in Western societies. Researchers have called this remote acculturation, the exposure to cultures in which an individual has never lived, and, as a result, changes their cultural orientation in the direction of the remote cultures (Ferguson, Tran,

Mendez, & van de Vijver, 2015). Furthermore, Filipinxs carry a colonial mentality as a remaining consequence of colonialism. Research has found that the psychological experiences of Filipinx-Americans can be linked to colonial mentality (David & Nadal, 2013), such that the idea that anything Filipinx should be rejected for American ideals. These ideas include Christianity, the English language, and Western beauty standards, thoughts, and behaviours (David, 2011). Through globalization, Filipinxs experience remote acculturation by indirect contact with the Western world such as through social media, tourists, volunteers, and phone calls from families abroad (Ferguson et al., 2015). Simultaneously, a more internal process, colonial mentality, is occurring that tends to favour the standards imposed via remote acculturation. According to these findings, the religious identity of Filipinx immigrants may be positively related to both enculturation and acculturation.

**Contemporary Filipinx Religiosity.** Due to remote acculturation and colonial mentality, there has been empirical support that shows contemporary Filipinx religiosity resembles Western religiosity. The Duke University Religion (DUREL; Koenig & Büssing, 2010) Index is a tool that measures three dimensions of religiosity: intrinsic, organizational, and non-organizational. The DUREL was normed on a Western sample, and therefore efforts have been made to validate the measure across cultural groups. When the DUREL was applied on a Filipinx sample within the Philippines (i.e., no immigration processes), there were no separate factor loadings for organizational and non-organizational dimensions of religiosity (Cruz et al., 2017). Therefore, this finding suggests a strong interconnected relationship between religiosity at home versus at church within the Filipinx population, but Filipinxs and Western individuals similarly share an intrinsic dimension of religiosity. Shared aspects of religiosity between the two cultures might be traced back to the colonial roots of Spanish and American rule.

In the Philippines, Christianity and Islam are the two largest religious groups (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014). Within the Christian groups, 81% are Roman Catholic, while 11% represent smaller denominations such as Protestant, Iglesia Ni Cristo, and Evangelical. Estimates report that 5-11% of the population is Islamic (United States Department of State, 2013). Contemporary Filipinx religiosity represents the successful assimilation of the original indigenous peoples of the Philippines into Western religion, with only a small minority practicing precolonial religiosity. Therefore, Filipinxs may already be experiencing acculturation to Western culture while they are in Philippines. Filipinxs are predominantly Christian, learn English in schools and hear English through media, and have adopted many Western standards (David, 2011). Understanding whether Filipinx immigrant religious identity is associated with acculturation and enculturation will illuminate whether Filipinxs view Christianity as part of their own culture, part of the Western culture, or both.

**Filipinx Immigrant Religious Identity**

Although many different immigrant groups use religion as a way of connecting with other individuals from their ethnic group (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010), finding social connections through religion, that is, the *belonging* dimension of religiosity, may be especially relevant for Filipinx immigrants. For instance, religious ceremonies such as baptisms and marriage solidify kinship relationships among Filipinx immigrants (Jarvis, Kirmayer, Weinfeld, & Lasry, 2005). Only one study has examined Filipinx immigrant religious identity, but the identities were not formulated using identity processes. Rather, the religious identities in this study are more like social identities as they were defined by the extent to which they felt belonging to their religion and the extent they engaged with other Filipinx Catholics.

Using a sample of second-generation Catholic Filipinx youth in Italy, a qualitative study by Caneva (2016) found that there were three types of identities rooted in religiosity: (1) *religious identity*, (2) *ethno-religious identity*, (3) and *ethnic identity*. In the *religious identity* type, youth believed their Catholic religion was their primary source of belonging. These youths chose peer groups that shared Catholic values, meaning they seemed less likely to befriend Filipinx youth who were not Catholic. However, this did not mean they would befriend Catholic Italian youth over Filipinx youth, but rather they constructed a Filipinx-Catholic peer group within the larger group of Catholic peers. In other words, Caneva described this type of identity as "co-ethnic" as they created boundaries within their religious and ethnic identity simultaneously but not separately. In contrast, *ethno-religious identity* also used both their religious and ethnic identity to choose peer groups, but peers did not have to qualify as both Filipinx and Catholic. This type of identity does not use Catholicism as the primary source of identity, but rather the interrelationship between religion and ethnic traditions such that "Filipinx young people construct their ethnic identities on the perception of kinship rooted in a shared religion, culture and language" (p. 252). Finally, *ethnic identity* puts ethnicity at the forefront of the source of identity, whereas Catholicism only supports the social aspect of life rather than informing religious beliefs. Common to all three is the Filipinx ethnicity qualifier. As Caneva discusses, although Italian Catholicism supports the development of Filipinx Catholic groups, the larger Italian Catholic group does not integrate, creating social barriers in society. The lack of integration of racial minorities in Christian churches is not uncommon. Successful integration of Filipinxs and other racial minorities have only been referenced in the literature as case studies (e.g., Cruz, 2013; Priest, 2007). Overall, it seems that Filipinx religiosity is expressed largely as the *belonging* dimension of The Big Four, but more information about the strength of which

Filipinx immigrants are engaged in the other four dimensions of religiosity is necessary to understand the full experience of religious Filipinx immigrants.

## The Current Study

The current study aimed to contribute to filling the gaps identified in immigrant religious identity and immigrant religiosity, and addressed these gaps in the context of Filipinx immigrant families. Specifically, theories of identity processes had only recently been applied to religious identity (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015), and Marcia's identity formation theory had not yet been applied to an immigrant sample. Therefore, the first objective was to observe the different identity clusters that may emerge from a sample of Filipinx immigrant youth and emerging adults. Additionally, the relations between identity statuses and different dimensions of religiosity had not been examined, even in a non-immigrant context. Consequently, the second objective of the current study was to examine the relations between the religious identity clusters that emerged in the first objective and the four universal dimensions of religiosity (i.e., The Big Four dimensions). The relations may provide insight into how religiosity was expressed in the context of different clusters of religious identity.

There was also a gap in the literature on how religious identity develops in immigrants. Adolescence and emerging adulthood are important developmental periods for examining religious identity formation. Therefore, the third objective is to examine whether religious identity clusters vary by age. Furthermore, there was evidence that religious identity is influenced by enculturation, whereas the influence of acculturation was less understood. Therefore, the fourth objective was to examine whether the different religious identity clusters that emerge differ by level of enculturation and acculturation. The third and fourth objectives gave insight into the developmental trajectory of religious identity and the influence of cultural orientations on the religious identity of Filipinx immigrants in Canada.

**Objective 1: Identifying Religious Identity Clusters in a Filipinx Immigrant Sample**

To identify the different clusters of religious identity within Filipinx immigrants, a measure of the five religious identity processes was administered. As reviewed above, both Wieradzka-Pilarczyk (2015) and Luyckx and colleagues (2008) replicated three of Marcia's original four statuses. Due to the consistency of these three identity clusters, it was hypothesized that religious identity clusters that resembled an Internalized, Ruminative, and Indifferent religious identity would emerge in the Filipinx immigrant sample.

**Objective 2: The Relation between Religious Identity and Religiosity**

To examine expressions of religious identity, the religious identity clusters that emerged from Objective 1 were used to examine if the Big Four religiosity dimensions differed across the religious identity clusters. Earlier research found that *believing* and *bonding* were higher among Internalized and Externalized religious identities (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015). Consistent across findings reviewed earlier was pattern that both commitment processes (*commitment making* and *identification with commitment*) and *exploration in depth* were positively correlated with the *believing* and *bonding* dimensions of religiosity. Therefore, it was hypothesized that religious identity clusters high in both commitment processes and *exploration in depth* such as the Internalized religious identity status would report higher levels of *believing* and *bonding*. Due to the novelty of religious identity statuses, no predictions were made regarding other identity statuses and their relations to religiosity dimensions. Similarly, little research had emerged on the religiosity dimensions of *behaving* and *belonging* and their relation to identity formation, and therefore no hypotheses were made regarding these two dimensions.

**Objective 3: Religious Identity Development**

The third objective was to examine whether the different clusters that may have emerged from Objective 1 differed by age. Previous research found that a Foreclosed identity was the most prevalent in adolescence in the context of religiosity (Saroglou, 2012), and it was theorized that exploration processes become more prominent after high school towards emerging adulthood (Uecker, Regnerus, & Vaaler, 2007). Furthermore, in an immigrant population, *exploration in breadth* appeared to be an uncommon process (see Peek, 2005). Therefore, it was hypothesized that participants that resembled a foreclosed identity (i.e., high commitment, low exploration) would tend to be younger (e.g., mean age closer to 14 years old) compared to participants that were members of other religious identity clusters that emerged. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that identity clusters with high *exploration in depth* and *ruminative exploration* would have a mean age of above 18 years old (i.e., after high school). Finally, research had shown that religious involvement was associated with an achieved identity status in emerging adulthood (Hardy, Pratt, Pancer, Olsen, & Lawford, 2010). It was hypothesized that participants that resembled an achieved identity (i.e., high commitment, high exploration) would have the highest mean age, closer to 25 years old.

**Objective 4: Religious Identity by Acculturation and Enculturation**

The fourth objective examined if the religious identity clusters from Objective 1 differed in enculturation and acculturation. In a Filipinx immigrant population, it was expected that enculturation practices are associated with religious identity since enculturation and religiosity have been associated in many immigrant populations (Saroglou & Cohen, 2013). It was hypothesized that high enculturation would be endorsed by participants within religious identity clusters that reported high exploration processes (but not high *exploration in breadth*) and high

commitment processes. *Exploration in breadth* was expected to be low since there was some evidence that immigrants may not search across religious ideologies (Peek, 2005). The only religious identity status that fit this identity process profile is the Externalized religious identity. However, this identity status was found in only Wieradzka-Pilarczyk study of religious identity, not Luyckx and colleague's (2008) study of personal identity. Therefore, this hypothesis was contingent on whether an identity cluster similar to an Externalized profile emerged in Objective 1.

The findings regarding the influence of acculturation on religious identity were inconsistent. Within the Filipinx immigrant population, on one hand, high acculturation to Canadian cultures may not be associated with religious identity since the source of religious socialization must occur at the level of the Filipinx family, and has nothing to do with the larger Canadian culture (Saroglou & Cohen, 2013; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). On the other hand, high acculturation to Canadian cultures may mean a strengthening of their Christian religious identity. Filipinx immigrants may experience the same influence as Chinese immigrants who converted to Christianity because it was the "American way" (Ng, 2002, p. 196), suggesting that acculturation contributed to their religious identity. Especially after a history of "conquest by the cross" (San Buenaventura, 2002) via Spanish colonialism, followed by American rule and colonial mentality (David, 2011), Christian Filipinx immigrants' religious identity may further strengthen in a Western context. Due to these inconsistent findings, it was uncertain how acculturation may relate to the religious identity of Filipinx immigrants, and no specific hypotheses regarding acculturation and religious identity were made.

# Method

## Participants

Filipinx youth between the ages of 14 and 25 were recruited online and through advertisements in multiple Canadian cities. Participants met the following inclusion criteria: (1) the participant or both of the participant's parents were born in Philippines (i.e., first or second generation immigrants), (2) their family had a Christian religious affiliation, and (3) they had currently resided in Canada.

The set of 219 participants who completed at least the demographics questionnaire and the Religious Identity Scale were examined for missingness and outliers. Missingness in the dataset was 3.59%, and therefore the mean of each item was used to substitute for missing data. Simulations have found that mean substitution, expectation maximization, and multiple imputation yield similar results for imputing missing values when there is less than 10% missingness (Barzi & Woodward, 2004). Scores were then calculated. Since each subscale on the Religious Identity Scale was determined by a different number of items (e.g., 4 items for *exploration in breadth*, 12 items for *identification with commitment*), total subscale scores were averaged for comparisons between subscales of the Religion Identity Scale. Multivariate outliers were removed through visual inspection of Mahalanobis distances within each construct for religious identity, religiosity, and enculturation/acculturation. A total of 22 participants were removed, resulting in a final sample of 197 participants. See Figure 3 for a visual representation of distribution and cut offs chosen for each scale.

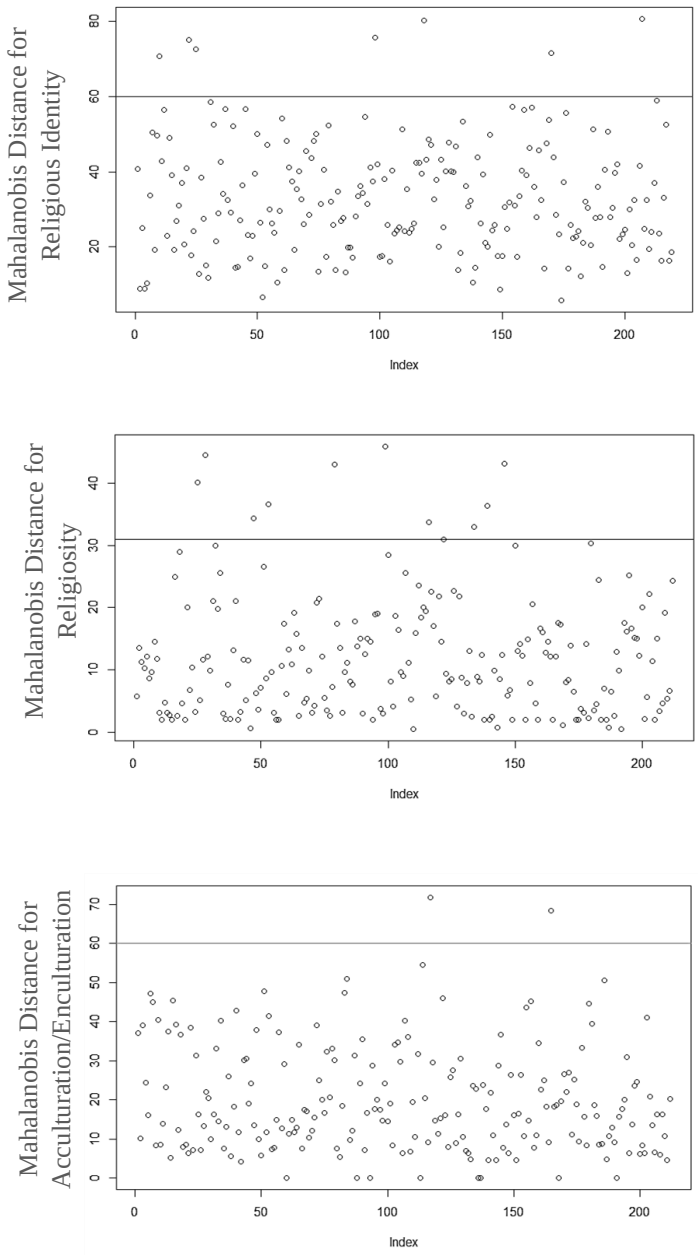


*Figure 3.* Plots are Mahalanobis distances on the y-axis and participant ID on the x-axis. Lines were added to show the cutoff for determining outliers of each scale.

**Participant demographics.** Of the 197 eligible participants, 134 (68.0%) were female, 60 (30.5%) were male, 2 (1%) self-identified as non-binary, and one did not report their gender. A range of 14 to 25 years old was retained for both females and males. There was no significant

difference in age for females ($M$ = 20.07, $SD$ = 3.47) and males ($M$ = 19.87, $SD$ = 3.74), $t(192)$ = .376, $p$ = .71). The majority of the sample identified their sexual orientation as heterosexual or straight ($n$ = 135, 68.5%), with sexual minorities (i.e., asexual, bisexual, gay, lesbian, pansexual, queer, uncertain) representing over a fourth of the total sample ($n$ = 52, 26.4%), while a few did not report their sexual orientation ($n$ = 11, 5.6%). The majority of participants reported that they were single ($n$ = 139, 70.6%), followed by participants reporting dating or in a committed relationship but not common-law ($n$ = 45, 22.8%).

Participants were asked of their ethnicity and religious group membership in the form of an open-ended question, and these responses were then recoded into categories. The majority of participants described their ethnicity as only Filipinx ($n$ = 100, 50.8%), with the next largest groups describing their ethnicity as a mix of Filipinx Canadian ($n$ = 31, 15.7%) or Filipinx Chinese ($n$ = 15, 7.6%). A portion of participants reported religion as their ethnicity (n = 9, 4.6%). In terms of religious group membership, the majority of participants described their family religion as Catholic ($n$ = 127, 64.5%), followed by Church of Christ (also known as *Iglesia Ni Cristo* or INC; $n$ = 29, 14.7%), and Christian ($n$ = 15, 7.6%). Similarly, participants described their current religious background as Catholic ($n$ = 95, 48.2%), Church of Christ ($n$ = 26, 13.2%), and Christian ($n$ = 22, 11.2%). Additionally, some participants also identified their current religious background as agnostic ($n$ = 20, 10.2%). The concordance between the described family religious background and the current personal religious background was 78.2% ($n$ = 154). See Figure 4 for participants' familial religious background and Figure 5 for participants' current personal religious background.

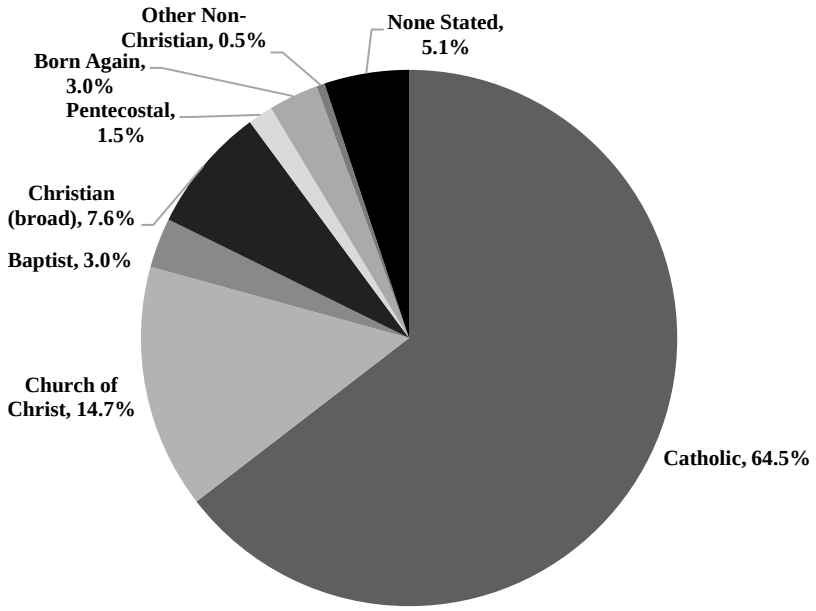


*Figure 4.* Familial religious background described by participants.

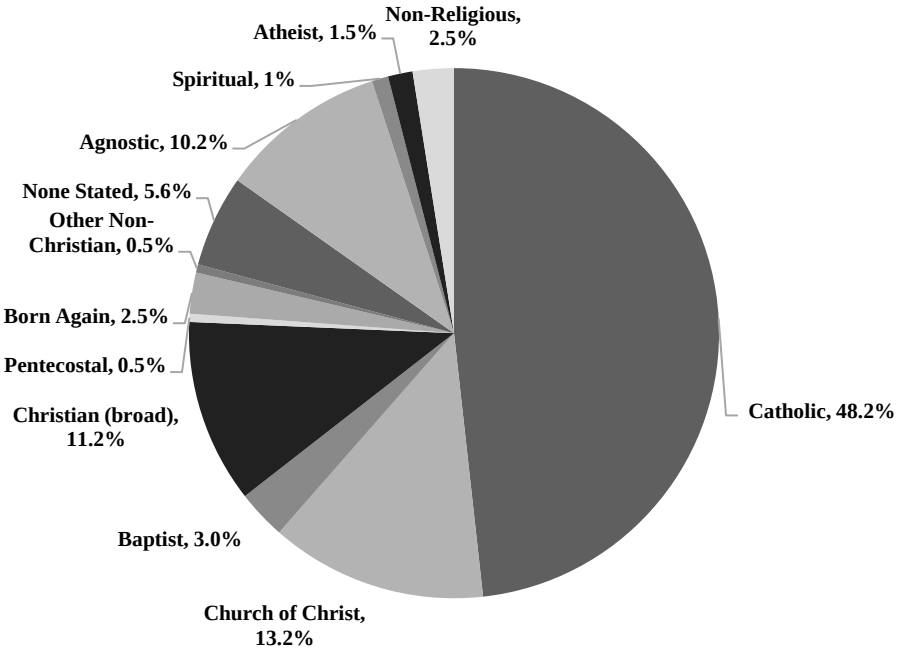


*Figure 5.* Current personal religious background described by participants.

Although the online survey was conducted in English, participants reported being able to speak and understand English, Tagalog, Ilocano, Cebuano, and other heritage languages. The sample was comprised of both first (i.e., immigrated to Canada) and second-generation (i.e., born in Canada) Filipinx immigrants to Canada, with more participants immigrating to Canada ($n$ = 113) between 9 months and 23 years old ($M$ = 10.2, $SD$ = 5.2) than participants who were born in Canada ($n$ = 83). One participant did not report on this item. See Figure 6 for a distribution of the age of immigration to Canada; age of immigration is rounded up to the next whole year. The majority of participants were Canadian citizens ($n$ = 159, 80.7%), followed by a smaller group of permanent residents ($n$ = 36, 18.3%), one holding a travel visa (.5%), and one did not know their status. Participants most commonly resided in Edmonton ($n$ = 61, 31.0%), Greater Toronto Area ($n$ = 61, 31.0%), Greater Vancouver Area ($n$ = 30, 15.2%), Winnipeg ($n$ = 10, 5.1%), and Calgary ($n$ = 8, 4.1%), with Victoria, Regina, Ottawa, Montreal, and Guelph being other represented municipalities ($n$ < 5 of each).

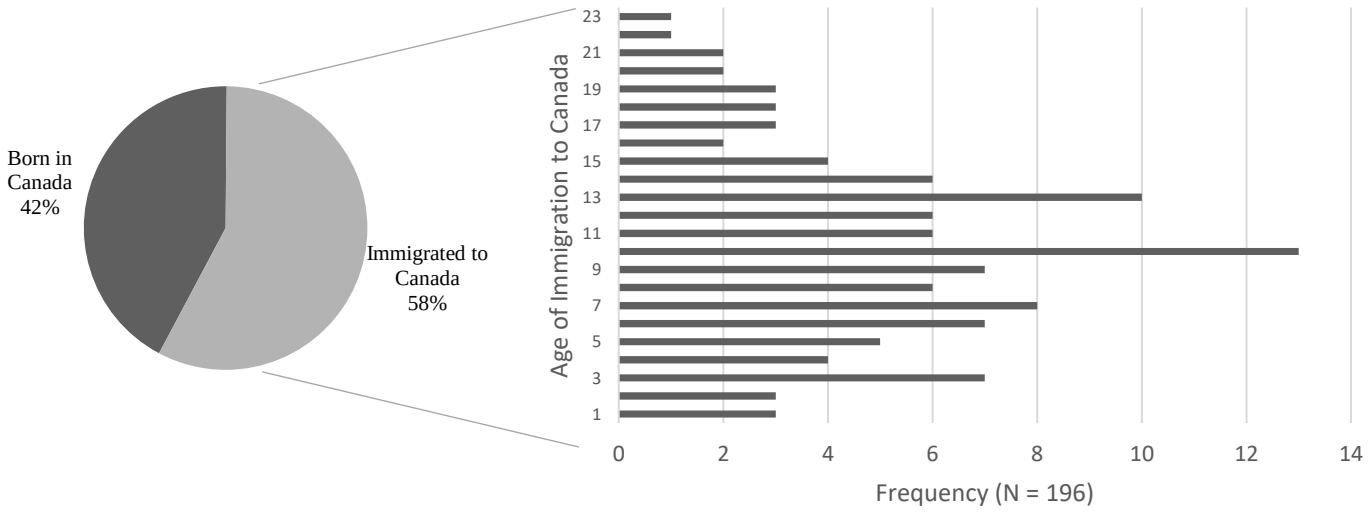


*Figure 6.* Percentage of sample born in versus immigrated to Canada.

Over half of the participants were students (*n* = 120, 60.9%), with the next largest occupational status being employed full time and not a student (*n* = 40, 20.3%), followed by part–time employment and not a student (*n* =18, 9.1%). The vast majority of participants lived with their parents (*n* = 171, 86.8%), and 75 of those who lived with parents also lived with siblings. Regarding family of origin's annual income (i.e., the household in which they were primarily raised), the participant pool had relatively high income. Although the largest group did not know or preferred not to answer (*n* = 58, 29.4%), the next most common response was a family of origin annual income of over $100,000 (*n* = 40, 20.3%), with the median reported income being a range of $70,000-$79,999.

In terms of educational attainment thus far, participants were most likely to have graduated high school (*n* = 73, 37.1%), followed by university (*n* = 54, 27.4%), and then junior high (i.e., grade 8; *n* = 36, 18.3%). Of the 380 guardians listed from 195 participants (max 2 per participant), participant guardians tended to be highly educated, with the most common group being guardians with university degrees (*n* = 139, 36.6%), followed by graduated college or vocational school (*n* = 90, 23.7%).

Overall, the Filipinx sample represented the entire age span between 14 to 25 years old, with 25 year-olds being the most represented group (*n* = 31). Females represented approximately two-thirds of the sample, and two-thirds of the sample identified as heterosexual. Participants were typically single students from relatively high socioeconomic status who lived in major metropolitan cities in Canada. A large majority reported a Christian family and personal religious group affiliation, with Catholicism being the most represented group. Over half the participants were first-generation immigrants, typically emigrating to Canada in older childhood or early teenage years, and almost all were fluent in understanding and speaking English.

## Procedures

Participants were recruited throughout the community by contacting Filipinx-affiliated community centres, churches, and social groups in Canada through publicly available emails found online and asked them to post flyers in their physical and online spaces (e.g., bulletin boards, listservs, social media). Social media accounts with Filipinx-related content were also contacted to advertise for study recruitment. Advertisement flyers contained a weblink that led to the online survey. After an information letter and consent, the questionnaire presented screening questions, a demographic survey, and measures pertaining to the study. A list of resources for seeking mental health support was provided at the end of the survey.

## Measures

**Demographic Information.** A standard demographics questionnaire was administered that included items asking about age, gender, sexual orientation, religious orientation, citizenship status, language abilities, length of residence in Canada, education level, family of origin annual household income, and marital status. See Appendix A for a copy of the demographics questionnaire.

**Religiosity.** The Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale (B4; Saroglou, 2011) is a 12-item measure to assess the four universal dimensions of religiosity, see Appendix B. The four subscales are believing ($\alpha = .91$), bonding ($\alpha = .90$), behaving ($\alpha = .93$), and belonging ($\alpha = .87$), and each are assessed with three items on a 7-point Likert scale. A sample item for each subscale is respectively: “Religious beliefs have important implications for our understanding of human existence”; “Religious rituals, activities or practices make me feel positive emotion”; “I am attached to the religion for the values and ethics it endorses”; and “In religion, I enjoy belonging to a group/community.” The items are averaged to compute a score for each subscale of

religiosity. Higher scores reflect higher engagement in that particular dimension of religiosity. Reliability of the scale as a whole was .96. The measure has been used in research across 14 countries of various religious traditions (Saroglou, 2016).

**Religious Identity.** The Religious Identity Scale (RIS; Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015) has been adapted from Luyckx and colleague's (2008) measure of the Five Dimensional Model of Identity. Developed in Polish, an English version was used for this study. The RIS is a 33-item measure using a 7-point Likert scale that assesses the five processes of identity formation: *exploration in breadth* ($\alpha = .83$), *exploration in depth* ($\alpha = .82$), *ruminative exploration* ($\alpha = .78$), *commitment making* ($\alpha = .91$), and *identification with commitment* ($\alpha = .96$). Higher scores on each process reflect higher engagement with that identity process. The RIS demonstrated adequate convergent validity using the Centrality of Religiosity Scale (Huber & Huber, 2012). See Appendix C for the first 10 items of the RIS.

**Acculturation and Enculturation.** The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) is a widely used self-report measure for assessing orientation to heritage (i.e., enculturation) and mainstream (i.e., acculturation) culture. The VIA examines ten domains of each culture using 20 items: traditions, marriage, social activities, comfort with people, entertainment, behaviour, practices, values, humour, and friends (Brotto, Chik, Ryder, Gorzalka, & Seal, 2005). Each item is rated on a 7-point Likert scale with 1 referring to strongly disagree and 7 referring to strongly agree. Higher scores on the Heritage subscale reflect stronger maintenance of heritage culture, whereas higher scores on the Mainstream subscale reflect stronger orientation to Western standards. Reliability was .86 for the Heritage subscale, and .84 for the Mainstream subscale. Concurrent validity was evaluated by comparing each subscale with the percentage of lifetime spent in North America and a unidimensional measure of

acculturation, the Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992). The Heritage subscale was significantly correlated with time spent in North America ($r$ = -.27) and SL-ASIA ($r$ = -.46). The Mainstream subscale was also significantly correlated with time spent in North America ($r$ = .53) and SL-ASIA ($r$ = .55; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). See Appendix D for the VIA.

**Development.** Chronological age was used as a proxy for development.

## Analysis

**Analytical Plan.** To examine the first objective, total scores of the Religious Identity Scale were subjected to a hierarchical cluster analysis to determine if distinct groups emerged. Euclidean distances were calculated to determine distance between participants, and linkages were determined using Ward's method. This method was used for clustering identity statuses in Wieradzka-Pilarczyk (2015) and Luyckx and colleagues (2008). The "elbow" method is a common method to visually inspect a cluster solution (Bholowalia & Kumar, 2014), and the current study used the elbow method in addition to the silhouette method, gap statistic, and majority rule to determine the optimal number of clusters. Cluster membership was then assigned to each participant. A MANOVA with Bonferroni post hoc procedures and a repeated measures MANOVA with contrasts were conducted to determine whether participants differed in religious identity dimensions both between and within clusters.

The second objective, the relation between religious identity and religiosity, was examined in four steps. First, a repeated measures MANOVA was conducted on the full sample to examine if, regardless of cluster membership, there were significant mean differences in religiosity dimensions. Second, the scores of the Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale were subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to assess whether the theorized factor

structure of the measure was evident in the current sample. Third, a MANOVA with Bonferroni post hoc procedures was conducted to determine whether participants in different clusters differed in their endorsement of religiosity. Fourth, a repeated measures MANOVA with contrasts was conducted to determine if participants within a religious identity cluster differed on the four dimensions of religiosity.

To examine the third objective, the development of religious identity, an ANOVA was used first to examine if there were mean differences in age between the religious identity clusters. Next, hierarchical multiple regressions were applied to see if age predicted each process of religious identity such that age was regressed on *exploration in breadth, exploration in depth, ruminative exploration, commitment making,* and *identification with commitment* in separate regression analyses.

For the final objective, the relation between enculturation/acculturation and religious identity, a paired t-test was used to examine if acculturation and enculturation differed between participants in the full sample, regardless of their cluster membership. Next, a MANOVA was conducted to examine if acculturation and enculturation differed between participants of different religious identity cluster membership. If significant, Bonferroni post hoc procedures were used to examine specifically which participants between religious identity clusters differed in enculturation and/or acculturation. Finally, a repeated measures MANOVA with contrasts was used to determine if participants within a cluster differed in their endorsement of acculturation and enculturation.

# Results

## Descriptive Statistics of Main Study Variables

Descriptive statistics for all main study variables (five variables for religious identity, four variables for religiosity, age, and two variables for migration processes) can be found in Table 4.

Table 4

*Descriptive Statistics of Main Variables*

| | Observed Minimum | Observed Maximum | *M* | *SE* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth | 1 | 7 | 4.16 | .41 | 1.43 |
| Exploration in Depth | 1 | 7 | 3.85 | .60 | 1.40 |
| Ruminative Exploration | 1 | 7 | 3.64 | .48 | 1.34 |
| Commitment Making | 1 | 7 | 4.92 | .63 | 1.47 |
| Identification with Commitment | 1 | 7 | 4.79 | 1.35 | 1.58 |
| Believing | 1 | 7 | 5.20 | .12 | 1.67 |
| Bonding | 1 | 7 | 4.93 | .12 | 1.68 |
| Behaving | 1 | 7 | 5.20 | .12 | 1.75 |
| Belonging | 1 | 7 | 5.10 | .12 | 1.72 |
| Age | 14 | 25 | 20.03 | .25 | 3.54 |
| Acculturation | 2.30 | 7.00 | 5.87 | .07 | .92 |
| Enculturation | 1.70 | 7.00 | 5.66 | .06 | .86 |

*Note.* All subscales (except Age) were rated on a Likert scale from 1-7. $N = 197$.

## Key Demographics and Main Study Variables

Before addressing the primary objectives, a series of preliminary analyses were conducted in order to better understand the main study variables and their relation to demographic characteristics of the sample (i.e., gender, sexuality, generation status, living arrangement, education completed by participant, relationship status, age at migration, and family of origin income). See Tables 5 and 6 for a summary of these findings.

Table 5

*Summary of Categorical Demographics and Main Study Variables*

| | Female vs. Male | Heterosexual vs. Other Sexuality | First vs. Second Generation | Live with Parents vs. Other Living Arrangement | Completed Junior High vs. High School vs. Post-Secondary | Single or Other Relationship Status |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth | ns | ns | ns | ns | ns | ns |
| Exploration in Depth | ns | Het. > Other | ns | Parents > Other | ns | ns |
| Ruminative Exploration | ns | ns | ns | Parents > Other | ns | ns |
| Commitment Making | ns | ns | ns | Parents > Other | ns | ns |
| Identification with Commitment | ns | Het. > Other | ns | Parents > Other | ns | ns |
| Believing | ns | ns | ns | ns | ns | ns |
| Bonding | ns | ns | ns | Parents > Other | ns | ns |
| Behaving | ns | ns | $1^{st} > 2^{nd}$ | ns | ns | ns |
| Belonging | ns | ns | ns | ns | ns | ns |
| Age | ns | ns | ns | Other > Parents | ps > hs > jh | Other > Single |
| Enculturation | ns | ns | $1^{st} > 2^{nd}$ | ns | jh = hs > ps | Single > Other |
| Acculturation | M > F | ns | $2^{nd} > 1^{st}$ | ns | ns | ns |

*Note.* Tests by gender do not include those who identify as non-binary ($n$ = 2). Sexuality was recoded as heterosexual ($n$ = 135) and non-heterosexual ($n$ = 52). Most of the sample lived with their parents, although a small group did not live with their parents ($n$ = 25). Education was recoded as those who finished junior high ($n$ = 36), high school ($n$ = 73), or post-secondary ($n$ = 86). Relationship status was recoded as whether participants were single ($n$ = 139) or not single ($n$ = 54).

Table 6

*Correlations between Continuous Demographics and Main Study Variables*

| | Age at Migration | Family of Origin Income |
|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth | .10 | -.03 |
| Exploration in Depth | .17 | -.04 |
| Ruminative Exploration | .12 | -.03 |
| Commitment Making | .20* | < .01 |
| Identification with Commitment | .27** | -.02 |
| Believing | .22* | -.04 |
| Bonding | .13 | -.03 |
| Behaving | .17 | .05 |
| Belonging | .12 | -.01 |
| Age | .18 | .18* |
| Enculturation | .11 | -.18* |
| Acculturation | -.19* | .04 |

*Note.* **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Religious Identity and Demographic Variables.** There were no gender differences in any religious identity variables. Heterosexual participants ($M$ = 3.98, $SD$ = 1.36) were more likely to have higher scores on *exploration in depth* than non-heterosexual participants ($M$ = 3.47, $SD$ = 1.44), $t(185) = 2.23$, $p = .03$. Similarly, heterosexual participants ($M$ = 4.94, $SD$ = 1.51) were more likely to score higher in *identification with commitment* than non-heterosexual participants ($M$ = 4.36, $SD$ = 1.72), $t(185) = 2.24$, $p = .03$. There were no differences between first- and second-generation participants in religious identity. However, of those who were second-generation (i.e., born in Canada), there was a significant positive correlation between age at migration and *commitment making* ($r(197) = .20$, $p = .03$) and a significant positive correlation

between age at migration and *identification with commitment* ($r(197) = .27$, $p < .01$). Compared to participants who did not live with their parents, participants who lived with their parents reported significantly higher religious identity on all of the processes except for *exploration in breadth (*$t = -2.33$, $p = .02$ for *exploration in depth*, $t = -2.39$, $p = .02$ for *ruminative exploration*, $t = -2.29$, $p = .02$ for *commitment making*, $t = -2.27$, $p = .02$ for *identification with commitment)*. There were no differences in religious identity based on family of origin income, participant education, or relationship status.

**Religiosity and Demographic Variables.** Participants did not differ in religiosity according to gender, sexuality, family of origin income, education, and relationship status. Participants born in Canada ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.87$) tended to score lower in *behaving* than participants who immigrated to Canada ($M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.63$), $t(194) = 2.16$, $p = .03$. There was a significant positive association between age of immigration to Canada and the *believing* dimension of religiosity, $r(112) = .22$, $p = .02$, but no other dimension of religiosity. Participants who lived with their parents ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.58$) were scored higher in *bonding* than participants who did not ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 2.14$), $t(194) = -2.48$, $p = .01$.

**Development and Demographic Variables.** Age (i.e., the proxy for development) was not significantly different for people of different genders, sexualities, and generation status. Age and age at migration were trending towards a significant positive correlation, $r(112) = .18$, $p = .07$. As expected due to the age range of the sample, participants who lived with their parents ($M = 19.80$, $SD = 3.56$) tended to be younger than those who had other living arrangements ($M = 21.80$, $SD = 2.78$), $t(194) = 2.69$, $p < .01$. There was a significant positive correlation between family of origin income and age, $r(138) = .18$, $p = .04$, such that older participants tended to come from families that had higher incomes. Expected significant differences in education based

on age were found, such that older participants completed higher levels of education. Participants who reported being single ($M$ = 19.41, $SD$ = 3.57) were significantly younger than those who reported a different relationship status ($M$ = 21.69, 2.97), $t(191) = -4.16$, $p < .001$.

**Acculturation and Enculturation and Demographic Variables.** Also shown in Tables X and X are the relations between the demographic variables and reports of enculturation and acculturation. Males ($M$ = 5.90, $SD$ = .69) reported significantly higher acculturation scores than females ($M$ = 5.57, $SD$ = .91), $t(192) = -2.51$, $p = .01$. There were no significant differences between genders on reports of enculturation. There were also no significant differences in either acculturation or enculturation by sexuality and whether participants lived with their parents. Participants who immigrated to Canada ($M$ = 6.01, $SD$ = .88) reported significantly higher enculturation than those who were born in Canada ($M$ = 5.65, $SD$ = .94), $t(194) = 2.75$, $p < .01$. This pattern was reversed for acculturation, such that people who immigrated to Canada ($M$ = 5.56, $SD$ = .95) scored lower on average than those who were born in Canada ($M$ = 5.84, $SD$ = .63), $t(194) = -2.36$, $p = .01$. A negative association between age of migration to Canada and acculturation was also found, $r(112) = -.19$, $p < .05$. There was also a negative association between family of origin's household income and enculturation, such that lower enculturation was associated with higher income, $r(138) = -.18$, $p = .04$. A one-way ANOVA indicated a significant effect of education on enculturation, $F(2, 193) = 13.06$, $p < .001$. Bonferroni post hoc procedures indicated that individuals who completed post-secondary education ($M$ = 5.51, $SD$ = .99) reported less enculturation than those who completed junior high ($M$ = 6.23, $SD$ = .80) and high school ($M$ = 6.10, $SD$ = .76). Participants who were single ($M$ = 5.98, $SD$ = .87) were scored higher on enculturation than those who were not single ($M$ = 5.66, $SD$ = .87), $t(191) = 2.77$, $p < .01$.

Overall, the main study variables were fairly independent of demographic variables. The most notable effect was whether participants lived with their parents. Living with parents tended to be associated with higher scores on all religious identity variables except *exploration in breadth*. The next most notable relation was between religious identity and age of migration, such that participants who immigrated at younger ages tended to report less commitment processes (i.e., *commitment making* and *identification with commitment).* Surprisingly, participants who lived with their parents did not differ from those who had other living arrangements in acculturation or enculturation. However, first-generation participants were more likely to endorse higher scores in the *behaving* religiosity dimension in comparison to second-generation participants.

**Pearson Correlations among Main Study Variables**

A correlation table of all the main study variables is presented in Table 7. Within the construct of religious identity, exploration variables were significantly correlated with each other (i.e., *exploration in breadth, exploration in depth,* and *ruminative exploration*), and commitment variables were correlated with each other (i.e., *commitment making* and *identification with commitment*). Both commitment variables were also highly positively correlated with all religiosity variables, with correlation all being above .80. Religiosity variables were similarly highly positively correlated with each other, such that all correlations were above .79. Enculturation was significantly positively correlated with both commitment processes in religious identity, all religiosity variables, and acculturation. Age was not correlated with any of the other main study variables with the exception of a negative correlation with enculturation. Taken together, commitment processes, religiosity, and enculturation are generally positively correlated with one another.

Table 7

*Pearson Correlation of Main Study Variables*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Exploration in Breadth | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Exploration in Depth | .30** | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Ruminative Exploration | .28** | .64** | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Commitment Making | -.03 | .55** | .15* | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Identification with Commitment | .03 | .61** | .23** | .94** | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 6. Believing | -.03 | .53** | .22** | .84** | .88** | 1 | | | | | | |
| 7. Bonding | -.03 | .48** | .17* | .81** | .81** | .79** | 1 | | | | | |
| 8. Behaving | -.02 | .51** | .23** | .81** | .85** | .85** | .79** | 1 | | | | |
| 9. Belonging | .01 | .52** | .20** | .80** | .81** | .80** | .81** | .80** | 1 | | | |
| 10. Age | -.03 | -.10 | -.08 | -.04 | -.02 | -.05 | -.10 | .01 | -.08 | 1 | | |
| 11. Enculturation | .11 | .30** | .13 | .30** | .32** | .30** | .26** | .31** | .34** | -.32** | 1 | |
| 12. Acculturation | .12 | .12 | .11 | -.06 | -.07 | -.11 | -.13 | -.07 | -.05 | -.07 | .16* | 1 |

*Note.* **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Objective 1: Clusters of Religious Identity**

**Hierarchical Cluster Analysis.** A distance matrix was calculated using Euclidean distances between 197 participants in the five-dimensional space created by each of the five subscales of the Religious Identity Scale. The mean distance between participants was 2.89 (*SD* = 1.29), ranging from .13 to 8.94. An agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted using Ward's method (Murtagh & Legendre, 2014). See Figure 7 for the cluster dendogram.

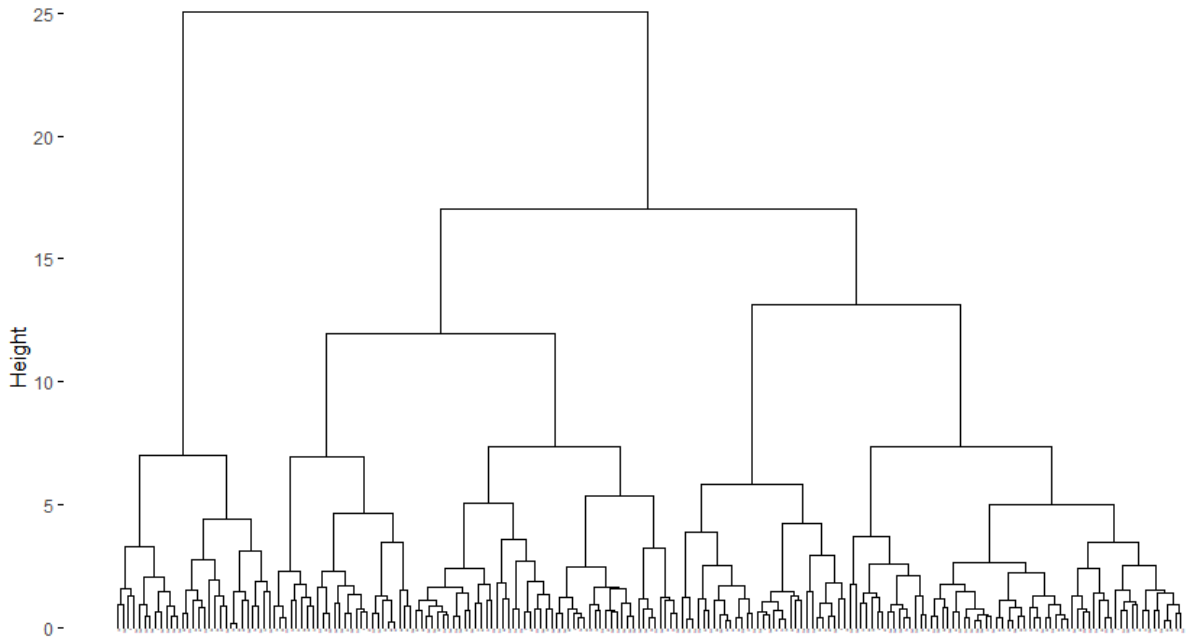


*Figure 7.* Results of a hierarchical cluster analysis using the Religious Identity Scale.

Calculating the cophenetic correlation coefficient is an indicator of how well the hierarchical cluster analysis fits the original data. The cophenetic correlation coefficient is the correlation between data points' original distances from one another and the cophenetic distance represented in the dendogram (which is a result of agglomerative hierarchical clustering). The cophenetic distance is calculated as the height in the dendogram branch in which two data points merge into the same horizontal branch. The smaller the cophenetic distance, the more similar the two data points are to one another. Therefore, a high cophenetic correlation would suggest that

the clustering represented in the dendogram is representative of the original distances between the data points. A high cophenetic correlation is desirable because it means the distance between participants in religious identity accurately captured by the hierarchical clustering. The cophenetic correlation was 0.64, which is within the acceptable range for the hierarchical clustering being representative of the original data points.

Four methods were used to determine how many clusters to retain: the elbow method, silhouette plot, gap statistic, and majority rule. Two of these methods, the elbow method and silhouette plot, are visual inspections that require subjective judgment, while the gap statistic and majority rule are empirical methods to determine the optimal number of clusters. The most common method is the elbow method, but the "elbow" of the plot was ambiguous, suggesting that four to six clusters may provide the best cluster solutions (see Figure 8). Using a more objective approach, the gap statistic compares the dispersion of the cluster solution (i.e., dispersion if number of clusters retained is 1, 2, 3,… 5 or more) to a reference distribution which assumes the null distribution is true (Tibshirani, Walther, & Hastie, 2001). The higher the gap statistic, the further the solution is from the null distribution, which indicates a more optimal solution for number of clusters retained. The gap statistic method suggested that five was the best number of clusters (see Figure 9). Five clusters were also supported when visually inspecting the silhouette plot of a five-cluster solution (see Figure 10). To interpret the silhouette plot, the horizontal length of each line represents a data point's distance from the mean of their assigned cluster minus the mean distance from the next-closest cluster. Therefore, it shows the data point's distance from the mean similarity of the two closest clusters. More positive values (i.e., longer horizontal lengths towards the right) indicate that a person is less ambiguously assigned to the correct cluster, scores around zero suggest that a person may exist between two clusters, and

more negative values (i.e., longer horizontal lengths towards the left) indicate people who are likely to have been placed in the wrong cluster. Results of the silhouette plot when there were five clusters suggested that the majority of people were placed in the correct clusters. The five cluster solution also had the highest ratio of people correctly placed versus people incorrectly placed or existing between two clusters. Finally, Charrad, Ghazzali, Boiteau, and Niknafs (2014) developed the "NbClust" package for R which has collected 30 different indices for statistically determining the optimal number of clusters, and tallies the results of each of these indices to create the "majority rule" method. Results of this package indicated that five was the most optimal solution, with 14 of the 30 indices reporting five as the best cluster solution, followed by five of 30 indices suggesting four clusters (see Figure 11).

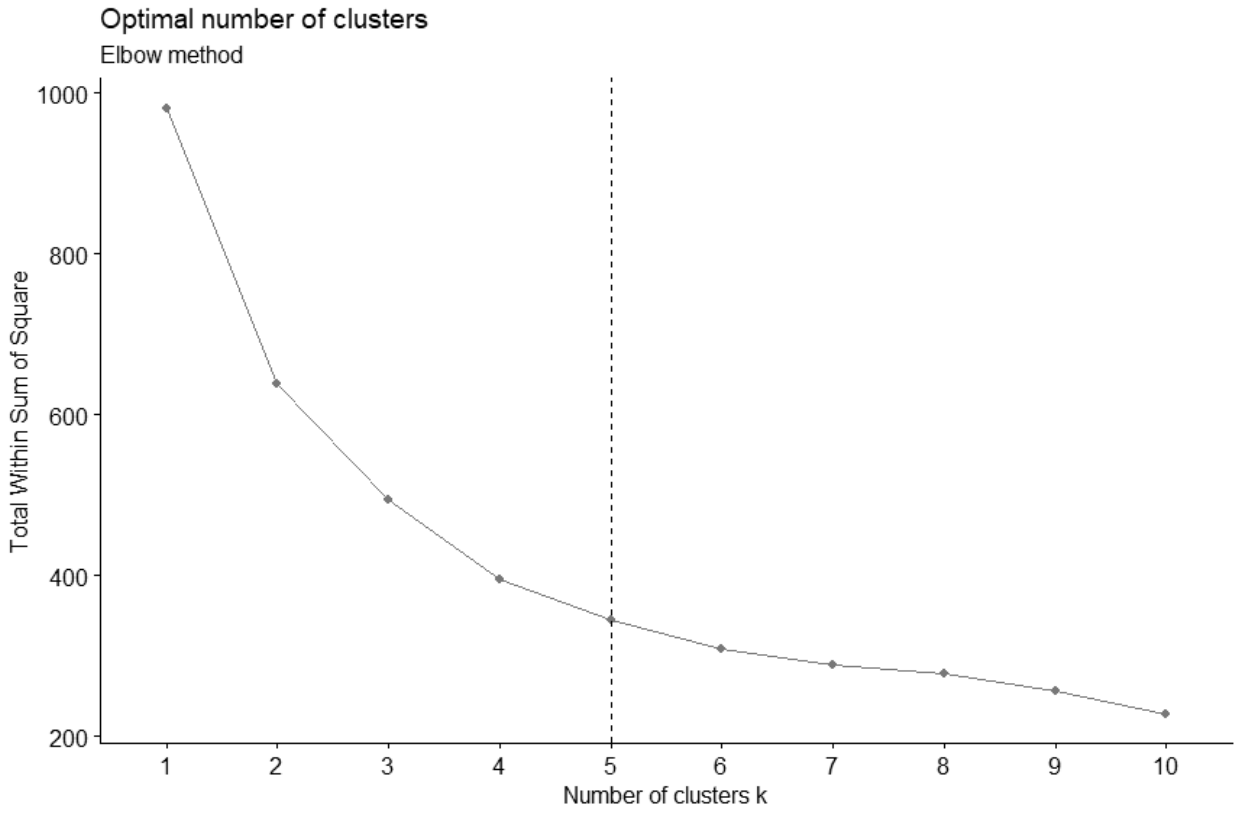


*Figure 8.* The elbow method shows an ambiguous cluster solution, suggesting four to six clusters.

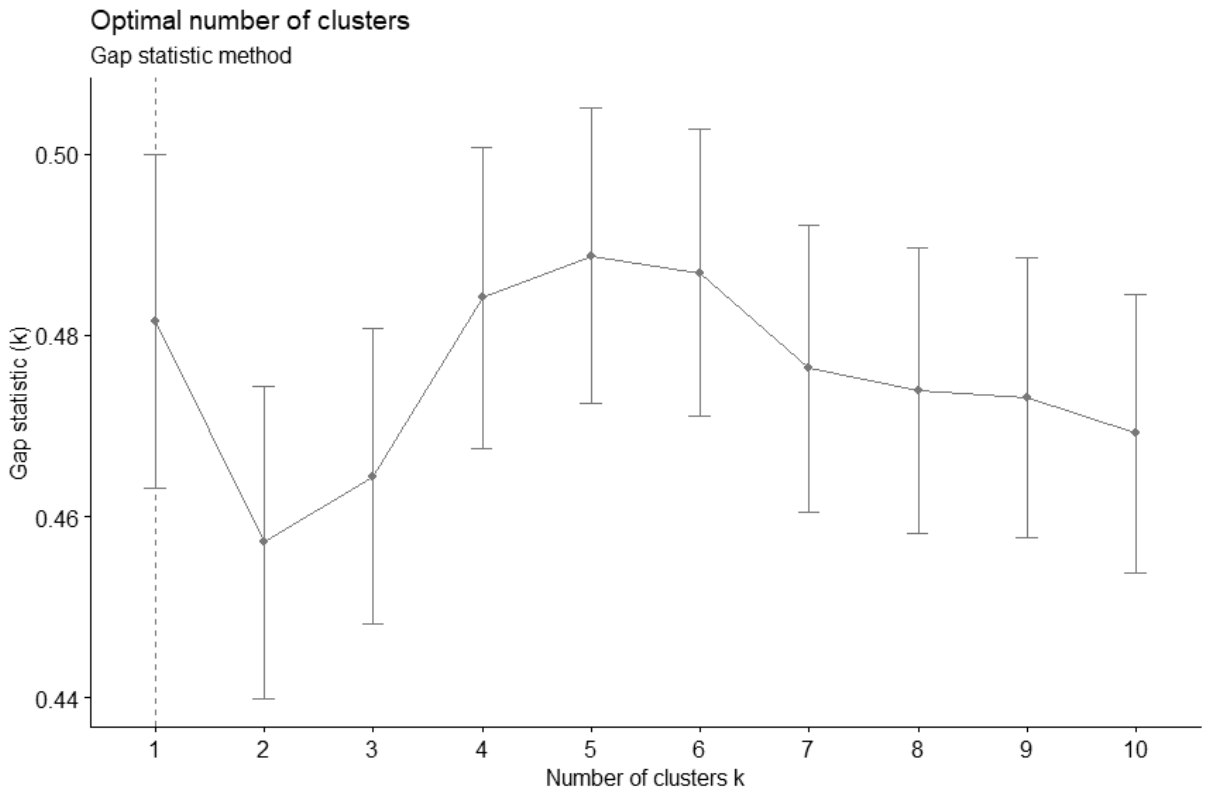


*Figure 9.* A five cluster solution has the highest gap statistic value, which indicates this solution least resembles the null distribution.

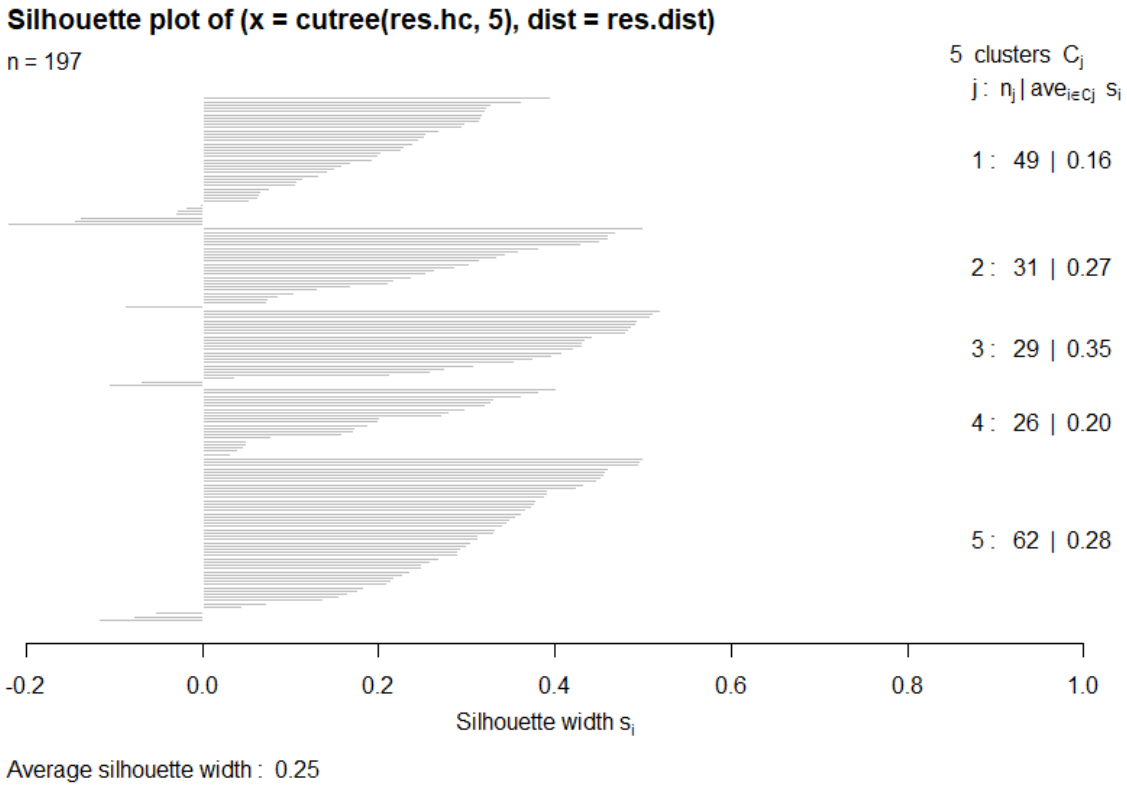


*Figure 10.* The silhouette plot of a five-cluster solution.

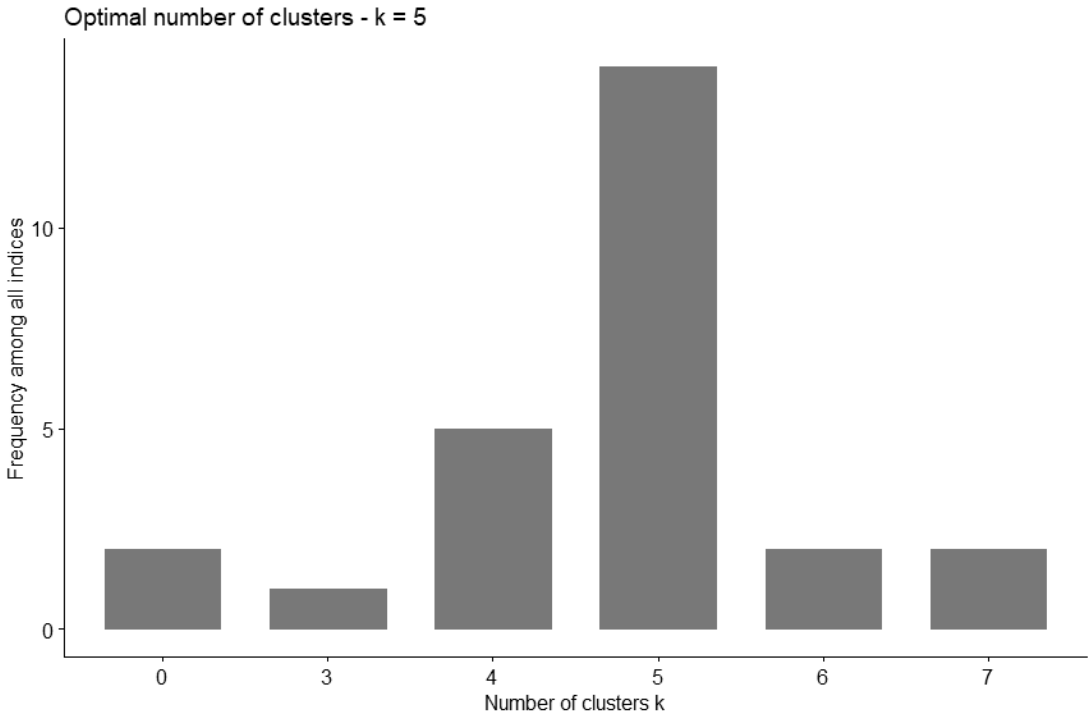


*Figure 11.* Fourteen out of 30 indices in the NbClust R package indicated that five was the best cluster solution.

**Five-Cluster Solution.** A five-cluster solution was chosen as best representative of the data on religious identity. This five-cluster solution is displayed in Figure 12. Cluster 5 had the largest number of group members, *N* = 62 (31.47% of the total sample), followed by Cluster 1, *N* = 49 (24.87%), Cluster 2, *N* = 31 (15.74%), Cluster 3, *N* = 29 (14.72%), and Cluster 4, which had the lowest number of group members, *N* = 26 (13.20%). Table 8 shows the means and standard deviations of participants within each cluster of religious identity.

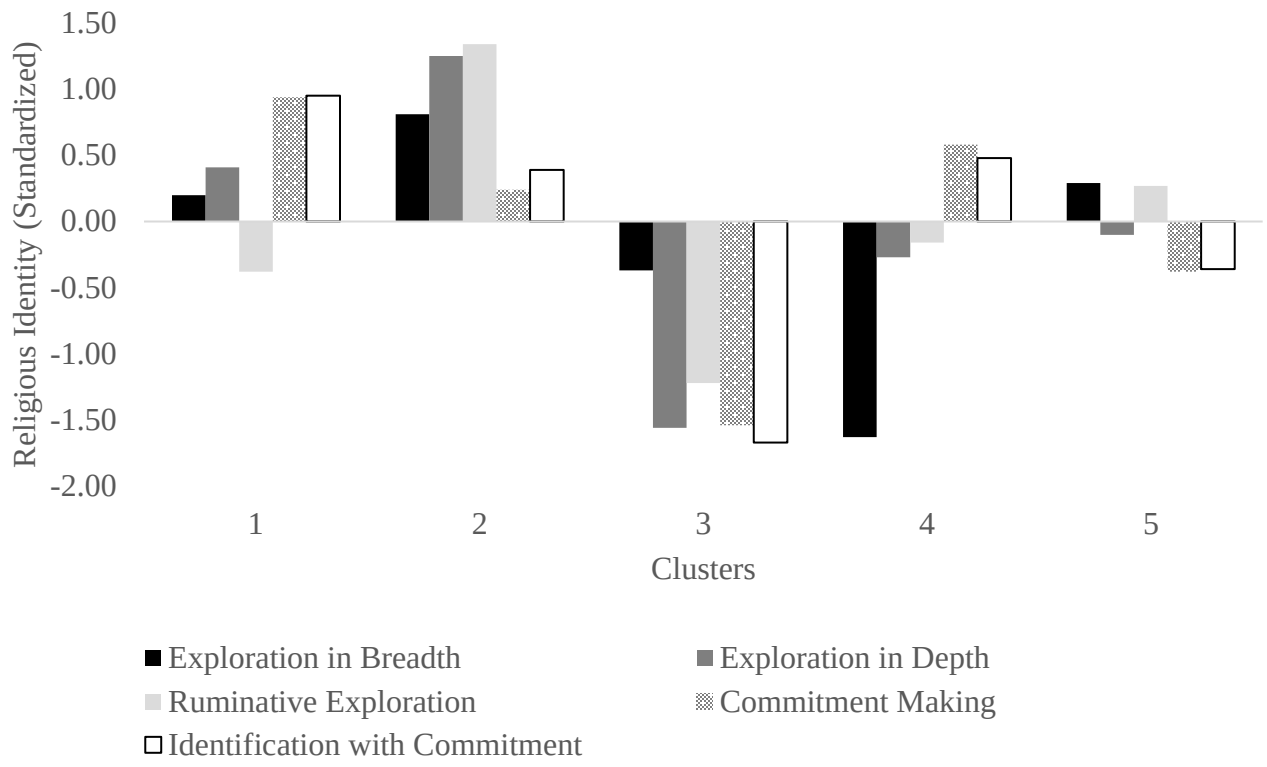


*Figure 12.* The cluster profiles of the religious identity scale subscales based on a five-cluster solution.

Table 8

*Means and Standard Deviations of Each Cluster's Religious Identity Scores*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth | 0.20 (.76) | 0.81 (.68) | -0.37 (.98) | -1.63 (.46) | 0.29 (.59) |
| Exploration in Depth | 0.41 (.81) | 1.25 (.51) | -1.56 (.43) | -0.27 (.60) | -0.10 (.45) |
| Ruminative Exploration | -0.38 (.77) | 1.34 (.55) | -1.22 (.57) | -0.16 (.95) | 0.27 (.51) |
| Commitment Making | 0.94 (.32) | 0.24 (.69) | -1.54 (.74) | 0.58 (.60) | -0.38 (.53) |
| Identification with Commitment | 0.95 (.27) | 0.39 (.52) | -1.67 (.56) | 0.48 (.68) | -0.36 (.58) |

**Between Cluster Differences on Religious Identity.** A MANOVA was conducted with the five clusters as independent variables and the five religious identity variables as dependent variables to examine mean differences in Religious Identity Scale subscale scores between the

clusters that emerged. Although multivariate normality was violated, Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) have stated that a sample size of at least 20 in the smallest cell ensures robustness. The multivariate effect was significant, indicating that there were significant mean differences between clusters on religious identity, Pillai's Trace = .31, $F(5, 191) = 16.93$, $p < .001$.

Given the significance of the multivariate effect, the univariate tests of between-subjects effects were also examined to determine which each religious identity subscales had significant mean differences between clusters. There were significant differences between clusters for all subscales, *exploration in breadth*, $F(4, 192) = 51.08$, *exploration in depth*, $F(4, 192) = 94.60$, *ruminative exploration*, $F(4, 192) = 62.51$, *commitment making*, $F(4, 192) = 96.98$, and *identification with commitment*, $F(4, 192) = 131.43$, with $p < .001$.

The Bonferroni post hoc multiple comparisons were used to examine which particular clusters differed per religious identity process. For *exploration in breadth*, there were significant differences between all pairwise comparisons except clusters 1 and 5. For *exploration in depth*, there were significant differences between all pairwise comparisons except clusters 4 and 5. For *ruminative exploration*, there were significant differences between all pairwise comparisons except clusters 1 and 4. Clusters 4 and 5 were trending towards significance, with $p = .06$. For *commitment making*, there were significant differences between all pairwise comparisons except clusters 1 and 4, and clusters 2 and 4. Finally, for *identification with commitment*, there were significant differences between all pairwise comparisons except clusters 2 and 4. See Table 9 and Figure 13 for a summary of cluster differences.

Table 9

*Rank Order of Clusters for Each Religious Identity Process*

| Religious Identity Process | Cluster Differences |
|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth | 2 > 1 = 5 > 3 > 4 |
| Exploration in Depth | 2 > 1 > 4 = 5 > 3 |
| Ruminative Exploration | 2 > 5 > 4* = 1 > 3 |
| Commitment Making | 1 = 4 and 2 = 4<br>1 > 2 > 5 > 3 |
| Identification with Commitment | 1 > 4 = 2 > 5 > 3 |

*Note.* * Clusters 4 and 5 was trending towards a significant difference, $p = .06$, such that participants in cluster 5 scored higher than participants in cluster 4 on *ruminative exploration*.

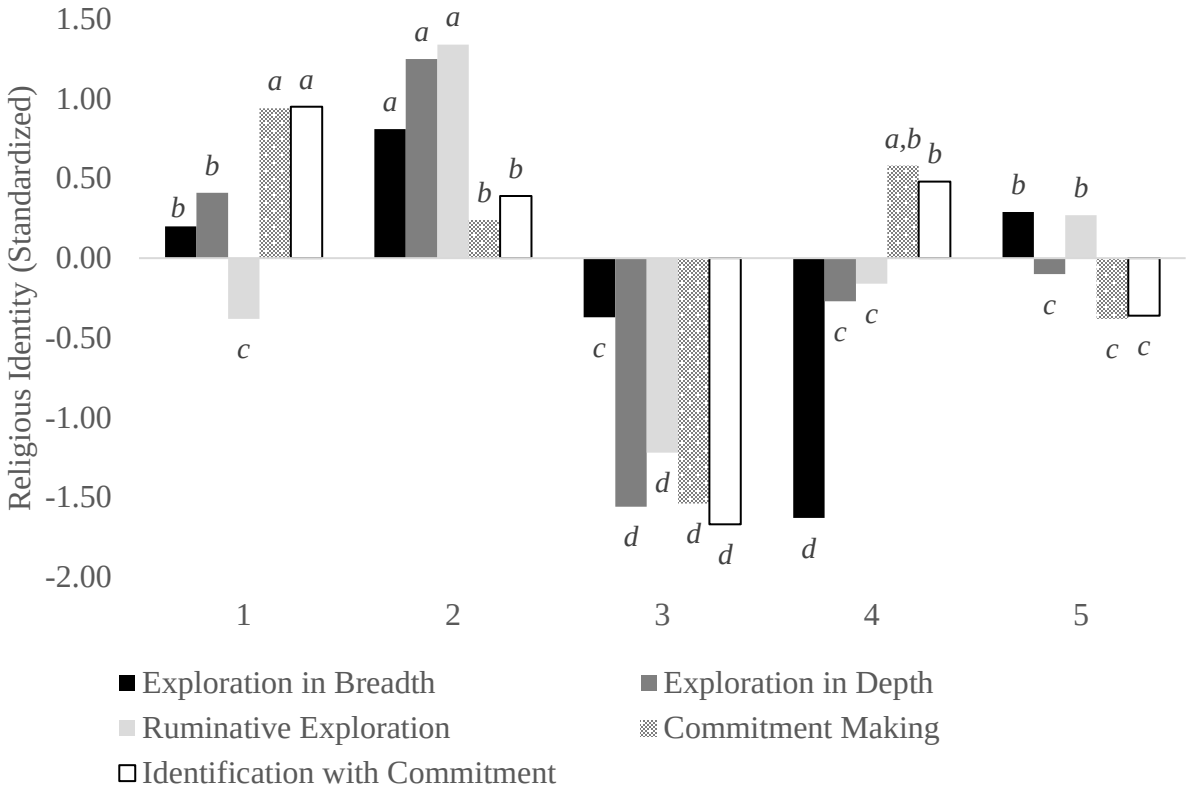


*Figure 13.* Comparisons of religious identity processes between clusters. For each identity process, differences across clusters are indicated by different subscripts (e.g., "a" indicates the cluster(s) with the highest scores on an identity process, "b" the next highest, etc.); if the identity process is not significantly different between two clusters, the same subscript is used.

**Within Cluster Differences on Religious Identity.** Five one-way repeated measures MANOVA (the five religious identity processes) examined if religious identity processes differed from each other *within* each cluster. All multivariate tests were significant for every cluster which suggests that there were significant differences among religious identity processes, Pillai's Trace = .74, $F(4, 45) = 32.61$ for cluster 1, Pillai's Trace = .80, $F(4, 27) = 26.57$ for cluster 2, Pillai's Trace = .77, $F(4, 25) = 20.72$ for cluster 3, Pillai's Trace = .93, $F(4, 22) = 75.96$ for cluster 4, and Pillai's Trace = .44, $F(4, 58) = 11.57$ for cluster 5, all significant at $p < .001$. The results of these MANOVA suggests that religious identity processes are significantly different within each cluster. See Table 10 and Figure 14 for a summary of within-cluster differences in religious identity processes.

Table 10

*Rank Order of Religious Identity Processes for Each Cluster*

| Cluster | Religious Identity Differences |
|---|---|
| 1 | IC = CM > EB = ED > RE |
| 2 | RE > ED = EB > IC > CM |
| 3 | CM = ED = IC and RE = ED<br>EB > all other religious identity variables |
| 4 | CM > IC > RE > ED > EB |
| 5 | EB = RE, RE = ED, ED = CM, and CM = IC<br>EB > ED > IC |

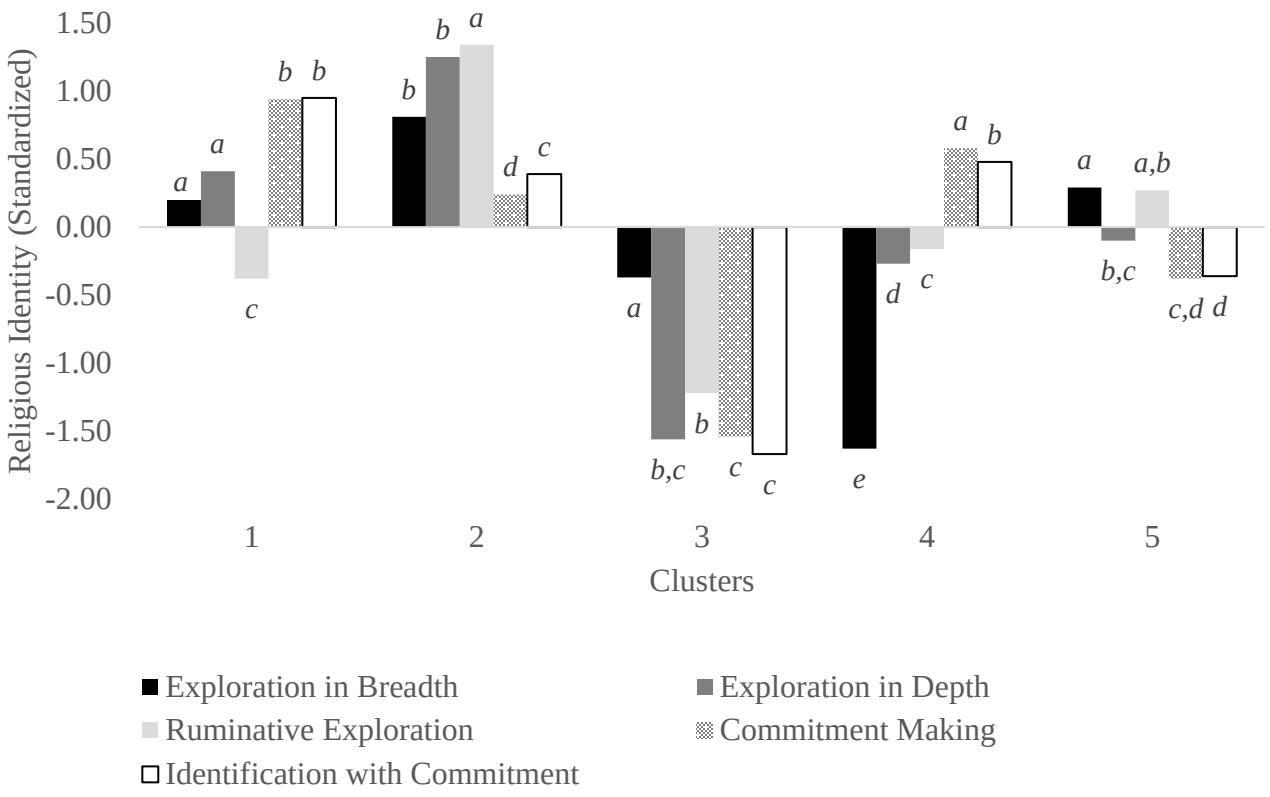


*Figure 14.* Comparisons of religious identity processes within clusters. For each cluster, religious identity processes labelled the same subscript are not significantly different.

For cluster 1, within-subjects contrasts revealed that members of cluster 1 scored highest on *identification with commitment*, and *identification with commitment* was significantly different from all processes except *commitment making*. Participants scored next highest on *exploration in depth*, which was not significantly different to *exploration in breadth. Ruminative exploration* was reported the lowest on average for participants in cluster 1, which was significantly different from all other religious identity processes.

For cluster 2, participants did not score differently on *exploration in breadth* and *exploration in depth*, but all other pairwise comparisons were significantly different from one another. Participants in this cluster scored highest on *ruminative exploration*, followed by the statistically equivalent *exploration in breadth* and *exploration in depth*, then *identification with*

*commitment*, and lastly *commitment making* was reported as the lowest scoring process in cluster 2.

For cluster 3, where all standardized scores on religious identity are negative, the least negative (i.e., closest to zero) process reported by participants was *exploration in breadth*. Participants did not report any significant differences in *commitment making*, *exploration in depth*, and *identification with commitment*. Although cluster 3 members did not report any significant differences in *ruminative exploration* from *exploration in depth*, participants reported significantly less negative *ruminative exploration* (i.e., closer to zero) than both *commitment making* and *identification with commitment*.

For cluster 4, participants scored significantly different on each religious identity process. Participants reported *commitment making* as the highest scoring process, followed by *identification with commitment*, *ruminative exploration*, *exploration in depth*, and finally *exploration in breadth* as the lowest reported identity process for cluster 4.

For cluster 5, participants scored highest on *exploration in breadth*, which was not significantly different from *ruminative exploration.* While participants in cluster 5 scored significantly higher on *ruminative exploration* than *commitment making* and *identification with commitment*, *ruminative exploration* was not significantly different from *exploration in depth* and *exploration in breadth.* Cluster 5 members did not score significantly differently on commitment processes, *commitment making* and *identification with commitment*, with *identification with commitment* reported as the lowest of all five religious identity processes.

**Cluster Names.** Using the results from the between and within group differences on religious identity, clusters were given names representative of their religious identity process profile.

Participants within cluster 1 had high commitment processes, moderately high *exploration in breadth* and *exploration in depth*, and a relatively low *ruminative exploration.* This profile indicates that members of this cluster have explored broadly different religions, examined deeply their current commitments, and have identified the importance of their commitment with their religious group. This exploration and commitment has occurred with relatively little maladaptive *ruminative exploration*, and thus participants of cluster 1 have internalized their religious identity, hence cluster 1 is named *Internalized*.

Members of cluster 2 are characterized by high exploration processes, with moderately high commitment processes. In contrast to the Internalized cluster, however, cluster 2 members had the highest *ruminative exploration* across all clusters. Although some commitment to a religious identity has been made, there were significantly higher levels of exploration. Members of cluster 2 may be seeking more than they are committing, and the quality of some of this seeking is maladaptive and non-productive towards their religious identity. Therefore, members of cluster 2 can be referred to as *Ruminative Seeking*.

The profile of religious identity of cluster 3 is best characterized as low across all religious identity dimensions. Participants in cluster 3 are generally not engaged in religious identity processes, and perhaps are indifferent towards forming their religious identity. Hence, members of cluster 3 were referred to as *Indifferent*.

Cluster 4 members are best characterized by moderately high commitment processes and moderately low exploration processes, with especially low scores in *exploration in breadth.* In other words, participants in this cluster are not looking to understand their religious identity more deeply, and especially not looking to understand other religions. In spite of this, members of cluster 4 report being relatively committed to their religion and that religious commitment is

important to them. As such, religious identity may be internalized for members of this cluster because they have yet to explore deeply or broadly the meaning of their religious identity. Members of this cluster may not want or need to explore, as they also do not experience any rumination about their religious identity. Therefore, cluster 4 can be referred to as *Externalized*.

Members of cluster 5 are best characterized by the lack of any prominent scores in any religious identity process. In fact, statistically, participants in cluster 5 did not score the highest nor the lowest on average on any religious identity process. Members in this cluster may engage in some religious identity processes, but not to any extreme relative to other clusters. Therefore, participants in cluster 5 can be referred to as *Undifferentiated*.

**Cluster Demographics.** The next set of analyses examined whether members of different religious identity clusters differed on key demographics (i.e., age, gender, sexuality, generation status, age at migration, and living arrangement). Table 11 summarizes the results of these analyses. There were no mean differences between clusters in age, $F(4, 192) = .59$, $p = .67$. Results of a Chi-square test of independence revealed that gender, $\chi^2$ (8, $N = 194$) = 14.07, $p = .08$, sexual minority status, $\chi^2$ (4, $N = 187$) = 9.02, $p = .06$, and generation status $\chi^2$ (4, $N = 196$) = .94, $p = .92$ were independent of group membership, although gender and sexuality were approaching significance. Age of migration was not significantly different between groups, $F(4, 111) = 1.75$, $p = .15$. The relation between cluster membership and living arrangement was significant, $\chi^2$ (4, $N = 196$) = 13.40, $p = .01$. Post hoc testing revealed that participants in the Ruminative Seeking cluster had significantly more participants that lived with their parents than other clusters, and the Indifferent cluster had significantly fewer participants that lived with their parents than other clusters.

Table 11

*Demographic Profiles of Each Cluster*

| | Internalized (*N* = 49) | Ruminative Seeking (*N* = 31) | Indifferent (*N* = 29) | Externalized (*N* = 26) | Undifferentiated (*N* = 62) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | 20.00 (3.52) | 19.23 (3.02) | 20.34 (3.02) | 19.92 (4.25) | 20.35 (3.74) |
| Female | 33 (67%) | 23 (74%) | 14 (48%) | 17 (65%) | 47 (76%) |
| Non-Heterosexual | 7 (14%) | 6 (19%) | 11 (38%) | 11 (42%) | 14 (23%) |
| Born in Canada | 22 (45%) | 13 (42%) | 14 (48%) | 10 (38%) | 24 (39%) |
| Age of Migration | 11.62 (5.26) | 11.26 (6.28) | 8.70 (3.86) | 11.20 (5.24) | 8.92 (4.81) |
| Live with Parents | 42 (85.71%) | 31 (100%) | 20 (68.97%) | 23 (88.46%) | 55 (88.71%) |

*Note.* Numbers in brackets are standard deviations for age and age of migration, and the percentages represent the percentage of females, non-heterosexuals, and participants born in Canada per cluster.

**Objective 2: Content of Religious Identity**

**Confirmatory Factor Analysis on the Big Four Religious Dimensions.** A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted on the Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale (i.e., the religiosity variables) to determine if the underlying factor structure of the scale for the current sample conformed to the expected four dimensions. To assess model fit, the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tucker Lewis Index (TLI), and Chi-Square test of fit ($\chi^2$) were examined. Table 12 summarizes the model fit indices. A four-factor model was fit onto the data, as proposed in Saroglou's (2009) original scale. The results of the four-factor model indicated an acceptable fit to the model using the criteria described by Hu and Bentler (1999). A one-factor model was also fit onto the data because the means of the religiosity variables were relatively similar and the intercorrelations of the religiosity variables were high (refer back to Table 4 for means and Table 7 for correlations). Results of the CFA indicated that a one-factor model was not a good fit for the data. The $\chi^2$

difference test directly comparing these two models was significant, $\chi^2$ (6, $N$ = 197) = 171.21, $p$ < .001. These results indicated that the four-factor model was a better fit to the data, although the high intercorrelations between latent religiosity variables were still present in the four-factor model (see Figure 15).

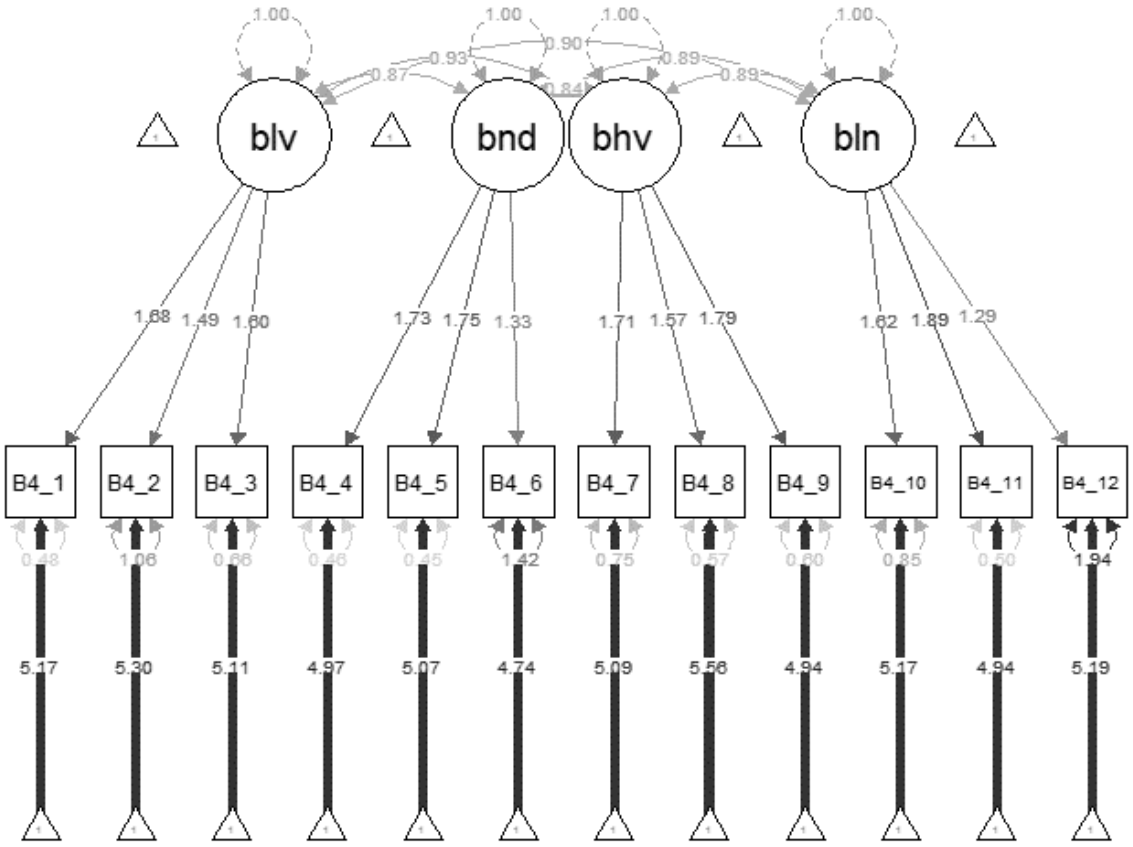


*Figure 15.* CFA on the B4. “blv” is believing, “bnd” is bonding, “bhv” is behaving, and “bln” is belonging. Thicker lines indicate stronger values.

Table 12

*Confirmatory Factor Analyses Model Fit Indices (*N = *197) for the Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale*

| Model | RMSEA [90% CI] | CFI | TLI | $\chi^2$ test of model fit (df) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale 4-factor, 12-item (Saroglou, 2009) | .070 | .981 | .974 | 94.509 (48) |
| Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale 1-factor, 12-item (Saroglou, 2009) | .141 | .914 | .894 | 265.721 (54) |

*Note.* The factor structure of the B4 assuming four and one latent factor. The shaded row represents a better fit to the sample.

**Individual Differences in Religiosity.** A repeated measures MANOVA was conducted using the four dimensions of religiosity as the dependent variables to examine if there were mean differences in religiosity dimensions across participants in the full sample. The results of the MANOVA were significant, Pillai's Trace = .07, $F(3, 194) = 4.76$, $p < .01$, indicating that participants differed in their endorsement of the religiosity dimensions.

Tests of within-subjects contrasts revealed that *believing*, *behaving*, and *belonging* were not significantly different from one another, and that *belonging* was the only dimension that was significantly different from the other religiosity dimensions. Participants reported lower *Bonding* than the other three dimensions of religiosity (refer back to Table 4 for means and standard deviations on religiosity of the full sample).

**Between-Cluster Differences for Religiosity.** A MANOVA was conducted using the four dimensions of religiosity as the dependent variables and cluster membership as the independent variable to examine whether participants in different religious identity clusters differed on the four religiosity dimensions. It was hypothesized that participants in clusters high in both *commitment* processes and *exploration in depth* would have higher levels of *believing* and *bonding.* In the current sample, this meant that members of the Internalized and Ruminative Seeking clusters were expected to report higher levels of believing and bonding than participants in the other clusters. No other predictions were formulated based on previous research and theory. Results indicated a statistically significant MANOVA effect, Pillai's Trace = .15, $F(5, 191) = 6.89$, $p < .001$. As expected, there were differences between clusters on the religiosity subscales, but further post hoc analyses were necessary to examine if the specific hypotheses were supported. See Table 13 for the means and standard deviations on religiosity for each cluster, and see Figure 16 for cluster profiles on the religiosity variables.

Table 13

*Means and Standard Deviations of Each Cluster's Religiosity Scores*

| | Internalized | Ruminative Seeking | Indifferent | Externalized | Undifferentiated |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Believing | 6.61 (.65) | 5.67 (.87) | 2.59 (1.21) | 6.05 (1.02) | 4.70 (1.29) |
| Bonding | 6.28 (.90) | 5.34 (1.18) | 2.65 (1.51) | 5.68 (1.11) | 4.40 (1.30) |
| Behaving | 6.61 (.71) | 5.73 (.96) | 2.60 (1.55) | 6.04 (1.03) | 4.68 (1.40) |
| Belonging | 6.34 (.94) | 5.68 (1.08) | 2.68 (1.48) | 5.94 (.98) | 4.62 (1.44) |

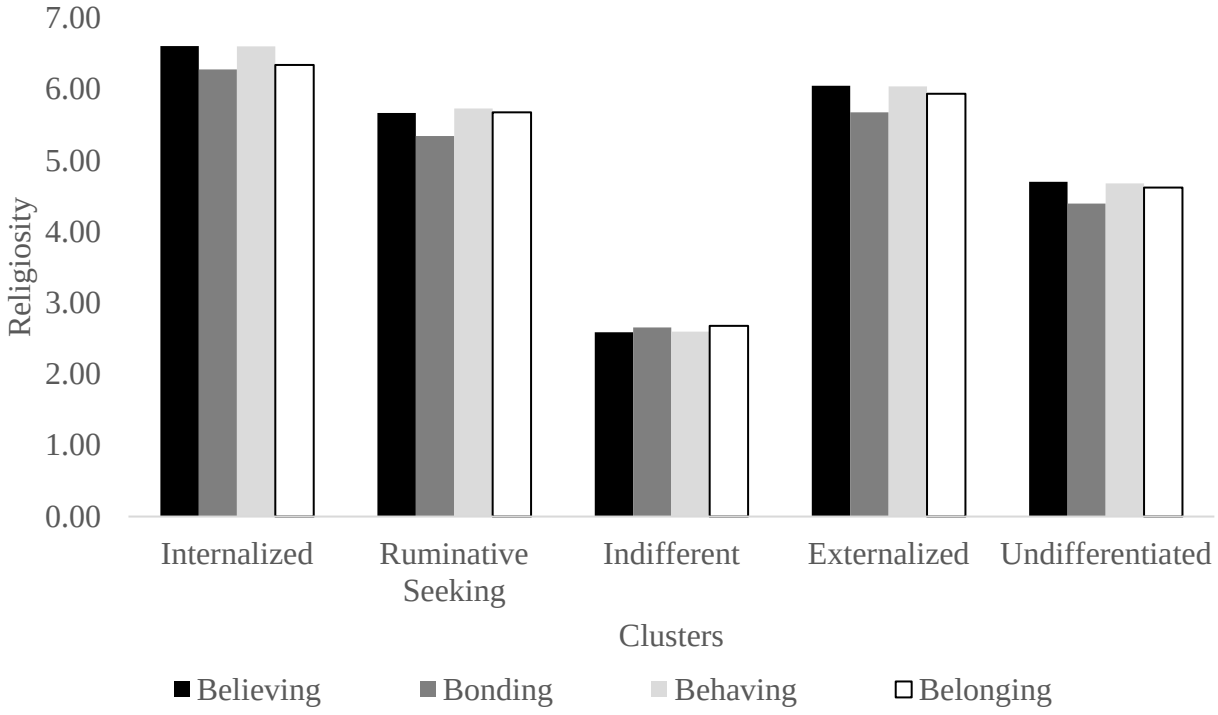


*Figure 16.* Scores on the Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale for each cluster.

Tests of between subjects effects were significant for all religiosity subscales, $F(4, 192) = 76.45$, $F(4, 192) = 47.56$, $F(4, 192) = 61.07$, $F(4, 192) = 47.65$ all significant at $p < .001$ for *believing, bonding, behaving,* and *belonging*, respectively.

Bonferroni procedures were used as the post hoc tests to identify specifically which participants of different clusters had significantly different endorsement of each religiosity

variable. See Table 14 and Figure 17 for a summary and ordinal ranking of clusters per religiosity dimension.

Table 14

*Rank Order of Clusters for Each Religiosity Dimension*

| Religiosity Dimensions | Cluster Differences |
|---|---|
| Believing | 1 = 4 and 2 = 4<br>1 > 2 > 5 > 3 |
| Bonding | 1 = 4 and 2 = 4<br>1 > 2 > 5 > 3 |
| Behaving | 1 = 4 and 2 = 4<br>1 > 2 > 5 > 3 |
| Belonging | 1 = 2 = 4 > 5 > 3 |

*Note.* Believing, bonding, and behaving dimensions have the same cluster similarities and differences for religiosity. Cluster 1 is Internalized, 2 is Ruminative Seeking, 3 is Indifferent, 4 is Externalized, and 5 is Undifferentiated.

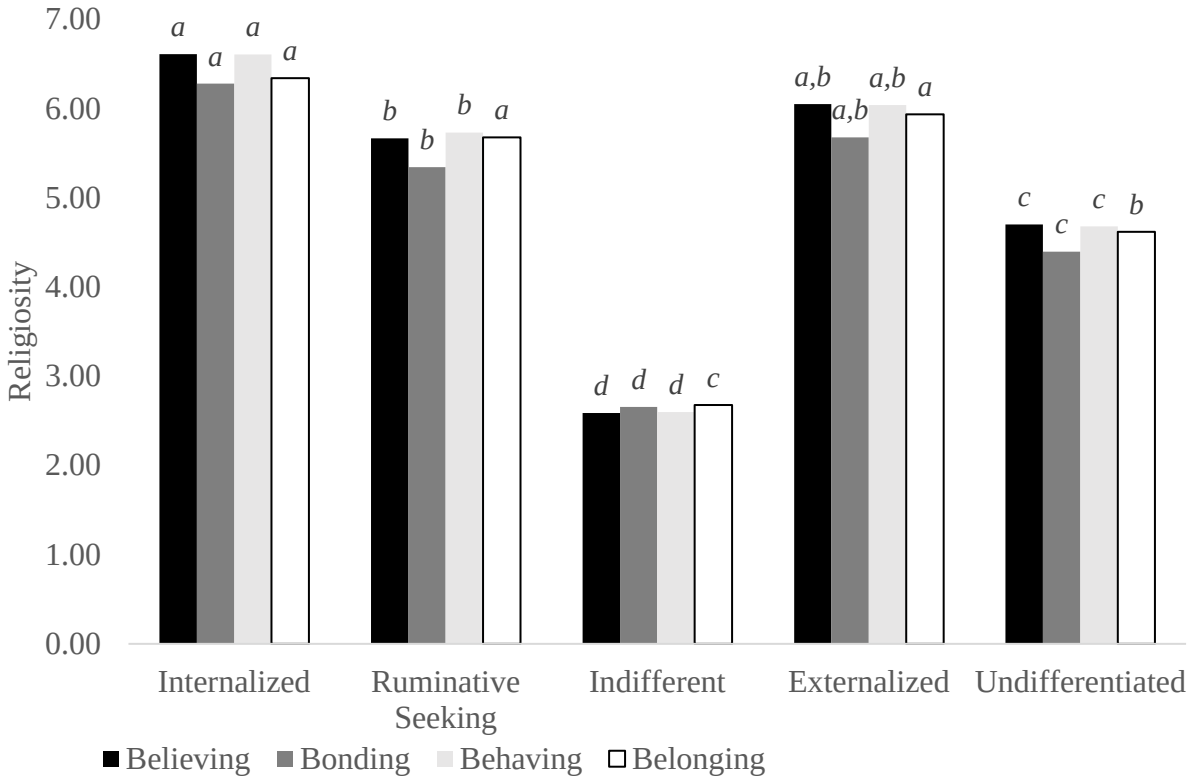


*Figure 17.* Between-cluster differences in religiosity. Clusters with the same subscript are not statistically different from one another.

Members of the Internalized cluster reported the highest levels of religiosity across all four dimensions. The general pattern was that members of the Internalized and Externalized clusters reported similarly high levels of religiosity across all dimensions. Members of the Ruminative Seeking cluster also reported high religiosity, similar to members of the Externalized cluster but generally lower than members of the Internalized cluster. This pattern supports the hypothesis that religious identities high in commitment processes and *exploration in depth* are more likely to report higher levels of *believing* and *bonding* as both the Internalized and Ruminative Seeking clusters fit this profile. However, an unexpected finding was that members of Ruminative Seeking, a religious identity cluster characterized by

lower *exploration in depth*, were just as likely to endorse not only *believing* and *bonding*, but all religiosity dimensions.

Additionally, it seems that participants who fall into religious identities that score highly on the commitment processes, *commitment making* and *identification with commitment*, also tend to report the highest religiosity. Members of these three clusters (Internalised, Externalized, and Ruminative Seeking) reported significantly more religiosity than members of the Undifferentiated cluster, who in turn reported more religiosity than members of the Indifferent cluster. That is, members of religious identities who report the lowest commitment processes (Indifferent and Undifferentiated clusters) also reported the least religiosity across all dimensions, further supporting the relation between commitment processes and religiosity.

**Within-Cluster Differences for Religiosity.** A repeated measures MANOVA was conducted using the four religiosity dimensions as the dependent variables and individuals within each cluster as the independent variable to examine whether members within a religious identity cluster had significant differences between religiosity dimensions. There were no specific hypotheses for within-cluster differences in religiosity, and these analyses served to further nuance the findings of religiosity within each cluster. Results of the multivariate tests revealed that only the Internalized cluster had significant differences among religiosity dimensions, Pillai's Trace = .16, $F(3, 46) = 2.86$, $p < .05$. The other four clusters did not have significant multivariate effects, Pillai's Trace = .12, $F(3, 28) = 1.28$, $p = .30$, Pillai's Trace = .01, $F(3, 26) = .05$, $p = .98$, Pillai's Trace = .20, $F(3, 23) = 1.96$, $p = .15$, Pillai's Trace = .08, $F(3, 59) = 1.75$, $p = .17$ for Ruminative Seeking, Indifferent, Externalized, and Undifferentiated clusters, respectively.

For the Internalized cluster, within-subjects contrasts were conducted to determine which religiosity dimensions significantly differed from one another in this particular cluster.

It was found that *believing* was significantly higher than *bonding*, and there was a trend towards significance between *believing* and *belonging*, $p = .052$. It was also found that *behaving* was significantly higher than *belonging*. All other pairwise comparisons in the Internalized cluster were insignificant. See Figure 18 below for a visual representation of pairwise comparisons.

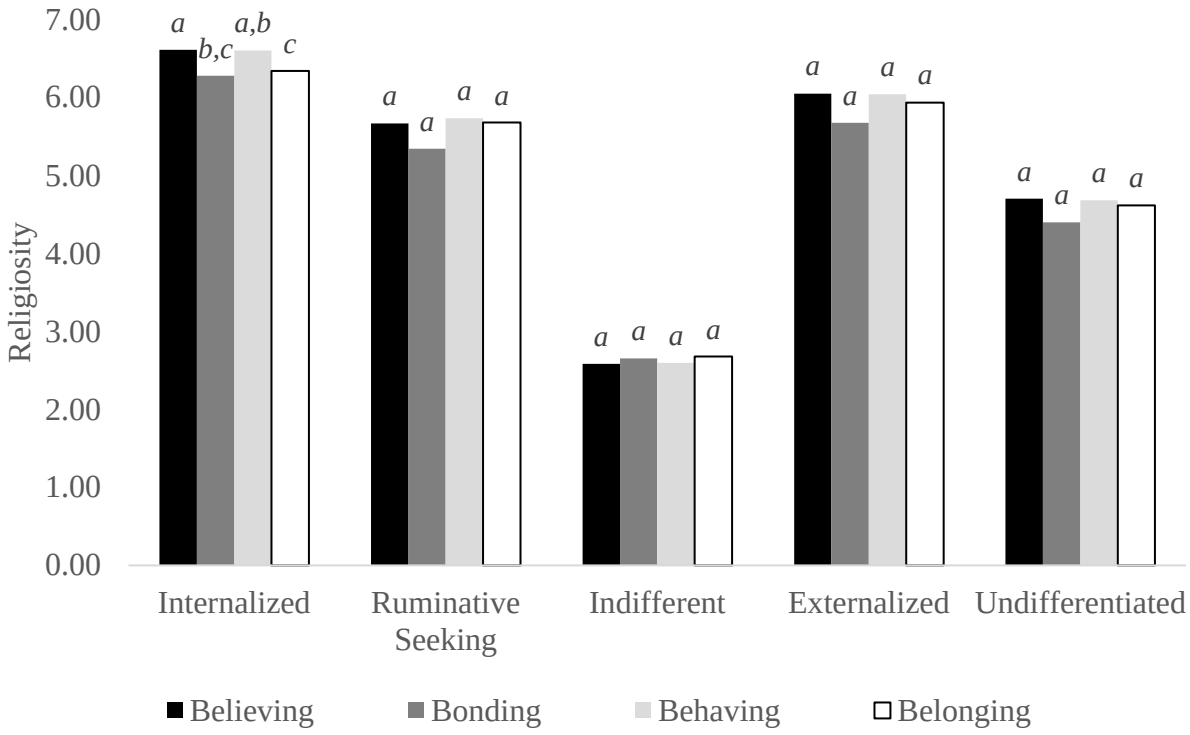


*Figure 18.* Within cluster differences in religiosity. Only the Internalized cluster had within-cluster differences. Religiosity variables with the same subscript within a cluster are not statistically different from one another.

**Objective 3: Religious Identity Development**

**Mean Age Differences.** A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test if there were mean differences in age between clusters. The current study hypothesized that participants with a foreclosed identity (i.e., high commitment, low exploration), represented by the Externalized cluster, would be, on average, in younger adolescence. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that identity clusters with high *exploration in depth* and *ruminative exploration*,

which turned out to be the Ruminative Seeking cluster, would have a mean age of above 18 years old (i.e., after high school). Finally, it was hypothesized that participants with an achieved identity (i.e., high commitment, high exploration), which turned out to be the Internalized cluster, would have the highest mean age, closer to 25 years old. Results of the ANOVA showed that there were no significant mean difference in age across clusters, $F(4, 192) = .59$, $p = .67$. Thus, the hypotheses for religious identity development were not supported (refer back to Table 11 for mean ages of each cluster).

**Age Regressed on Religious Identity.** Since there were no mean differences in age across clusters, regressions were conducted for each religious identity process to examine if age predicted each religious identity process in the full sample. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were appropriate because the outcome variables were continuous, and there were multiple predictors that were hypothesized to influence the dependent variables of religious identity. Four categorical demographic variables were entered into Step 1 predicting religious identity: gender (i.e., male or female), sexuality (i.e., heterosexual or not), generational status (i.e., born in Canada or immigrated), and living arrangement (i.e., living with parents or not). For Step 2, participant age was entered into the regression equation to determine if it significantly predicted religious identity after controlling for related demographic variables. Table 15 summarizes the results of the hierarchical regressions predicting religious identity.

For Step 1 (i.e., demographic variables only), a significant regression equation was found for *exploration in depth*, $R^2 = .05$, $F(4, 178) = 2.50$, $p = .04$. Sexuality was a significant predictor from block 1, such that non-heterosexual participants reported less *exploration in depth* than heterosexual participants. Living arrangement also approached significance, such that participants living with parents reported more *exploration in depth* (see Table 15 for standardized and unstandardized coefficients). No other regression equations predicting the

other religious identity variables were significant at Step1 , although *identification with commitment* was approaching significance, $R^2$ = .05, $F(4, 178) = 2.36$, $p$ = .06, with sexuality as a significant predictor (non-heterosexuals report less *identification with commitment*) and living arrangement as a marginal predictor (living with parents report more *identification with commitment*).

Age was entered into the regression equations in step 2. There were no significant changes in $R^2$ when age was added as a predictor. Regression equations predicting *exploration in depth* and *identification with commitment* were trending towards significance with demographics and age as predictors, but the coefficients for age were not significant.

Table 15

*Summary of Hierarchical Regressions for Age on Religious Identity*

| Variable | $\Delta R^2$ | *B* | *SE* | *β* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .02 | | | |
| Gender | | .25 | 0.95 | .02 |
| Sexuality | | -1.28 | 1.00 | -.10 |
| Living Situation | | 1.69 | 1.30 | .10 |
| Generational Status | | .96 | .88 | -.08 |
| Step 2 | <.01 | | | |
| Gender | | 0.23 | 0.95 | .02 |
| Sexuality | | -1.31 | 1.01 | -.10 |
| Living Situation | | 1.61 | 1.32 | .09 |
| Generational Status | | -.94 | .88 | -.08 |
| Age | | -.04 | 0.13 | -.03 |
| Exploration in Depth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .05* | | | |
| Gender | | .54 | 1.35 | .03 |
| Sexuality | | -3.18 | 1.42 | -.17* |
| Living Situation | | 3.62 | 1.85 | .14$^t$ |
| Generational Status | | -1.71 | 1.25 | -.10 |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | | .48 | 1.35 | .03 |
| Sexuality | | -3.33 | 1.43 | -.18* |
| Living Situation | | 3.29 | 1.87 | .13[t] |
| Generational Status | | -1.64 | 1.25 | -.10 |
| Age | | -.19 | .18 | -.08 |
| Ruminative Exploration (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .03 | | | |
| Gender | | -1.16 | 1.09 | -.08 |
| Sexuality | | .55 | 1.16 | .04 |
| Living Situation | | 2.91 | 1.50 | .15[t] |
| Generational Status | | .46 | 1.01 | .03 |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | -1.20 | 1.10 | -.08 |
| Sexuality | | .45 | 1.16 | .03 |
| Living Situation | | 2.67 | 1.52 | .13[t] |
| Generational Status | | .51 | 1.02 | .04 |
| Age | | -.13 | .144 | -.07 |
| Commitment Making (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .05[t] | | | |
| Gender | | 1.33 | 1.42 | .07 |
| Sexuality | | -2.79 | 1.50 | -.14[t] |
| Living Situation | | 3.75 | 1.94 | .14[t] |
| Generational Status | | -1.68 | 1.32 | -.10 |
| Step 2 | <.001 | | | |
| Gender | | 1.33 | 1.43 | .07 |
| Sexuality | | -2.77 | 1.51 | -.14[t] |
| Living Situation | | 3.79 | 1.98 | .14[t] |
| Generational Status | | -1.69 | 1.32 | -.10 |
| Age | | .02 | .19 | .01 |
| Identification with Commitment (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .05[t] | | | |
| Gender | | .64 | 3.09 | .02 |
| Sexuality | | -7.17 | 3.26 | -.17* |
| Living Situation | | 7.50 | 4.23 | .13[t] |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Generational Status | | -4.06 | 2.86 | -.11 |
| Step 2 | <.01 | | | |
| Gender | | .69 | 3.10 | .02 |
| Sexuality | | -7.05 | 3.28 | -.17* |
| Living Situation | | 7.76 | 4.30 | .14 |
| Generational Status | | -4.12 | 2.87 | -.11 |
| Age | | .15 | .41 | .03 |

*Note.* ᵗ $p < .10$.
* $p < .05$.
Gender was coded such that 1 = Female, 2 = Male. Sexuality was coded such that 1 = Heterosexual, 2 = non-heterosexual. Living situation was coded such that 0 = Not living with parents, 1 = Living with Parents. Generational status was coded such that 0 = immigrated to Canada at any age, 1 = born in Canada.

**Objective 4: Religious Identity and Enculturation/Acculturation Processes**

Table 16 shows the means and standard deviations for the enculturation and acculturation for each cluster. Figure 19 shows the cluster profiles for enculturation and acculturation.

Table 16

*Means and Standard Deviations of Each Cluster's Enculturation/Acculturation Scores*

| | Internalized | Ruminative Seeking | Indifferent | Externalized | Undifferentiated |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Enculturation | 6.14 (.88) | 6.05 (.91) | 5.17 (1.03) | 6.03 (.59) | 5.81 (.89) |
| Acculturation | 5.67 (.99) | 5.83 (.69) | 5.72 (.87) | 5.30 (1.12) | 5.70 (.66) |

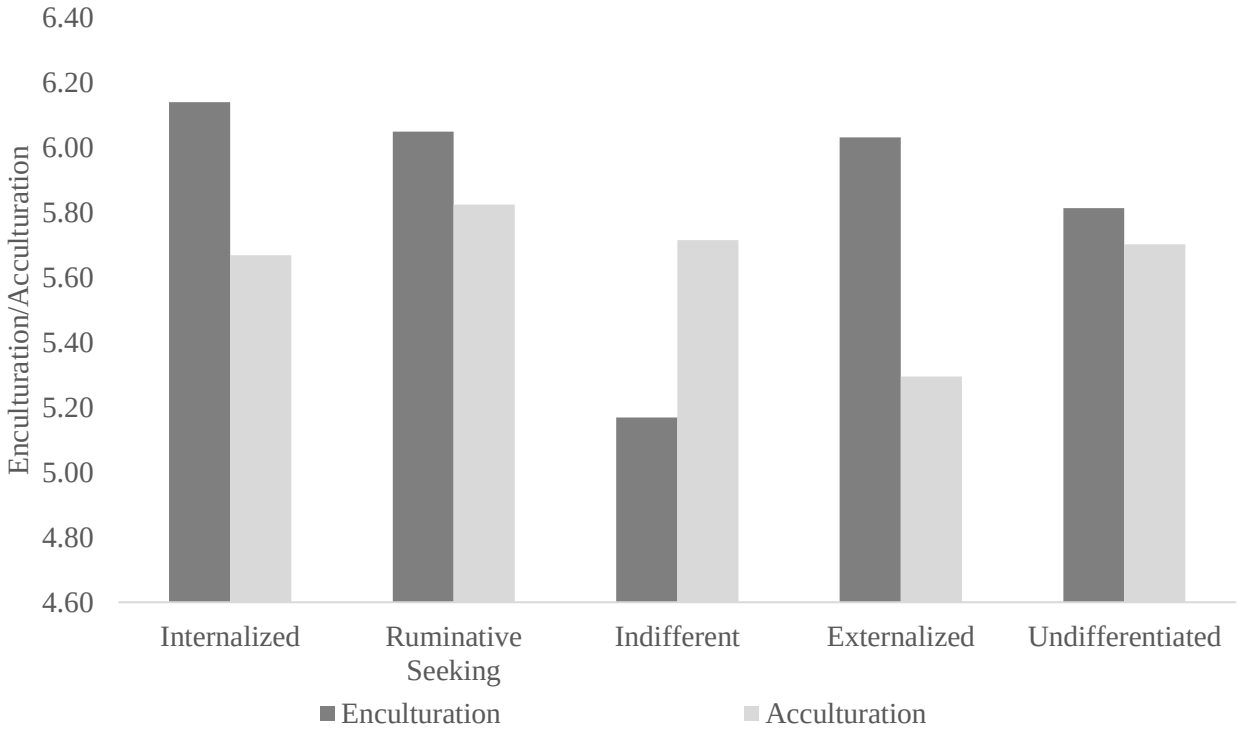


*Figure 19.* Enculturation and Acculturation scores for each cluster.

**Individual Differences in Enculturation and Acculturation.** A paired t-test was conducted using enculturation and acculturation as the dependent variables to examine if participants differed in acculturation and enculturation within the full sample. The result of the paired t-test was significant, $t(196) = 2.47$, $p = .01$, indicating that individuals reported higher enculturation than acculturation (refer back to Table 4 for means and standard deviations of enculturation and acculturation).

**Between-Cluster Differences for Enculturation and Acculturation.** A MANOVA was conducted using enculturation and acculturation as the dependent variables and cluster membership as the independent variables to test whether participants in different clusters reported different levels of enculturation and acculturation. It was hypothesized that high enculturation would be endorsed by participants within religious identity clusters that reported high exploration processes (but not high *exploration in breadth*) and high commitment processes. The closest cluster that emerged that resembles this profile is the

Internalized cluster. No specific hypotheses were made regarding acculturation. The multivariate effect was statistically significant MANOVA effect, Pillai's Trace = .99, $F(2, 191) = 6520.65$, $p < .001$. This suggests that there were differences between clusters on acculturation and enculturation.

Bonferroni post hoc procedure revealed that the participants within the Indifferent cluster had significantly lower scores on enculturation than members of all other clusters. There were no significant differences between the members of the Internalized, Ruminative Seeking, Externalized, and Undifferentiated clusters for enculturation. Although it was hypothesized that the members of the Internalized cluster would endorse higher enculturation, this hypothesis was not supported. Instead, members of clusters with both lower to higher religious identity processes all endorsed similar levels of enculturation. However, in line with the spirit of the hypothesis, members of the lowest-scoring religious identity cluster, the Indifferent cluster, also endorsed the lowest levels of enculturation. There were no significant differences between any clusters on reports of acculturation. See Figure 20 for a summary of between cluster differences in enculturation and acculturation.

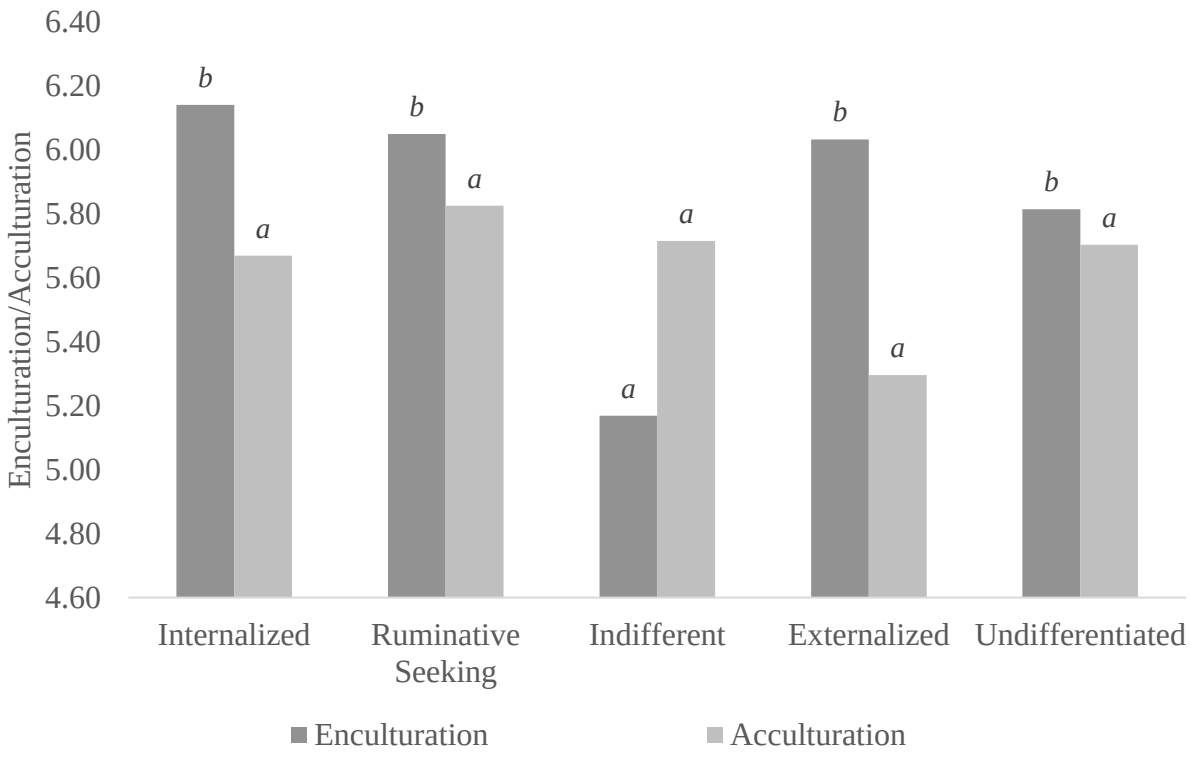


*Figure 20*. Between-cluster differences in enculturation and acculturation. Clusters with similar subscripts in enculturation do not significantly differ in reports of enculturation.

**Within-Cluster Differences for Enculturation and Acculturation.** A repeated measures MANOVA was conducted to examine if participants within each cluster endorsed different levels of enculturation and acculturation. No specific hypotheses for within-cluster differences in enculturation and acculturation were made. The multivariate test was significant for the Internalized cluster, Pillai's Trace = .13, $F(1, 48) = 7.18$, $p = .01$, Indifferent cluster, Pillai's Trace = .17, $F(1, 28) = 5.64$, $p = .03$, and Externalized clusters, Pillai's Trace = .25, $F(1, 25) = 8.38$, $p = .01$. This indicates that participants within a cluster differed in their endorsement of enculturation and acculturation. Post hoc analyses revealed that, for the Internalized cluster, participants scored higher on enculturation than acculturation. This pattern was also found for the Externalized cluster, such that there were higher enculturation scores than acculturation scores. The reverse was found for the

Indifferent cluster, where acculturation was higher than enculturation. See Figure 21 for a summary of within-cluster differences in enculturation and acculturation.

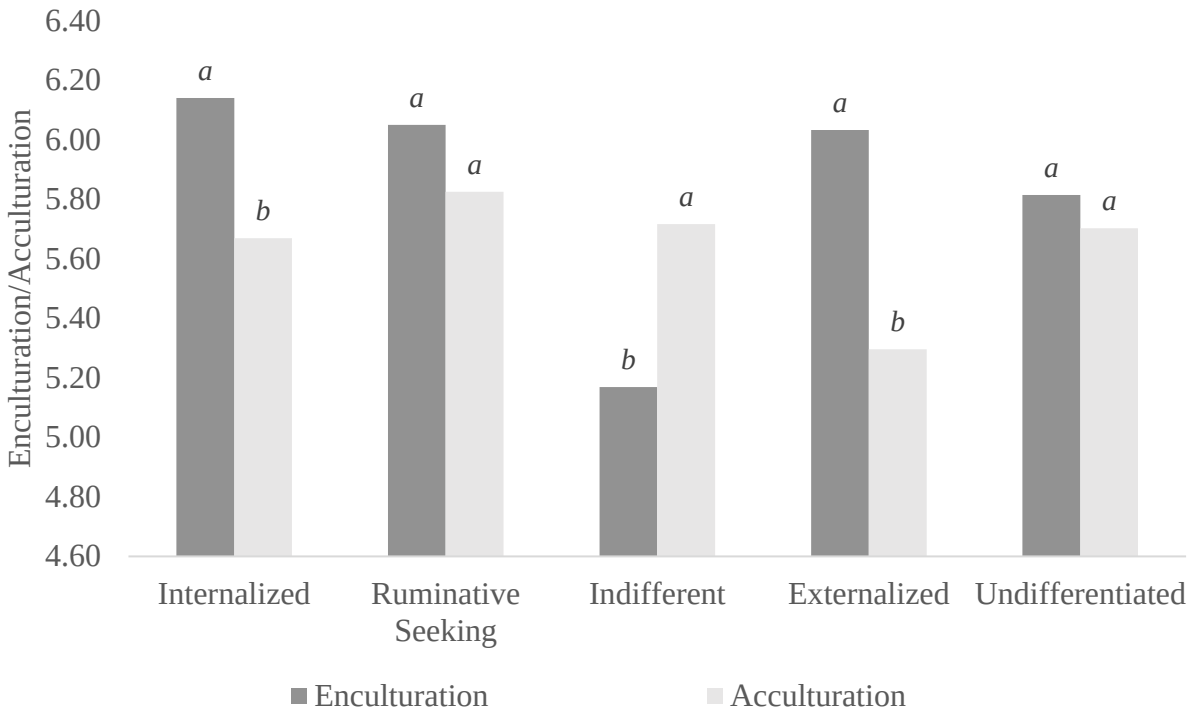


*Figure 21.* Within-cluster differences in enculturation and acculturation. Similar subscripts denote no significant differences within that particular cluster's enculturation and acculturation

**Enculturation Regressed on Religious Identity.** Because age was significantly related to enculturation, and enculturation and acculturation were significantly related, these analyses ensure that the relations between predictors and religious identity are above and beyond any of these instances of shared variance. Furthermore, because age did not predict religious identity, and enculturation did, exploratory sets of regression analyses were conducted using enculturation as a predictor. No specific hypotheses were made. Similar to age predicting religious identity, Step 1 was comprised of predicting religious identity variables from gender, sexuality, living arrangement, and generational status. In Step 2, enculturation was added into the regression equation.

Results of Step 1 can be found in a previous Table 15, when predicting religious identity from age. For Step 2, it was found that adding enculturation as a predictor significantly improved prediction for *exploration in depth, commitment making,* and *identification with commitment*. These findings suggest that as participants' level of enculturation increases, their engagement in the religious identity processes of *exploration in depth, commitment making,* and *identification with commitment* also increases. See Table 17 for a summary of enculturation as a predictor of religious identity.

Table 17

*Summary of Hierarchical Regressions for Enculturation on Religious Identity*

| Variable | $\Delta R^2$ | *B* | *SE* | *β* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | .29 | .94 | .02 |
| Sexuality | | -1.36 | 1.00 | -.11 |
| Living Situation | | 1.58 | 1.29 | .09 |
| Generational Status | | -.71 | .89 | -.06 |
| Enculturation | | .72 | .47 | .12 |
| Exploration in Depth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .08*** | | | |
| Gender | | .70 | 1.30 | .04 |
| Sexuality | | -3.46 | 1.37 | -.19* |
| Living Situation | | 3.24 | 1.78 | .13$^{t}$ |
| Generational Status | | -.80 | 1.23 | -.05 |
| Enculturation | | 2.58 | .65 | .28*** |
| Ruminative Exploration (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | -1.11 | 1.09 | -.08 |
| Sexuality | | .47 | 1.15 | .03 |
| Living Situation | | 2.80 | 1.50 | .14$^{t}$ |
| Generational Status | | .73 | 1.03 | .05 |
| Enculturation | | .76 | .55 | .11 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Commitment Making ($N$ = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .08*** | | | |
| Gender | | 1.49 | 1.37 | .08 |
| Sexuality | | -3.08 | 1.44 | -.16* |
| Living Situation | | 3.35 | 1.87 | .13[t] |
| Generational Status | | -.71 | 1.29 | -.04 |
| Enculturation | | 2.73 | .69 | .29*** |
| Identification with Commitment ($N$ = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .09*** | | | |
| Gender | | 1.02 | 2.95 | .03 |
| Sexuality | | -7.84 | 3.12 | -.18* |
| Living Situation | | 6.57 | 4.04 | .11 |
| Generational Status | | -1.83 | 2.79 | -.05 |
| Enculturation | | 6.27 | 1.49 | .30*** |

*Note.* [t] $p < .10$.
* $p < .05$.
*** $p < .001$.
Gender was coded such that 1 = Female, 2 = Male. Sexuality was coded such that 1 = Heterosexual, 2 = non-heterosexual. Living situation was coded such that 0 = Not living with parents, 1 = Living with Parents. Generational status was coded such that 0 = immigrated to Canada at any age, 1 = born in Canada.

**Acculturation Regressed on Religious Identity.** Again, since age was significantly related to enculturation, and enculturation and acculturation were significantly related, these analyses ensure that the relations between predictors and religious identity are above and beyond any of these instances of shared variance. Further, these regressions create a complete picture of the influence of immigration on religious identity, hierarchical regressions evaluated acculturation as a predictor of religious identity. Step 1 included the same categorical demographic variables (gender, sexuality, living arrangement, and generational status), and Step 2 added acculturation to the regression equation predicting religious identity. Results of the hierarchical regressions predicting religious identity from acculturation showed there were no significant increases in $R^2$ by adding acculturation as a predictor for any of the religious identity variables. Table 18 summarizes the results of acculturation as a predictor of

religious identity. These findings suggest that acculturation is not a predictor of any religious identity process.

Table 18

*Summary of Hierarchical Regressions for Acculturation on Religious Identity*

| Variable | $\Delta R^2$ | *B* | *SE* | *β* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | <.01 | .95 | <.001 |
| Sexuality | | -1.16 | 1.00 | -.09 |
| Living Situation | | 1.69 | 1.29 | .10 |
| Generational Status | | -1.13 | .88 | -.10 |
| Acculturation | | .82 | .52 | .12 |
| Exploration in Depth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | .32 | 1.37 | .02 |
| Sexuality | | -3.07 | 1.43 | .03* |
| Living Situation | | 3.62 | 1.85 | .14$^t$ |
| Generational Status | | -1.88 | 1.26 | -.11 |
| Acculturation | | .78 | .75 | .08 |
| Ruminative Exploration (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | -1.40 | 1.11 | -.10 |
| Sexuality | | .67 | 1.16 | .05 |
| Living Situation | | 2.91 | 1.49 | .15$^t$ |
| Generational Status | | .28 | 1.02 | .02 |
| Acculturation | | .83 | .61 | .10 |
| Commitment Making (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | 1.67 | 1.43 | .09 |
| Sexuality | | -2.95 | 1.50 | -.15$^t$ |
| Living Situation | | 3.75 | 1.94 | .14$^t$ |
| Generational Status | | -1.44 | 1.32 | -.08 |
| Acculturation | | -1.15 | .79 | -.11 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Identification with Commitment (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 2 | .01 | | | |
| Gender | | 1.36 | 3.12 | .03 |
| Sexuality | | -7.52 | 3.26 | -.18* |
| Living Situation | | 7.50 | 4.21 | .13$^{t}$ |
| Generational Status | | -3.54 | 2.88 | -.09 |
| Acculturation | | -2.44 | 1.71 | -.11 |

*Note.* $^{t}$ $p < .10$.
* $p < .05$.
Gender was coded such that 1 = Female, 2 = Male. Sexuality was coded such that 1 = Heterosexual, 2 = non-heterosexual. Living situation was coded such that 0 = Not living with parents, 1 = Living with Parents. Generational status was coded such that 0 = immigrated to Canada at any age, 1 = born in Canada.

**Enculturation and Acculturation Regressed on Religious Identity.** Finally, to account for the confound of development on enculturation and acculturation, a final set of exploratory regression analyses were run. No specific hypotheses were expected for these analyses. Similar to previous sets of hierarchical regressions, Step 1 continued to use the same categorical demographic variables (gender, sexuality, living arrangement, and generational status), but this time Step 1 also included age as a preliminary predictor. Step 2 added both enculturation and acculturation to the regression equation predicting religious identity.

Results of the hierarchical regressions predicting religious identity from demographics and age in Step 1 revealed no novel significant predictors compared to previous regression analyses. In other words, including age as a predictor in Step 1 did not change the significance of the Step 1 regression equations. However, for Step 2, it was found that by adding both acculturation and enculturation in the same step, acculturation also became a significant predictor for *commitment making* and *identification with commitment.* Table 19 summarizes the results of enculturation and acculturation as predictors in the same step for religious identity. These findings suggest that once age and enculturation are

accounted for, participants who score higher on acculturation tend to score lower on *commitment making* and *identification with commitment,* whereas participants who score higher on enculturation tend to score higher on *commitment making*, *identification with commitment*, and *exploration in depth.*

Table 19

*Summary of Hierarchical Regressions for Enculturation and Acculturation on Religious Identity*

| Variable | $\Delta R^2$ | *B* | *SE* | *β* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .02 | | | |
| Gender | | .03 | .88 | <.01 |
| Sexuality | | -1.03 | .98 | -.08 |
| Living Situation | | 1.26 | 1.29 | .07 |
| Generational Status | | -1.08 | .88 | -.09 |
| Age | | -.03 | .13 | -.02 |
| Step 2 | .02 | | | |
| Gender | | -.15 | .89 | -.01 |
| Sexuality | | -.91 | .98 | -.07 |
| Living Situation | | 1.27 | 1.29 | .07 |
| Generational Status | | -1.04 | .90 | -.09 |
| Age | | .04 | .13 | .02 |
| Enculturation | | .59 | .51 | .09 |
| Acculturation | | .64 | .53 | .09 |
| Exploration in Depth (*N* = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .07* | | | |
| Gender | | .99 | 1.25 | .06 |
| Sexuality | | -3.78 | 1.39 | -.20** |
| Living Situation | | 3.60 | 1.83 | .14$^{t}$ |
| Generational Status | | -1.53 | 1.24 | -.09 |
| Age | | -.20 | .18 | -.08 |
| Step 2 | .07*** | | | |
| Gender | | .97 | 1.23 | .06 |
| Sexuality | | -3.73 | 1.35 | -.20** |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Living Situation | | 3.53 | 1.77 | .14* |
| Generational Status | | -.76 | 1.24 | -.05 |
| Age | | .02 | .18 | .01 |
| Enculturation | | 2.61 | .69 | .28*** |
| Acculturation | | .31 | .73 | .03 |
| Ruminative Exploration ($N$ = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .03 | | | |
| Gender | | -.45 | 1.02 | -.03 |
| Sexuality | | -.07 | 1.13 | -.01 |
| Living Situation | | 3.03 | 1.50 | .15* |
| Generational Status | | .56 | 1.01 | .04 |
| Age | | -.14 | .14 | -.08 |
| Step 2 | .02 | | | |
| Gender | | -.66 | 1.04 | -.05 |
| Sexuality | | .07 | 1.14 | <.01 |
| Living Situation | | 3.04 | 1.49 | .15* |
| Generational Status | | .59 | 1.04 | .04 |
| Age | | -.07 | .15 | -.04 |
| Enculturation | | .64 | .59 | .09 |
| Acculturation | | .73 | .62 | .09 |
| Commitment Making ($N$ = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .05[t] | | | |
| Gender | | 1.51 | 1.33 | .09 |
| Sexuality | | -3.17 | 1.48 | -.16* |
| Living Situation | | 3.88 | 1.95 | .15* |
| Generational Status | | -1.45 | 1.32 | -.08 |
| Age | | .02 | .19 | .01 |
| Step 2 | .11*** | | | |
| Gender | | 2.09 | 1.29 | .12 |
| Sexuality | | -3.49 | 1.48 | -.18* |
| Living Situation | | 3.68 | 1.85 | .14* |
| Generational Status | | -.04 | 1.29 | <-.01 |
| Age | | .25 | .19 | .10 |
| Enculturation | | 3.29 | .73 | .34*** |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acculturation | | -1.54 | .77 | -.15* |
| Identification with Commitment ($N$ = 197) | | | | |
| Step 1 | .06$^{t}$ | | | |
| Gender | | 1.49 | 2.87 | .04 |
| Sexuality | | -7.92 | 3.19 | -.19* |
| Living Situation | | 8.18 | 4.21 | .14$^{t}$ |
| Generational Status | | -3.82 | 2.85 | -.10 |
| Age | | .14 | .41 | .03 |
| Step 2 | <.12*** | | | |
| Gender | | 2.80 | 2.74 | .07 |
| Sexuality | | -8.64 | 3.01 | -.20** |
| Living Situation | | 7.74 | 3.95 | .14$^{t}$ |
| Generational Status | | -.53 | 2.76 | -.01 |
| Age | | .67 | .40 | .12$^{t}$ |
| Enculturation | | 7.73 | 1.55 | .37*** |
| Acculturation | | -3.47 | 1.63 | -.15* |

*Note.* $^{t}$ $p < .10$.
* $p < .05$.
** $p < .01$.
*** $p < .001$.
Gender was coded such that 1 = Female, 2 = Male. Sexuality was coded such that 1 = Heterosexual, 2 = non-heterosexual. Living situation was coded such that 0 = Not living with parents, 1 = Living with Parents. Generational status was coded such that 0 = immigrated to Canada at any age, 1 = born in Canada.

## Discussion

The current study sought to examine the religious identity of Filipinx Canadian immigrant youth. Specifically, I examined whether groups of Filipinx immigrants could be differentiated based off their levels of engagement with various religious identity processes, such as *exploration in breadth, exploration in depth, ruminative exploration, commitment making,* and *identification with commitment*. Further, I examined whether these emergent groups of religious identities engaged with religiosity (i.e., *believing, bonding, behaving,* and *belonging*) differently. I then examined how religious identity may have a developmental trend in this population based on previous literature implying a general trend of religious identity development in which young adolescents tend to resemble a Foreclosed identity status, and then increase their exploration as they enter emerging adulthood. Finally, I examined how the cultural orientations towards Filipinx Canadian and other (non-Filipinx) Canadian cultures may have influenced Filipinx youth's engagement with religious identity processes by examining the relationship between religious identity and enculturation and acculturation. Together, the findings demonstrate how immigrant Filipinx youth vary in their religious identity formation when orientations to a host and heritage culture are salient aspects of their developmental experience.

### The Five Clusters of Filipinx Immigrant Religious Identity

One of the objectives of the current study was to examine whether groups of Filipinx immigrant youth could be distinguished based on their level of engagement with the five religious identity processes. The results indicated that Filipinx immigrants in the current sample fit into one of five groups of religious identities: (1) Internalized, (2) Ruminative Seeking, (3) Indifferent, (4) Externalized, and (5) Undifferentiated. In addition to identifying emergent clusters of religious identity, differences in religiosity, age, enculturation, and acculturation depending on religious identity cluster membership were examined to further

characterize the types of religious identities in Filipinx immigrant youth. By examining several correlates to religious identity, a fuller picture of religious identity types could be understood for this population.

**Internalized Religious Identity.** As hypothesized, an Internalized religious identity emerged in this sample. A group that was high in all identity process except *ruminative exploration* was expected because previous research on religious (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015) and personal identity (Luyckx et al., 2008) found a similar identity profile. Although the current study is contextualized in religious identity, the findings suggest that individuals high in exploration and commitment (but low in *ruminative exploration*) are found across different contexts of identity (religious and personal) and culture (Polish, Belgian, and Filipinx Canadian). Focusing on the religious context, Filipinx and Polish individuals alike (with an Internalized religious identity) have fully explored other religions, explored deeply the meaning of their current religion, and have identified that their religious commitment is especially important in their lives.

Despite relative resemblance of this variation of religious identity to samples from other studies on religious identity, the current study takes a fuller understanding of the Filipinx participants within the Internalized cluster by examining their engagement with different dimensions of religiosity, which was not done in the Polish study (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015). As expected, participants in the Internalized cluster reported one of the highest levels of religiosity compared to other clusters (equal to the high religiosity of the Externalized cluster, and only slightly higher than the Ruminative Seeking cluster). Filipinx individuals with an Internalized religious identity were one of the most likely groups that emerged in the current study to endorse high religiosity, whether that be attending church, having a strong relationship with God, attending religious social events, or aligning with religious teachings.

Furthermore, Filipinx immigrants in this cluster reported one of the highest levels of enculturation, although it should be noted that enculturation was equally high amongst all religious identity clusters except for Indifferent religious identity. Individuals with an Internalized identity were also oriented towards their Filipinx heritage culture more than their Canadian host culture.

**Ruminative Seeking Religious Identity.** This cluster, characterized by moderately high to high levels of religious identity across all five processes, was not hypothesized. This group of Filipinx immigrants are characterized by their engagement with religious exploration, through reflection of their own religion and exploration of other religions. However, these individuals also engaged in unproductive, anxious, and/or ruminative exploration of their own religious identity. Continuous re-evaluation of their religious identity may be the reason that members of this cluster have lower engagement with commitment processes relative to the exploration processes. It may be difficult to be deeply committed or to rate the importance of religious commitment as very high when questioning one's alignment with their current religious affiliation or exploring other religious affiliations. Nevertheless, the Ruminative Seeking members still reported the second-highest commitment processes (after Internalized) relative to other religious identity clusters, demonstrating that commitment to their religious group is still of great importance. Furthermore, members of this group also reported one of the highest levels of religiosity. In terms of cultural orientation, this group also reported one of the highest levels of enculturation across clusters which was not significantly differ than their reported levels of acculturation. Therefore, the picture becomes one of a Filipinx individual who understands the importance of religious identity commitment, but is continuously and anxiously searching for a religious affiliation that aligns with their personal values while still actively religious across all dimensions.

One of the key pieces of this picture is that enculturation, although high, is not different from acculturation. One possible explanation for this high ruminative exploration may be that their current religious affiliation is concordant with the values, beliefs, and traditions of their Filipinx heritage culture, but may not be necessarily concordant with the values, beliefs, and traditions of their Canadian host culture. For instance, the item "parents must teach children the importance of religion" on the Enculturation Scale for Filipino Americans (del Prado & Church, 2010) is used as an indicator of Filipino American conservatism. This item implies that religious Filipinx individuals in Western cultures are conservative, which might conflict with the relatively liberal views of Canadians, resulting in anxious rumination about their religious commitment. Further, this item also demonstrates the cultural norm of Filipinx immigrant families where the parents are substantially responsible for instilling religious values in their children. Interestingly, all (100%) of the individuals in the Ruminative Seeking cluster lived with their parents. Therefore, individuals may be conflicted with continuing affiliation with the family religion rather than exploring other religions. For instance, it has been documented that Filipinx parents use family religiosity to control adolescent behaviour (Cruz, Laguna, & Raymundo, 2001), such that "in a highly Catholic setting, the act of praying together is a strong indicator of a conservative family setting which presumably shields the adolescent from venturing into risky activities" (p. 4). The assumption that religious socialization from parents may lead to better adolescent outcomes may be a source of conflict.

Immigrant adolescents and their parents may have an increased risk for conflict in two ways. First, adolescents generally tend to test the boundaries of acceptable behaviour during this developmental period. Second, immigrant adolescents who test the boundaries of acceptable behaviour are qualitatively different because often immigrant parents and adolescents differ in levels of acculturation and enculturation, such that what appears to be

reasonable behaviour for the adolescent may not be culturally acceptable to the immigrant parents (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2012). When religion is perceived as incompatible with the acculturation experienced by the Filipinx youth, they may engage in high levels of *ruminative exploration*. Lastly, these reasons provide evidence that this cluster of religious identity may be unique to immigrant youth, and therefore were not found as a pattern of engaging with religious identity in the non-immigrant Polish sample (Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015).

**Indifferent Religious Identity.** As expected, a religious identity that reported very low endorsement of any identity process emerged. This cluster profile resembles a cluster found in both the Polish study on religious identity and Belgian study on personal identity. Like the Internalized religious identity, the presence of an Indifferent religious identity across different identity contexts (i.e., religious and personal) and cultures (i.e., Filipinx Canadian, Belgian, and Polish) suggest that individuals that are not invested in forming a religious identity are not specific to religious identity or Filipinx populations. Instead, being Indifferent towards a specific aspect of identity represents an undeveloped or untapped aspect of the individual. In the context of religious identity, individuals that are Indifferent towards forming a religious identity may not yet have engaged in identity formation processes and/or do not feel the need to form a religious identity. In fact, people with an Indifferent religious identity report the lowest religiosity across all dimensions compared to all other religious identity clusters. Therefore, it is likely that these individuals are not religious. This was confirmed by post-analysis examination of the specific religious groups identified in this cluster. Of the 29 people in this cluster, only 11 reported a Catholic religious affiliation, whereas 11 reported being agnostic and 3 reported being atheist.

Finally, enculturation across most clusters was relatively high, and participants in the Indifferent religious identity cluster reported significantly lower levels of enculturation than all other religious identity clusters. Additionally, this was the only group where members

were more oriented towards Canadian culture than Filipinx culture. This suggests that Filipinx youth who are more oriented towards Canadian culture than Filipinx culture are less likely to form a religious identity and engage in religiosity. Again, this is consistent with the fact that Filipinx enculturation includes an aspect of religiosity. This suggests that Filipinx youth who are indifferent towards holding their own religious identity are less connected to their Filipinx heritage, however the directionality of this relation was not examined in this study.

**Externalized Religious Identity.** Filipinx individuals with an Externalized religious identity were characterized as individuals with some of the highest engagements with *commitment making* and *identification with commitment*, along with the lowest levels in *exploration in breadth* across clusters. This group was not expected to emerge, as this pattern of religious identity processes did not emerge in the Polish sample. The Externalized religious identity is a unique religious identity of the present sample. These Filipinx individuals are strongly committed (i.e., high *commitment making*) and believe it is important to be committed to their religion (i.e., high *identification with commitment*), and simultaneously strongly reject exploring the possibility of other religious affiliations despite not deeply reflecting on their own religious affiliation. Additionally, strong commitments in the absence of deep understanding of their religious affiliation did not deter individuals with Externalized religious identities from subsequently reporting one of the highest levels of religiosity across all dimensions.

One possible interpretation is that this group has dogmatically accepted their religious affiliation as their identity. For instance, a review of identity status and adolescent religiosity found adolescents with a foreclosed personal identity (i.e., high commitment, low exploration), which is a similar profile to the Externalized religious identity, were more likely to have dogmatic and literal understandings of religious teachings (Saroglou, 2012). When

the participants with an Externalized identity are compared with those who have an Achieved identity, the findings show that those adolescents with the Achieved identity were more interpretative of religious teachings, and less literally adherent to religious rules than the Externalized adolescents. Based on the lack of *exploration in depth*, the seemingly large rejection of any form of *exploration in breadth*, high commitment, and high religiosity, it is possible that Filipinx youth in this cluster possess a literal and dogmatic understanding of their religious identity.

Two other pieces of the Externalized religious identity picture may suggest that this cluster is not necessarily dogmatic in their religious beliefs. First, studies on the relationship between dogmatic religiosity and Foreclosed identity were done on adolescents, and may in fact be developmentally appropriate, where exploration processes do not occur until later adolescence and emerging adulthood. Filipinx youth in the Externalized cluster were about 19.92 years old on average, and previous literature would suggest that this age group should score higher on exploration processes. Second, the individuals in the Externalized cluster report one of the highest levels of enculturation to Filipinx culture, which were significantly higher relative to their levels of acculturation to Canadian culture. Given that the individuals in clusters reporting the highest enculturation levels are also reporting the highest religiosity (i.e., Internalized, Ruminative Seeking, Externalized, and Undifferentiated), another way that participants in the Externalized cluster perceive their religious identity is that their religious affiliation is more heavily tied to their Filipinx heritage. Since Externalized individuals are more oriented towards Filipinx heritage culture than Canadian heritage culture, these participants do not feel the need to explore other religious groups, as this would be akin to exploring other cultural identities. In contrast to the Internalized members, the Externalized members view religious affiliation and cultural affiliation more similarly, whereas Internalized members might view their religious affiliation as a religion and their Filipinx

culture as their cultural heritage, although they may be highly correlated constructs in their mind.

This does not mean, however, that members of the Externalized group are purely participating in religion on a behavioural or ceremonial way. Rather, Externalized members are experiencing the same amount of religiosity across all dimensions, including the more spiritual dimension, *bonding*. A common assumption is that people with a religious identity profile with high commitment and low exploration also report lower levels of religiosity. For instance, a study of Muslim adolescents finds that an early step in forming their Muslim religious identity was by not fully aligning themselves with Muslim beliefs or practices, but they still described themselves as Muslim without any deeper thought (Peek, 2005). The Externalized group of Filipinx immigrants challenge the idea that low exploration and high commitment is an early, "ascribed" form of religious identity. Instead, members of the Externalized cluster show that exploration processes are not necessary to experience religiosity beyond social norms, family expectations, and a sense of belonging, but also a connection with a higher being and beliefs in their religious teachings.

**Undifferentiated Religious Identity.** Unexpectedly, a subset of individuals demonstrated an Undifferentiated religious identity. This identity is characterized by individuals presenting with moderate scores across all identity processes. Relative to the other religious identity clusters in the present study, Filipinx youth classified as Undifferentiated show moderately high *exploration in breadth* and *ruminative exploration*, but moderately low commitment processes. No particular religious identity process distinguishes these members from the other clusters. Three possible interpretations of the experiences of members of this cluster group are (1) that they are affiliated with a religion but are still in the process of searching for their religious identity, (2) they are not affiliated with a religion but in the process of finding one, and/or (3) they are affiliated with a religion but

religious identity is not a central aspect of their overall experiences. This is supported by post-analyses inspection of the different religious affiliations within the Undifferentiated cluster, such that 16 of the 62 individuals reported being agnostic, atheist, non-religious, spiritual, or did not report a religious group affiliation. Furthermore, this group only reported a moderate level of religiosity across all dimensions, which again suggests the undifferentiated nature of the current cluster members. Similarly, in the study of personal identity, Luyckx and colleagues (2008) found a relatively similar cluster profile where each identity process was close to the midpoint of their scale. Luyckx et al. (2008) suggest that these individuals have indeed had some investment in their personal identity, however the main characteristic of the Undifferentiated cluster was that these individuals could not accurately be categorized in any other cluster. Luyckx and colleagues (2008) suggest further follow up with these Undifferentiated individuals to track if their identity later aligns with a more distinguished identity cluster. In the context of the current study, it is possible that those within the Undifferentiated cluster have the least in common with one another, and that they may be categorized to different cluster over time.

Filipinx immigrant youth that were in the Undifferentiated cluster also reported one of the highest levels of enculturation between clusters, and participants of this cluster also reported similarly high levels of acculturation to Canadian culture. Given the possibility that members of this cluster are particularly heterogeneous, we would expect their reported mean enculturation and acculturation scores to be in the moderate range rather than high. Thus, there may be some importance to high enculturation and acculturation levels reported by these individuals for their moderate religious identity. First, there is the possibility that enculturation and acculturation is particularly high across the full sample, and so the high enculturation and acculturation scores here are reflective of that.

Alternatively, perhaps the more important piece is that these individuals report similar levels of acculturation and enculturation, and are oriented to both Canadian and Filipinx culture. Perhaps the moderate levels of religious identity and religiosity in this cluster stem from Filipinx youth navigating whether their family religious affiliation fits with their own views of religion. In contrast to participants in the Ruminative Seeking cluster, who also report no difference in their high orientation to Filipinx and Canadian cultures, those in the Undifferentiated cluster deal with the incompatibility of the religious views of their Filipinx family religion with that of Canadian culture's beliefs, values, and norms by decreasing their engagement with religious identity processes. This decreases the amount of *ruminative exploration* because participants simply take a step back or decentralize the importance of religion overall in order to satisfy their equal orientation to Filipinx and Canadian cultures. Table 20 summarizes the notable patterns within each religious identity cluster that distinguishes them from the rest of the other clusters.

Table 20

*Summary of Notable Patterns Between Religious Identity Clusters*

| | Internalized | Ruminative Seeking | Indifferent | Externalized | Undifferentiated |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration in Breadth | | | 2nd lowest | Lowest | |
| Exploration in Depth | | | Lowest | | |
| Ruminative Exploration | | Highest | Lowest | | |
| Commitment Processes | Highest | | Lowest | 1st to 2nd highest | |
| Religiosity | Tied for highest | 1st to 2nd highest | Lowest | Tied for highest | Moderate |
| Enculturation | Tied for highest | Tied for highest | Lowest | Tied for highest | Tied for highest |
| Acculturation vs. Enculturation | Enc > Acc | Enc = Acc | Acc > Enc | Enc > Acc | Enc = Acc |

*Note.* The commitment processes, *commitment making* and *identification with commitment* were grouped together because they did not meaningfully differentiate for the current discussion. Similarly, religiosity dimensions did not meaningfully differentiate and were grouped together. Since acculturation did not differ across clusters, it was more meaningful to describe whether acculturation differed from enculturation within a cluster.

The five religious identity clusters that emerged create a basis for understanding variations in how Filipinx youth form their religious identity. Filipinx youth within each cluster of religious identity were quantitatively different from one another on at least one dimension of religious identity process. However, participants between different clusters did not necessarily differ in their engagement with religiosity across all dimensions. Similar levels of religiosity among Filipinx immigrant youth do not necessarily imply how much they have engaged in religious identity processes. Specifically, high levels of religiosity may imply membership in an Internalized, Ruminative Seeking, or Externalized religious identity.

The reverse is also true, such that engagement in a particular pattern of religious identity processes might imply low, moderate, or high religiosity, as no claims in the causality between religious identity and religiosity were made. Furthermore, it is entirely possible that not all Filipinx immigrant youth fit into one of these five clusters of religious identity. Additionally, even if a Filipinx immigrant youth did fit into one of these five clusters, it may not necessarily follow that their level of engagement with religiosity and enculturation and acculturation would correspond to the averages reported in the current study. That is, it is important to highlight that these five religious identity clusters and their corresponding levels of religiosity, acculturation, and enculturation represent the average of five groups of people. The findings of the current study may be sample dependent, and replications on another Filipinx immigrant sample would corroborate the existence of these religious identity clusters.

**Connections Between Religious Identity and Religiosity**

The connection between religious identity and religiosity were important to understand whether individuals with different religious identities expressed or engaged with religion differently or similarly. As mentioned previously, individuals in different clusters of religious identity did not necessarily imply differences in their expression of religiosity. It was hypothesized that participants in clusters high in both commitment processes and *exploration in depth,* which turned out to be the Internalized and Ruminative Seeking clusters, would have higher levels of *believing* and *bonding*. At face value, the findings of the current study provide support for this hypothesis, but further conclusions could be made regarding the connection between religious identity and religiosity that do not focus on cluster differences.

**Religiosity Occurs in All Universal Religious Dimensions.** An unexpected finding was that for Filipinx immigrants, levels of religiosity were similar across all dimensions for

each religious identity cluster. That is, if individuals within each cluster of religious identity reported high in one religiosity dimension, then they also reported high endorsement of all other universal religiosity dimensions. The only group that reported differences in religiosity dimensions were the Internalized individuals, such that *believing* was higher than *bonding* and *belonging*, but they were very marginal differences and generally could be characteristically described as high for all religiosity dimensions.

The consistent levels of religiosity across all dimensions suggest that, for Filipinx immigrant youth, aspects of the meaning of life and religious beliefs (i.e., *believing*), rituals and the relationship with God (i.e., *bonding*), social norms and religious behaviours such as praying and attendance (i.e., *behaving*), and feelings of community (i.e., *belonging*) occur simultaneously for any amount of engagement with religiosity. Any engagement with religiosity may also engage other aspects of universal religiosity for the current sample. This is supported in a study of Filipinx youth in the Philippines that found a strong relation between the behavioural and spiritual aspects of religiosity, such that religion "provides a space for [Filipinx youth] to act in different ways they deem to be sacred (e.g., helping others is sacred) even not in the religious context" (Batara, 2015, p. 9). The author of this study suggests that spirituality is guided by the more behavioural dimensions of religiosity provided. Similarly, when Filipinx immigrants in the current sample engage in any universal religious dimension, it may bidirectionally reinforce the other dimensions. For instance, a Filipinx youth with an Externalized religious identity may attend a bible study to meet their friends (i.e., engaged in *belonging*), but this attendance may also increase their belief in religious teachings, their relationship with God, and/or engage the youth in prayer.

**Levels of Religiosity Correspond to Levels of Commitment.** Although religiosity was generally quite high for the full sample, individuals that reported the highest levels of religiosity belonged to either the Internalized, Ruminative Seeking, or Externalized clusters.

Examination of these clusters together reveal that there is a pattern of high levels of reported commitment processes (*commitment making* and *identification with commitment*) with high levels of reported religiosity. Furthermore, when examining the rank order of religiosity in parallel with the rank order of commitment processes across religious identity clusters, moderately low levels of reported commitment processes corresponded to only moderate levels of religiosity in the Undifferentiated cluster, and the lowest levels of reported commitment corresponded also to the lowest levels of religiosity in the Indifferent cluster. Put another way, Filipinx individuals report a positive relation between religiosity and the commitment processes of religious identity formation.

For Filipinx immigrants, commitment to a religious identity, regardless of whether they have explored whether this religion truly fits them, corresponds to their level of religiosity. Again, no causal relations can be assumed, and it may be equally likely that being religious to any degree signifies a relative commitment to that particular religious group. Additionally, Filipinx immigrants' level of exploration do not imply any level of religiosity and vice versa.

**Religious Identity Development in Filipinx Immigrants**

Previous literature suggested developmental trends in religious identity, such that members of the Externalized cluster would have a mean age of younger adolescence, members of the Ruminative Seeking cluster would have a mean age above 18 years old, and members of the Internalized cluster would have the highest mean age, closer to 25 years old. However, the findings of the current study suggest there are no developmental trends in religious identity for Filipinx immigrant youth.

Religion is often described as a key component of Filipinx culture (Holloway-Friesen, 2018; Marshall, 2018). One possible explanation to the lack of developmental trend is that religion is important across all ages for Filipinx youth. If most Filipinx youth understand the

salience of religion to their culture from a young age, then a pattern of increase in religious identity development across development would not be found. Instead, religious identity may be formed at an earlier age, and the five clusters in the current study are stable in this age group, and any changes in exploration and commitment occur before 14 years of age. However, it is difficult to substantiate this possibility given that individuals in particular religious identity clusters such as Ruminative Seeking and Undifferentiated are likely to experience shifts in identity processes.

An alternative explanation is that religious identity development may depend on other factors that do not necessarily vary in predictable ways with age, masking the developmental trend of religious identity. For instance, participants arrived to Canada at various ages if they were first generation immigrants. Although there was a significant trend that older age at migration was positively correlated with *commitment making* and *identification with commitment*, it is possible that age at migration is masking the developmental trend of religious identity. If, for example, religious exploration were to normatively increase from young adolescence towards older adolescence, participants who immigrated at 14 years old may not follow this similar trend of religious exploration, but instead decrease religious exploration as during their initial transitional years to Canada. Although exploration processes may increase for immigrants that immigrated during adolescence, exploration may occur multiple years after initial settlement. In a study of immigrant trajectories of religiosity in Canada, it was found that religious group membership increases in the first few years immediately after migration (Connor, 2009). Although this was a study on religiosity rather than religious identity, an increase in group membership might imply a strengthening in religious commitment processes rather than in an increase in exploration. The developmental trend for religious identity may still occur, however, but postponed until after a few years after resettlement. This is highly speculative, and further research must more closely examine

if other factors are masking or shifting a developmental trend in religious identity by moving the trend older or younger.

Finally, religious identity development may simply be a very individualized experience that has less to do with age as originally suggested. In a sample of adolescent youth, the influence of religious peers has been documented in supporting the development of religious identity (Desrosiers, Kelley, & Miller, 2011). Furthermore, Filipinx youth comprise a large portion of religious schools in Canada (Kelly, 2014), and religious schools also contribute to the development of religious identity in adolescents (Cohen-Malayev, Schachter, & Rich, 2014). Age may contribute less to religious identity than other salient religious contexts during this age range such as peer relationships and school setting.

**Connections Between Religious Identity and Enculturation and Acculturation**

Although age did not seem to predict religious identity, enculturation seemed to be a consistent predictor of *exploration in depth, commitment making,* and *identification with commitment.* Filipinx immigrant youth that are oriented towards their Filipinx culture are likely to have an associated increase in the commitment processes and *exploration in depth.* This supports the previous thought that Filipinx culture highly values religion, such that in the current sample, increased enculturation is associated with commitment processes towards a religious identity.

Acculturation was not found as a significant predictor of religious identity processes alone, but acculturation was a significant predictor of *commitment making* and *identification with commitment* when enculturation was accounted for. When enculturation was held constant, participants who reported higher levels of acculturation were more likely to report lower levels of both commitment processes in religious identity. This suggests that in order to understand how acculturation relates to commitment processes, enculturation must simultaneously be considered. Recall that participants in different clusters did not report any

significant differences in acculturation between the clusters, leading one to conclude that acculturation is unrelated to religious identity. However, in light of the finding that acculturation must be considered simultaneously with enculturation, within-cluster differences between enculturation and acculturation might explain a final pattern of religious identity in Filipinx youth. Members of the Internalized, Indifferent, and Externalized religious identity clusters reported that enculturation and acculturation were significantly different from one another, such that members of the Internalized and Externalized clusters report higher enculturation than acculturation, and members of the Indifferent cluster report higher acculturation than enculturation. Between these three clusters, they report the lowest engagement with *ruminative exploration.* In contrast, when individuals in a cluster did *not* differ in reported levels of acculturation and enculturation, such as in the Ruminative Seeking and Undifferentiated clusters, *ruminative exploration* tended to be high. This suggests that for Filipinx immigrants who are equally oriented towards Filipinx and Canadian cultures, it is difficult to navigate two potentially contradictory set of cultural norms; the values, beliefs, and customs present in the religion may challenge the values, beliefs, and customs present in host culture. In other words, this also supports the idea that religion and Filipinx culture are intertwined, whereas religion and Canadian culture are generally unrelated. If Filipinx immigrant youth are more oriented towards one culture over the other, then rumination about religious identity is not likely to occur because a decision about their alignment with their religion has already been decided based on their orientations to one culture over the other. If they are more oriented towards Canadian culture, then commitment and *ruminative exploration* is low. If they are more oriented towards Filipinx culture, then commitment is high and *ruminative exploration* is also low. However, if the individual is equally oriented to both cultures, then *ruminative exploration* is moderate to high, and commitment can go either way. Overall, the findings suggest that Filipinx religion and Canadian norms are generally

incompatible, but an individual's orientation to the host or heritage culture influence whether navigating religious identity will create rumination and anxiety.

**Implications**

The current study found that Christian Filipinx immigrant youth are likely to have formed their religious identity through different processes and may or may not express their religiosity in different ways. This has social implications for understanding that variations in Christian religious identity for this sample exists, and assumptions about how a Christian individual may practice religiosity should not be made.

Furthermore, these social implications extend into clinical practice for fields such as clinical psychology and counselling psychology. Religious conflicts can occur between individuals, such as between a parent and adolescent. Intergenerational religious discrepancy has been hypothesized to influence family functioning (Goeke-Morey & Cummings, 2017). It is possible that the core of these religious discrepancies occur at the level of identity as well as religiosity. For instance, an immigrant parent may be upset that their adolescent child does not want to attend church on Sundays. Rather than focusing on differences in religiosity, it may be more productive to focus on differences or similarities in religious identity. By discussing the extent to which each individual has explored and committed to religion, the significance of religion to the family identity can be discussed and negotiated.

Religious conflicts may also occur within a single individual, such that identity crises regarding religious identity may lead to significant psychological distress. Filipinx immigrants in particular may talk about how their host culture is incompatible with their heritage culture in the specific context of religion. The current project provides a basis for understanding that both enculturation and acculturation may contribute to an immigrant individual's understanding of their religious self.

Finally, the current study extends the knowledge on the relation between religious identity formation, religiosity, and development in a Filipinx immigrant sample. Given that these religious identity clusters matched two of the five religious identities present in other studies of religious identity, and three were unique to the current sample, this implies that religious identity formation is an evolving area of research that requires further investigation to fully understand how it functions in different populations.

**Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions**

One of the key strengths of the present study is that it is one of the first to examine religious identity and religiosity as separate but related constructs. No other study has directly examined this relation before. Furthermore, the sample was contextualized on a specific immigrant group, and thus afforded the measurement of cultural orientation towards Filipinx and Canadian cultures. This created a clearer picture of how religious identity processes functioned in a migrant population. Next, the participants were representative of the full spectrum of age targeted for the current study. Although there were relatively more emerging adults, adolescents were still well represented. Finally, the sample was diverse in other demographics, particularly generation status, sexuality, and religious denomination.

However, several limitations were also noted. First, the sample was heavily favored towards a female sample. Further, although the sample size overall was decent, a five cluster solution created a group that had as few as 26 people may not be very representative of Filipinx individuals that might engage in that particular pattern of religious identity formation. Next, there was a near ceiling effect for several of the main study variables, truncating possible variance in religiosity, enculturation, and acculturation. The study could have also benefited from accounting for ethnic identity. Administering a scale specifically for Filipinx ethnic identity would have more definitively distinguished the extent to which Filipinx religious identity was confounded by Filipinx ethnic identity. Additionally, the study

found that there were no developmental trends in religious identity. However, the study used a cross-sectional design to examine age trends, when several confounding factors could have diminished the possibility of developmental trends that would have been eliminated in a longitudinal sample. Finally, this sample represents a highly educated, high socioeconomic Filipinx immigrant sample. Although Filipinx immigrants tend to have higher education and income (Espiritu, 1994) compared to other Asian immigrants, this may not be representative of the Filipinx immigrant experience.

Therefore, one of the first areas of future directions is to follow the developmental trends of immigrant youth's religious identity, controlling for age at immigration. Next, future studies could examine causal relationships between religious identity, religiosity, age, enculturation, and acculturation. The current study uses correlational research to make conclusions, but mediational and causal models would provide a more complete picture of immigrant religious identity. Finally, this study should be replicated on other populations, varying the cultural background and other diverse identities to examine how different intersections of identity influence the clustering of religious identity processes. For instance, the current study found that sexuality and living with parents were particular demographic characteristics that seemed to predict religious identity, and these relations could be explored further in future research.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, variations in religious identity in Filipinx immigrant youth exist. How a person expresses their religious identity via religiosity does not necessarily indicate the extent to which a person has explored or committed to a particular religious identity. No developmental trends in religious identity were found in this sample, but future research is necessary to examine the stability of this finding. Finally, individuals with similar orientations toward Filipinx culture and Canadian culture were more likely to report

experiencing more maladaptive, ruminative exploration about religious identity. However, when orientation towards one culture was higher than the other, rumination did not occur and navigation of religious identity may be more clear. Future research is necessary to examine if other immigrant populations replicate some of the religious identity clusters found in the current study in order to better understand which identities may be specific to Filipinx immigrants and which may be experienced widely amongst immigrants of all backgrounds.

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## Appendix A

## Personal Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions:

1. Age_____
2. Gender (select one) Male_____ Female_____ Other (please specify) _____
3. Where do you currently live? (city, province) _____
4. Sexual orientation _____
5. How would you describe your ethnic background? _____
6. What is your family's religious background? Please specify which branch of Christianity _____
7. Do you speak:

| | No | Yes | A little |
|---|---|---|---|
| English | | | |
| Tagalog | | | |
| Cebuano | | | |
| Ilocano | | | |
| Other heritage language (specify): _____ | | | |

8. At what age did you immigrate to Canada (0 = born here)? _____ Years _____Months
9. Did you live anywhere else besides your country of origin?
    a. Yes, please specify where _____
        - For how long did you live there? _____years _____months
    b. No
10. What is your current citizenship status?
    a. Refugee
    b. Permanent resident
    c. Work permit/study visa
    d. Canadian citizen
    e. If you are not a Canadian citizen, what citizenship do you hold?_____
11. What is your employment status?

a. Employed for wages
b. Not working but looking for work
c. Not working and not currently looking for work
d. A homemaker
e. A student
f. Military
g. Unable to work

12. What is your occupation? _____

13. What is your current living situation? (select all that apply)

a. Living alone
b. With parent(s)
c. With sibling(s)
d. With roommate
e. With romantic partner
f. With children
g. With employer

14. What is your family annual income? Please choose one.

a. less than $10,000
b. $10,000-19,999
c. $20,000-29,999
d. $30,000-39,999
e. $40,000-49,999
f. $50,000-59,999
g. $60,000-69,999
h. $70,000-79,000
i. $80,000-89,999
j. $90,000-99,999
k. $100,000 and over
l. don’t know/prefer not to answer

15. Highest level of education you completed

a. Elementary (Grade 6)
b. Junior High (Grade 8)
c. High school (Grade 12)
d. Vocational school or college
e. University
f. Graduate/Professional

16. Highest level of education your father completed

a. Elementary (Grade 6)
b. Junior High (Grade 8)
c. High school (Grade 12)

d. Vocational school or college
e. University
f. Graduate/Professional

17. Highest level of education your mother completed

a. Elementary (Grade 6)
b. Junior High (Grade 8)
c. High school (Grade 12)
d. Vocational school or college
e. University
f. Graduate/Professional

18. What is your current marital status?
a. Single
b. Married
c. Unmarried but with partner
d. Separated
e. Divorced
f. Other _____

## Appendix B

### The Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale (Saroglou, 2009)

You may be interested or not in religion for a variety of reasons. Please try to be as specific as possible in your answers to the following questions dealing with the reasons they eventually make you to be interested on religion.

| | **Totally disagree** | | | | | | **Totally agree** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1.** I feel attached to religion because it helps me to have a purpose in my life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **2.** It is important to believe in a Transcendence that provides meaning to human existence | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **3.** Religious beliefs have important implications for our understanding of human existence. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **4.** I like religious ceremonies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **5.** Religious rituals, activities or practices make me feel positive emotion | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **6.** Religion has many artistic, expressions, and symbols that I enjoy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **7.** I am attached to the religion for the values and ethics it endorses | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **8.** Religion helps me to try to live in a moral way | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **9.** When I've got a moral dilemma, religion helps me to make a decision | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **10.** In religion, I enjoy belonging to a group/community | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **11**. Belonging to a religious tradition and identifying with it is important for me | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **12.** Referring to a religious tradition is important for my cultural/ethnic identity | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

## Appendix C

# Sample of Religious Identity Scale
# English Version
**(Wieradzka-Pilarczyk, 2015)**

Below you will find statements on beliefs, attitudes and plans concerning religious outlook. You are asked to read them and mark with an X the figure that describes you best according to the following pattern:

***Scale:***

**1** – Strongly Disagree **2** – Disagree **3** – Somewhat Disagree **4** – Undecided

**5** – Somewhat Agree **6** – Agree **7** – Strongly Agree

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **1.** | I highly respect the system of values that I believe in. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **2.** | I am concerned about my spiritual life. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **3.** | I am interested in new religious systems. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **4.** | Thanks to my faith I am not afraid of death. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **5.** | Religion helps me overcome difficulties. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **6.** | I ponder if the rules of my religion accord with my aspirations. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **7.** | I find it stressful to apply the chosen system of values. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **8.** | I am interested in new religious trends. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **9.** | My faith helps me face each day confidently. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| **10.** | I am anxious about realizing my resolutions connected with my faith. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

# Appendix D

## Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000)

Please circle one of the numbers to the right of each question to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement. Many of these questions will refer to your heritage culture, meaning the original culture of your family (other than Canadian). It may be the culture of your birth, the culture in which you have been raised, or any culture in your family background. If there are several, pick the one that has influenced you most (e.g. Irish, Chinese, Mexican, African).

| | | Disagree | | | | | | | | Agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | I often participate in my *Filipinx* cultural traditions. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 2. | I often participate in mainstream Canadian cultural traditions. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 3. | I would be willing to marry a person from my *Filipinx culture*. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 4. | I would be willing to marry a white Canadian person. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 5. | I enjoy social activities with people from the same *Filipinx culture* as myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 6. | I enjoy social activities with typical Canadian people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 7. | I am comfortable interacting with people of the same *Filipinx culture* as myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 8. | I am comfortable interacting with typical Canadian people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 9. | I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my *Filipinx culture*. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 10. | I enjoy Canadian entertainment (e.g. movies, music). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 11. | I often behave in ways that are typical of my *Filipinx culture*. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 12. | I often behave in ways that are typically Canadian. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 13. | It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my *Filipinx culture*. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 14. | It is important for me to maintain or develop Canadian cultural practices. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 15. | I believe in the values of my *Filipinx culture*. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 16. | I believe in mainstream Canadian values. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 17. | I enjoy the jokes and humor of my *Filipinx culture*. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 18. | I enjoy white Canadian jokes and humor. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 19. | I am interested in having friends from my *Filipinx culture*. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 20. | I am interested in having white Canadian friends. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |